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M E M O I R S
Of the **R E I G N** of
Q U E E N E L I Z A B E T H,

From the Year 1581 till her **D E A T H**.

575
IN WHICH
The **S E C R E T I N T R I G U E S** of her **C O U R T,**

And the **C O N D U C T** of her **F A V O U R I T E,**
R O B E R T Earl of **E S S E X,** both at Home and Abroad,

A R E P A R T I C U L A R L Y I L L U S T R A T E D.

From the Original Papers of his intimate Friend,
A N T H O N Y B A C O N, Esquire,
And other Manuscripts never before published.

By **T H O M A S B I R C H,** D. D.
Rector of the United Parishes of St. Margaret Pattens and St. Gabriel Fenchurch;
and Secretary of the **R O Y A L S O C I E T Y.**

*EPISTOLÆ magis in proximo, & ad vivum, negotia solent repræsentare, quam
vel ANNALES vel VITÆ.* BACON. de Augm. Scient. l. viii. cap. ii.

V O L. I.

L O N D O N,
Printed for **A. M I L L A R,** in the **S T R A N D.**

M D C C L I V.



THIS IS THE FIRST

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TO THE HONOURABLE PHILIP YORKE
THIS FIRST VOLUME
OF
MEMOIRS OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

IS,

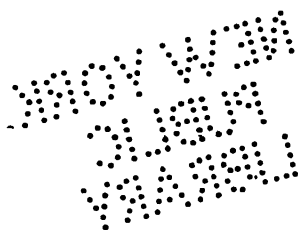
IN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF HIS CANDID ACCEPTANCE
OF A FORMER WORK OF THE SAME KIND,

IN GRATITUDE FOR THE HONOUR
OF HIS CONTINUED FRIENDSHIP,

AND AS A MEMORIAL
OF THE HIGHEST AND BEST GROUNDED ESTEEM,

INSCRIBED BY

THE AUTHOR.



M E M O I R S
O F T H E
Reign of Queen ELIZABETH,
From the Year 1581, till her Death.

B O O K I.

THE reign of queen ELIZABETH is less distinguish'd by its length, than by the vigour and success of her government amidst many almost unexampled difficulties both at home and abroad, and by the variety of important events, which happen'd during the course of it. For what facts could be more considerable, than the establishment of the reformation of religion, begun in some measure by her father, HENRY VIII. and carried much farther by her brother EDWARD VI. but interrupted by the bigotry and cruelty of her sister MARY: The support of the protestant interest in France under FRANCIS II. CHARLES IX. and HENRY II. till the absolute settlement of HENRY IV. upon the throne: The assistance, which she gave the Low Countries in rescuing them from the yoke of PHILIP II. Her triumph over the whole force of Spain more than once combin'd for her destruction: And the vast improvement of the naval strength and commerce of the nation?

This memorable period of our history was undertaken by CAMDEN, who had before shewn himself the STRABO of our country; and he was encouraged in this new task by no less a patronage than that of the lord high treasurer BURGHLEY, who had borne so eminent a part in the actions themselves, and now assisted as well as rewarded his labours, opening to him the treasury of his own state paper and those of the public offices. But copious as the Annals of queen ELIZABETH are in the matter, and elaborate in the style and composition; yet the defects of the work are too obvious. For, besides the partiality scarce avoidable in an history

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written and published so near the time, of which it treats, especially under a king so jealous and so much interested in the reputation of a mother as JAMES I. we have frequent occasion, to regret the want of the writer's usual industry and accuracy in the use of the materials within his power, and to excuse him for such errors and defects, as later discoveries would have enabled him to avoid. Of this kind are the original letters and papers of state published in the *Cabala*, the *Complete Embassador* of Sir DUDLEY DIGGES, the *Fœdera* of RYMER, Mr. STRYPE's several works, Sir RALPH WINWOOD's *Memorials*, Dr. FORBES's *Full View*, Dr. HAYNES's *Cecil Papers*, and Mr. COLLINS's *Letters of the Sidney family*.

These various collections, tho' composed of materials unequal in their importance to history, yet as they relate to the most interesting events and different periods of this active reign, would enable an attentive writer to throw a stronger light on many parts of it; to open more exactly the true springs of its political conduct; and, above all, to illustrate more particularly the real characters and sentiments of the great persons, who adorned the scene of action at that time. However, it is not to be expected, that a new general history of queen ELIZABETH should soon make its appearance. To relate over again the same series of transactions diversified only in the method or style, and with the addition of a few particular incidents, would be no very agreeable undertaking to the historian, and certainly of little use to the reader. And therefore the most direct and eligible manner of giving the public the full instruction, which may result from these authentic memorials, seems to be, to select from them the most important passages, such as relate to events omitted, on controverted, or falsely or obscurely described, or to characters of the greatest eminence; in short, all such facts, as, in the style of the writers of memoirs, pass under the name of anecdotes; in which class may be ranged many particularities, which, tho' too minute for a regular history, are yet more universally entertaining, and more descriptive both of manners and times, than those of a more public and solemn nature.

This I have attempted to do in a former work with regard to the last years of that queen, from the papers of Sir THOMAS EDMONDES: and the approbation, with which the design has been honoured by many good judges, encourages me to illustrate a larger portion of her reign from the year 1581, upon the same foundation of the original papers of the principal actors in public business at that time. The greatest part of these, the use of which I owe to the generosity of THOMAS lord archbishop of Canterbury, are deposited in his grace's library at Lambeth, for which they were purchas'd, at the expence of his predecessor archbishop TENISON, by Dr. WHITE KENNET, then dean, and afterwards bishop, of Peterborough, who has cited some few of them in his *Memorial to Protestants on the Fifth of November* *. They consist of sixteen volumes in folio, bound up with great confusion, arising from the want of a due attention to the difference of old and new style, and the double commencement of the year.

BEFORE I enter upon the application of these papers to the history of the time, it will be necessary to premise a short view of the state of Europe in general, as well

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as a more particular one of the court of England, in the year 1581, at which period the memoirs, which I propose to draw from them, will commence.

The throne of France had been fill'd ever since May 1574 by HENRY III. who, upon intelligence of the death of his brother CHARLES IX. had secretly abdicated that of Poland, to which he had been elected in August of the preceding year. After he became King of France, he entirely lost that character of activity and resolution, for which he was eminent, while he was only duke of Anjou; abandoning himself to the greatest profligacy of manners, which he endeavour'd to atone for in the intervals of his vices by an exact observance of all the superstitions of his religion, his zeal for which had before urg'd him to be one of the chief contrivers of the detestable massacre of Paris^b.

PHILIP II. had received the crown of Spain by the resignation of the emperor CHARLES V. his father in December 1555. He had, during his residence with his first wife, MARY, queen of England, been the protector of her sister ELIZABETH, who was then in no small danger from the violence of the popish party; and had offer'd her marriage upon her advancement to the throne. But his disappointment in that respect, her adherence to the protestant interest, and the constant opposition, which she gave to his immoderate ambition, rendered him at last her most implacable enemy.

The death of HENRY king of Portugal on the 31st of January 1578, gave PHILIP of Spain an opportunity, which he immediately embrac'd, of seizing that kingdom; Don ANTONIO, prior of Crato, natural son of Don LEWIS, brother of the deceased king, in vain endeavouring to contest the title to it, and retiring afterwards into England, where he arrived in the end of June or beginning of July 1581^c.

The provinces of the Low Countries, which had been provok'd by the attempts of the king of Spain against their civil and religious liberties to cast off his government, were under the direction of WILLIAM prince of Orange, who in January 1572 caused the union of Utrescht to be sign'd between Holland, Zealand, Friseland and Utrecht, and was chosen governor of Flanders; while, on the other side, ALEXANDER FARNESE, prince of Parma, who had been appointed successor to Don JOHN of Austria in 1578, shewed himself one of the ablest generals and politicians of his time, in recovering several of the revolted provinces to the obedience of Spain.

RODOLPH II. had been rais'd to the empire of Germany after the decease of his father MAXIMILIAN in 1576; and was a prince of many amiable qualities and virtues, mild and humane, a lover and patron of arts and sciences, and moderate in his own temper and principles with respect to religion, tho' frequently misled from them by the suggestions and artifices of bigots and jesuits.

^b Memoires d'estat en suite de ceux de M. Ville-roy, Tom. ii. p. 52, & seqq. Edit. Paris 1665, 240.

^c Huberti Langueti epistolæ secretæ, part. ii. l. 1. p. 489. Edit. Hæke Hermundar. 1699 in 4to.

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The more northern crowns having less connexion at that time with England, it will be sufficient to mention, that JOHN III. had enjoy'd that of Sweden from the year 1568; FREDERIC II. that of Denmark from 1559; and STEPHEN BATTORI that of Poland from 1576; and that JOHN BASILOWITZ, distinguish'd by the cruelty of his government, and the first arrival of the English by sea in the north part of his country, was czar of Muscovy; and AMURAT III. emperor of the Turks.

The Crown of Scotland was possess'd by JAMES VI. born June 19, 1566, to whom his mother queen MARY had been obliged by her subjects to resign it June 24th, the year following, after the murder of her husband the lord DARNLEY, and her marriage with earl BOTHWELL the assassin, and to retire in May 1568 into England, where she was detain'd prisoner. Upon the inauguration of the young king, the earl of Murray had been appointed regent, which post he held till he was murder'd in 1578, and was succeeded in it in May following by MATTHEW earl of Lenox, grandfather of the king, who being likewise assassinated in 1571; JOHN ERSKIN, earl of Mar, was advanced to that office, which he enjoyed till his death in 1572, when JAMES DOUGLASS, earl of Morton, was made regent. But he being dislike'd by the earls of Argyle and Athol, they persuaded the king, in the latter end of the year 1578, to take the reins of government into his own hands, till the earl of Morton, becoming master of Stirling and of the king's person, resum'd his authority, and exercis'd it till 1580, when his majesty's two favourites, ESMÉ STUART, baron of Aubigny, and JAMES STUART of Ochiltry, the former of whom was soon after created by him duke of Lenox, and the latter earl of Arran, inflaming his prejudices against the regent, and endeavouring to exasperate him against England, whose interests the regent had always favour'd, he was committed to prison, upon a charge of being concerned in the death of the king's father. And tho' queen ELIZABETH interposed in his favour by THOMAS RANDOLPH, whom she sent into Scotland to solicit for him, and ordered troops to march towards the borders, yet the earl was beheaded in June 1581; which expos'd the two favourites to the general odium of the nation.

Ireland, oppress'd as it was under the authority of the several chiefs, who considered all improvements of industry and arts, and the introduction of a purer religion, as destructive of their own power over their vassals, could scarce be esteem'd subject to the government of the queen of England, which they were always ready to disturb by insurrections and rebellions, and to concur with any designs of the pope, or king of Spain. Her majesty's authority there was intrusted to ARTHUR lord GREY, baron of Wilton. His father, WILLIAM lord GREY, having been oblig'd to sell his estate, in order to pay his ransom to the French, by whom he had been taken prisoner in war, this young nobleman determin'd to endeavour the recovery of the fortune of his family, by entering early into the profession of arms, and distinguish'd himself under his father by his valour at the siege of Leith in 1560, where being wounded with a shot in the shoulder, he was rewarded soon after with the government of Berwick, as he was in August 1580 with that of Ireland, upon his advancement to which he shewed his regard for genius and learning by the choice of SPENSER the poet for his secretary, who in his *View of the state of that kingdom* has

has done justice to the merit of his patron. His lordship did not enjoy that post above two years; but was again employ'd by her majesty in the critical year 1588 in the important service of putting the land-forces into a disposition to oppose the threatened descent of the Spaniards. He was honoured also with the Garter, and died in 1593 with the character of an able general, and a generous encourager of arts, open and undisguised in his sentiments, which he deliver'd with a natural and manly eloquence, on all occasions, and especially where the power and influence of the bishops came in question, to which he was no friend^d.

Her majesty, who was now in the 49th year of her age, and the 23d of her reign, was in the full vigour of health and reputation of government; the principal posts of which were fill'd by some of the ablest men in the nation.

Dr. EDMUND GRINDALL, archbishop of Canterbury, was translated to that see from the bishopric of London in 1575, upon the death of archbishop PARKER, by the recommendation of the lord treasurer BURGHLEY, without his own solicitation. But he did not continue long in that dignity, before he fell under the displeasure of the queen, who having required him to abridge the number of preachers, and to suppress the religious exercises commonly stiled at that time *Prophecying*s, and being offended with his remonstrances to her on those heads, confin'd him, with a very unjustifiable severity, to his house in June 1577, and sequester'd him from the exercise of his archiepiscopal authority till 1582. This added to the loss of his sight in the latter end of that year made him desirous of resigning the archbishopric, which he could not accomplish, but died in it in July 1583.

Sir THOMAS BROMLEY, lord chancellor, was advanced to that important office in April 1579. He was descended of an antient family seated at Bromley in Shropshire, where he was born. His education in the study of the law was in the Inner Temple; and having gain'd great reputation and practice at the bar, he was appointed solicitor-general before he was forty years of age, and within ten years after lord chancellor, which post he discharg'd till his death in April 1587, with a general esteem of his abilities and integrity.

The lord treasurer BURGHLEY succeeded in that office WILLIAM POWLET, marquis of Winchester in 1572, having before executed that of secretary of state from the time of the queen's accession to the throne, as he had done in the short reign of EDWARD VI. His character is too well known to want any enlargement upon it, except by this remark, that he appears in the latter part of his life to have grown more peevish and intractable in business, than was consistent with the reputation, which he had before maintain'd for temper and discretion. But the truth is, that, besides the infirmities of age heighten'd by long and severe fits of the gout, he could ill bear the growing power of the earl of Essex, and the military courses pursued by that favourite, in opposition to his own pacific system.

^d Lloyd's State-Worthies, p. 588, and seqq. 2d edit. London, 1670.

ROBERT DUDLEY, earl of Leicester, master of the horse to her majesty, was second son of JOHN earl of WARWICK, afterwards duke of Northumberland. He had been made master of the buck-hounds for life in the 4th year of EDWARD VI. and the year following sworn one of the six gentlemen of that king's privy chamber. When queen MARY recovered the crown from lady JANE GREY his sister-in-law, he was committed to the Tower, and attainted with his father, but released in October 1554, and made master of the ordnance at the siege of St. Quintin's in 1557. Soon after the accession of queen ELIZABETH to the throne, he was raised to the great office of master of the horse, and two years after elected knight of the garter, and appointed constable of Windsor Castle, and in September 1564 created earl of Leicester. The year following he was made chancellor of the university of Oxford, as he had been before high steward of that of Cambridge; and in 1566 was honoured by CHARLES IX. of France with the order of St. Michael. The extraordinary share of her majesty's favour, which he enjoyed from the beginning of her reign, till his death in September 1588, at which time he was possess'd of the several posts of lord steward of the household, general of the army, and earl marshal of England, was less owing to the qualities of his mind, than to the advantages of his person and address; for he was the most obnoxious in his private character of all, who were employed by her, and suspected on good grounds of the most shocking crimes, which he affected to conceal under high pretensions to piety.

AMBROSE, earl of Warwick, his elder brother, was master of the ordnance. He had serv'd under his father, in the 3d year of king EDWARD VI. against the rebels in Norfolk; and was attainted with him in the beginning of queen MARY's reign; but obtaining a pardon, and being restor'd in blood in 1556, was present at the siege and battle of St. Quintin. Queen ELIZABETH in her second year conferred on him the office of master of the ordnance for life, and in December 1561 created him baron Lisle and earl of Warwick, appointing him in 1562 her lieutenant-general in Normandy, to assist the protestants in France against the violence of the court. During this service he was elected knight of the garter; but had the mortification to be obliged by the sickness of his troops to surrender Newhaven in that province in July 1563, to CHARLES IX. of France. In 1569 he was made jointly with the lord admiral CLINTON, afterwards earl of Lincoln, lieutenant of her majesty's army in the north, and the year following chief butler of England, and two years afterwards sworn of the privy council. He died without issue in 1589, of the consequences of a wound, which he had received in his leg in the defence of Newhaven by a poisoned bullet.

The lord chamberlain of the household was THOMAS RADCLIFFE, earl of Suffex, of a very antient and noble family, honour'd thro' many descents by the title of viscounts FITZ-WALTER. He had been employ'd in Ireland, where he had perform'd signal services to her majesty at her first coming to the crown, till she recall'd him to court, and conferr'd on him the office of lord chamberlain, in which he died in 1583. He had been instrumental in suppressing the rebellion of the earl of Northumberland in the north in 1569, the progress of which might have prov'd of dangerous consequence in the situation of affairs at that time. He was a man

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of great bravery and generosity, but inferior in artifice and intrigue to the earl of Leicester, whom he boldly oppos'd on all occasions.

EDWARD CLINTON, earl of Lincoln, and knight of the garter, was lord-high-admiral, that post having been given him for life in the fourth year of king EDWARD VI. and he was succeeded in it at his death in January 1584 by CHARLES lord HOWARD of Effingham, afterwards earl of Nottingham. As the earl of Lincoln was not bred up to the sea, so neither does he appear to have made any considerable figure in his high station.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM was one of the secretaries of state, and acquitted himself in that post for many years with a dexterity and diligence, in which few of his successors have equall'd him. He was born in Kent, and educated in King's College in Cambridge, and then travell'd abroad for his improvement in the knowledge of languages and men, as he afterwards did in the reign of queen MARY on account of religion. He was employed by her successor in several embassies, particularly to the court of France twice, and once to Scotland and the Low Countries. The offices of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster and of the order of the garter, which he held together with that of secretary, did not prevent him from dying in very necessitous circumstances in April 1590, with the reputation of having carried on the public service at the expence of his fortune. The fact is undeniably true, and equally to the disgrace of the queen and her lord treasurer.

His colleague in the office of secretary was Dr. THOMAS WILSON, a civilian, and native of Lincolnshire, educated in the same university and college with Sir FRANCIS, and afterwards tutor to HENRY and CHARLES BRANDON successively dukes of Suffolk. He travell'd abroad during the reign of queen MARY, in the last year of which he was imprison'd at Rome by the inquisition on account of two books, which he had published in England in his own language, upon the arts of *Rhetoric* and *Logic*, but escap'd death upon a fire happening in the prison, the people of Rome forcing the doors of it open, and letting out the prisoners*. The accession of queen ELIZABETH to the throne occasion'd his return to his own country, where he was appointed one of the masters of requests and master of the hospital of St. Catherine near the Tower of London, and was sent ambassador to the Low Countries in 1576, and in the year following appointed secretary of state in the room of Sir THOMAS SMITH deceased, and in 1578, made dean of Durham, which dignity with the post of secretary he enjoy'd to his death in 1581, being no less eminent for his writings in the Latin as well as his own language, than for the offices, which he had fill'd. He was a minister of the inferior order, and more exercised in the forms than essence of business: And tho' it does not appear in what manner the province of secretary was then divided, yet it is probable, that the secret part of it was intirely managed by WALSINGHAM.

The treasurer of the household was Sir FRANCIS KNOLLYS, whose sister was married to secretary WALSINGHAM. He was born at Rotherfield Gray near Henley in

* See his prologue to the reader before his *Arte of Rhetorique*, in the London Edition of 1567 in 4to.

Oxfordshire, and educated in Magdalen College in Oxford. His first entrance at court was in the place of gentleman-pensioner to HENRY VIII. in the latter end of his reign. Under king EDWARD VI. he distinguished himself so much by his zeal for the reformation, that he thought proper to retire into Germany, when queen MARY succeeded to the crown. But upon her death he immediately return'd to England; where he was sworn of the privy-council to queen ELIZABETH, who afterwards made him her vice-chamberlain, treasurer of her chamber, and at last treasurer of her household, and knight of the garter; he being nearly allied to her majesty by the marriage of her cousin german, CATHARINE daughter of WILLIAM CARY, esq; by MARY, daughter of THOMAS BOLEYN, earl of Wiltshire, and sister of queen ANNE BOLEYN. He was always a favourer of the puritan party, on which account he sometimes incur'd the displeasure of his ecclesiastical superiors.

Sir JAMES CROFT, comptroller of the household, had made a considerable figure in the reign of EDWARD VI. in which he had defended HADINGTON against the Scots, and for some time govern'd Ireland. Under queen MARY he was attainted for treason, but being restored in blood by queen ELIZABETH, was made governor of BERWICK, from which post he was removed by the privy-council, though he had repulsed the French in their sallies out of Edinburgh, for not having supported the attack upon Leith in 1560. However he obtained afterwards of her majesty the office of comptroller of the household, and was appointed one of her commissioners in the treaty of Bourbourg in 1588, where his zeal for the procuring a peace between England and Spain having induc'd him to make an excursion to Brussels, without acquainting his fellow commissioners, and to produce secretly some articles for that purpose, he was afterwards committed to prison, at the suggestion of the earl of Leicester, for exceeding the limits of his commission, tho' the articles themselves were unexceptionable. However, he died in 1590 possess'd of her majesty's favour as well as the public esteem, notwithstanding all the arts of his fellow-courtiers had been employed to supplant him.

Sir CHRISTOPHER HATTON, vice-chamberlain, was born of an antient rather than considerable family at Holdenby in Northamptonshire, and educated at St. Mary Hall in Oxford, in the reign of queen MARY, while WILLIAM ALAN, afterwards a refugee, traitor, and cardinal, was principal. He removed thence to the Inner Temple, where he had not continued long, before he distinguished himself so much in a visit at court by the graces of his person and his activity, that her majesty appointed him one of her gentlemen-pensioners, then of her privy-chamber, captain of the band of pensioners, afterwards vice-chamberlain, and of her privy council, and at last lord chancellor in 1587, on the death of Sir THOMAS BROMLEY, honouring him with the garter. In that great post of the law he supplied his own defects by the assistance of the ablest men in the profession; and his integrity in the administration of it was unsuspected. Nor was he less eminent for his generosity, and his patronage of learning, being chancellor of the university of Oxford, than for his zeal for the church and hierarchy against the puritans, attended with a disinclination to the executing of the severe laws against the papists; which expos'd him to the suspicion of being of their religion. His death was hasten'd by an unexpected

unexpected demand of the queen, in very harsh terms, of a considerable sum, which he had received for the first fruits and tenths : and the impression, which her severe treatment made upon him, could not be remov'd by the kindness of her visits and speeches to him during his last illness in November 1591.

SIR HENRY SIDNEY, lord president of the marches of Wales, was son of Sir WILLIAM SIDNEY, at first chamberlain, and then steward to king EDWARD VI. while prince. He was from his earliest years bred up with that king, by whom he was knighted in 1550, being then of his majesty's privy chamber, from whom he received several grants, and who died in his arms. His marriage with the lady MARY DUDLEY, eldest daughter of JOHN earl of WARWICK, and afterwards duke of Northumberland, did not involve him in the following reign in the disgrace of his father-in-law ; for queen MARY conferred on him several marks of her favour, and appointed him vice-treasurer of Ireland, and general governor of all the revenues of that kingdom, of which in 1557, he was constituted sole justice, as he was in 1559 by queen ELIZABETH, who made him likewise the year following lord president of the marches of Wales. He was sent by her majesty in 1562 ambassador into France, and afterwards into Scotland, and in 1563 was elected knight of the garter. His abilities and conduct in the government of Ireland, of which he was three times lord justice, and four times lord deputy, appear to great advantage in his own letters publish'd in the collection of those of his family ; tho' the severity of his administration, and his firmness in levying the cess, gave such offence to the Irish, that they had interest enough to procure him to be recall'd from his post in 1578 : But he held the presidentship of the marches till his death in May, 1586, at the age of fifty-seven, a few months before that of his incomparable son Sir PHILIP SIDNEY, governor of Flushing, who died in October following of his wound received at the battle of Zutphen in Guelderland.

SIR RALPH SADLER, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, was born at Hackney near London, and introduc'd by CROMWELL, earl of Essex, to the court and service of king HENRY VIII. by whom he was appointed gentleman of the privy chamber, and afterwards advanced to be secretary of state, and keeper of the wardrobe, having before been sent by that king in 1540 and 1543 ambassador to Scotland. In 1547 he was employed as treasurer of the army under the duke of Somerset, and at the battle of Musselborough behav'd himself with so much gallantry, that he was created a knight banneret, the last, who was distinguished by that title. He was honour'd by queen ELIZABETH with some commissions upon the most important affairs, and rewarded with the office of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster upon the death of Sir AMBROSE CAVE, which he discharg'd till his own in 1587, in the 80th year of his age.

The chancellor of the Exchequer was Sir WALTER MILDMAI, of an antient family in Essex, the founder of Emanuel College in Cambridge, having been educated in that university. He had been surveyor of the court of augmentations in the reign of HENRY VIII. and knighted at the coronation of EDWARD VI. under whom he was warden of the mint. Upon the death of Sir RICHARD SACKVILLE in 1566, he was appointed chancellor and under-treasurer of the Exchequer, in which post he died in May, 1589, being succeeded in it by Sir JOHN FORTESCU, a

gentleman remarkable for his skill in the Greek and Latin languages, who had been assistant to the queen herself in her studies, and was then master of her wardrobe.

Such was the situation of the court of England, and of Europe, at the time, when the papers of ANTHONY BACON, Esq; begin to cast an additional light upon the common histories of that age.

His father, Sir NICHOLAS BACON, lord keeper of the great seal of England, was descended of an antient family in Suffolk, and born about the year 1510. He was educated at Corpus Christi or Bennet College in Cambridge, where he afterwards founded six scholarships, and contributed 200 pounds towards erecting a new chapel. Having pursued his studies in the law at Grays Inn, he was, in 1537, at twenty-seven years of age, before he had practised his profession, appointed solicitor of the court of Augmentation. His next promotion was that of attorney of the court of Wards in 1546, the last year of HENRY VIII. for whom, upon the dissolution of the monasteries in 1539, he drew up an excellent scheme, though never executed, for a seminary of ministers of state, by the foundation of a college for the study of the civil law, and the purity of the Latin and French tongues, in which young men of the most eminent parts being educated should some of them be sent with the ambassadors abroad, and train'd up in the knowledge of foreign affairs, while others should be appointed to write the history of all embassies, treaties, and other foreign transactions, and of all arraignments and public tryals at home^f. Upon the accession of queen ELIZABETH to the crown, and the refusal of Dr. NICOLAS HEATH, archbishop of York and lord chancellor, to concur with her majesty's measures, as he had done with those of her father and brother, the great seal was taken from him, and given by patent to Sir NICOLAS BACON, with the title of lord keeper, which had before no dignity nor authority annexed to it, his predecessors in it not being empower'd to hear any causes, or to preside in the house of lords, but only to put the seal to such writs or patents, as pass'd of course, the seal continuing in their hands but for a short space. But Sir NICOLAS was the first lord keeper, who was invested with all the powers of a lord chancellor; and his not being rais'd to the latter title arose perhaps from himself; for as he was one of the most learned, most pious, and wisest men of the nation, so he retain'd in all his greatness a modesty equal to his other virtues, and which rarely accompanies such a distinction of fortune and merit^g. His zeal for the protestant religion rendered him extremely jealous of the succession of the queen of Scots to the crown of England, and in consequence of this more favourable to the title of the house of Suffolk, in the children of EDWARD earl of Hertford by the lady CATHARINE GREY. And being suspected of having some concern in the tract written by Mr. JOHN HALES, clerk of the Hanaper, in support of that title, he fell under the displeasure of queen ELIZABETH, who, in November, 1564, restrain'd him from access to court, and intermeddling in any other business than that of chancery, and would, at the instigation of the earl of Leicester, have transferred the great seal from him to Sir ANTHONY BROWN, who had been lord chief justice of the Common Pleas in queen MARY's time, if the attachment of the latter to the popish religion had not prevented his acceptance

^f BURNET's History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 259. 2d edit.

^g Id. vol. ii p. 380, 2d Edit.
of

of it. But the interest of secretary CECIL, who was thought privy likewise to Mr. HALE's Book, tho' he conceal'd it from the queen, prevailed to keep his brother-in-law the lord keeper in his post, which he enjoyed twenty years with an unblemish'd reputation, till his death, at his house call'd York-Place near Charing-cross on the 20th of February 1571, being interr'd on the 9th of March following, in the cathedral of St. Paul's, where a monument was erected for him, destroyed by the fire of London in September 1666. He was twice married, and by his first wife, JANE daughter of WILLIAM FERNELEY, of West Creting in Suffolk, esq; had issue Sir NICHOLAS BACON, his eldest son; NATHANIEL, the second; EDWARD, the third, and three daughters, ELIZABETH, married to Sir ROBERT D'OYLEY, and afterwards to Sir HENRY NEVILLE, ambassador to HENRY IV. from queen ELIZABETH; ANNE, married to Sir HENRY WOODHOUSE, and the third to Sir FRANCIS WINDHAM, and afterwards to Sir ROBERT MANSFIELD. His second wife was ANNE, the second of the four daughters of Sir ANTHONY COOK^a of Giddy-Hall in Essex, tutor to king EDWARD VI. the first, MILDRED, being married to the lord treasurer BURGHLEY, as the third, ELIZABETH, was first to Sir THOMAS HOBBY, and then to JOHN lord RUSSELL, son and heir of FRANCIS earl of BEDFORD, baron of parliament by writ in the life-time of his father; and the fourth, to Sir HENRY KILLIGREW.

Lady BACON, as well as her sisters, was uncommonly skill'd in the learned languages, as appears from her translation into English of the excellent *Apology*, in Latin, of Dr. JEWELL Bishop of Salisbury for the Church of England; which was published in 1564 for common use, by archbishop PARKER, with some additions of his own: And she frequently introduces Greek as well as Latin into her letters, sometimes with a view of secrecy, but more commonly from the custom of that age, wherein such an intermixture of languages had less the air of pedantry and affectation, than it would have in the present. She was very strict in the duties of piety, and inclin'd to the principles of the puritans, to whom her husband had not been thought unfavourable: but her temper seems to have been severe and peevish, especially in the latter years of her life, when it was probably affected by her ill health; and her advices and remonstrances to her elder son ANTHONY were generally delivered in a style of authority and terms of reproach, which rendered them less acceptable and effectual, than otherwise they might have been. Besides this son she had FRANCIS, born at York-Place on the 22d of January 1569, and afterwards known to the world by the offices of solicitor and attorney-general, lord keeper and lord chancellor, which he held with less advantage to his reputation, than he has gain'd by his various writings, which deservedly rank him among the greatest and most universal genius's in his own or any other age or country.

ANTHONY BACON, esq; was born in the year 1558, and educated at Trinity College, in Cambridge, while Dr. WHITTOFT, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was master of it; being matriculated in the university on the same day with his brother FRANCIS, June 10, 1573^b, where they both prosecuted

^a He died June 11th 1576, and was interr'd in the chapel at Rumsford.

^b From the register of the university of Cambridge.

their studies with great application, tho' neither of them had the advantage of a good constitution of body, their father having been much affected with the gout and stone. Mr. ANTHONY BACON in particular was early subject to rheumatic disorders and other infirmities, and at fourteen years of age was in danger of losing both his eyes; and from that time his frequent indispositions oblig'd him to submit himself to an almost constant course of medical discipline^k. The time, which he spent at Trinity College, does not appear; but he probably did not continue there longer than his brother FRANCIS, who had not only left that university, but was in France, in 1577^l. The death of his father in February 1577^m put him in possession of a good estate in the counties of Hertfordshire and Middlesex, besides what he was intitled to after the decease of his mother, who was to enjoy that of Gorhambury near St. Alban's, where the lord keeper her husband, had built a seat, the expences of which between the first day of March 1563 and the last of September 1568, amounted to 3126 poundsⁿ, and where he entertain'd queen ELIZABETH from Saturday the 18th of May 1577 before supper till the Wednesday following after dinner, in so magnificent a manner, that it appears from the particular charges, that the whole cost his lordship no less than 577 pounds, besides a cup presented to her majesty^o. It was in this visit, that upon the queen's observing to him, that the house was too small for him, he made this memorable answer; "Madam, my house is not too little for me; but your majesty has made me too big for my house."

The rental of Mr. ANTHONY BACON's lands in Hertfordshire and Middlesex, taken on the 22d of March 1579^p, shews, that he was then possessed of the manors of Abbotsbury, Minchinbury, and Hores in the parish of Barley in Hertfordshire, and of Colney Chapel, the farm of the manor of the priory of Redburn, the site and demesnes of the manor of Redburn, and the farm of Charings; all in that county, with the woods in Brent Heath, and Brightfrith woods, and Merydan meads, and the farm of Pinner-stoke in Middlesex. But he was engaged soon after his father's death in a dispute with his half-brother NATHANIEL, which was referr'd to the lord Treasurer BURGHLEY his uncle^q.

He began his travels in 1579, at the age of twenty-one^r, and resided for some time at Paris, where, at the desire of the lord treasurer BURGHLEY, who wrote to him for that purpose, he contracted and cultivated an intimate acquaintance with that dangerous traitor Dr. WILLIAM PARRY^s, a civilian, of North-Wales, who had been condemned for breaking open the chamber of Mr. HUGH HARE in the Inner Temple, and having obtain'd a pardon from the queen, went to Italy and France, whence he sent intelligence to the lord treasurer; but after his return to England, was in 1585 executed for a design to kill her majesty^t. The earl of Leicester, who was always in an opposite faction to the lord treasurer, being informed of this familiarity between Mr. BACON and Dr. PARRY, to whom the former

^k Letter of Mr. ANTHONY BACON, to Mr. BARKER of Shrewsbury, April 17, 1597. Vol. xv. fol. 109.

^l Life of lord chancellor BACON by Mr. MALLETT, 6 edit. 1740. 8vo.

^m MSS of ANTHONY BACON, esq; Vol. i. fol. 5.

ⁿ Ibid fol. 9.

^o Ibid fol. 44.

^p Ibid fol. 10, 11, 12.

^q Letter to Mr. BARKER, ubi supra.

^r Letter of Mr. ANTHONY BACON to the earl of Essex. Sept 11; 1596. Vol. xiii. fol. 21.

^s STRYPE's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. iii. ch. 31.

sometimes lent money¹, complain'd to the queen of Mr. BACON's conduct in that point; in which the lord treasurer satisfied her majesty, engaging, that his nephew should not be shaken either in religion or loyalty by his conversation with PARRY².

After Mr. BACON's arrival at Paris, he wrote frequently to Sir FRANCIS WAL-
SINGHAM, secretary of state, who in his answer dated from the court on the 1st
of August 1580³, acknowledg'd the receipt of his letters, excusing his not having
done it before. "But I know, *says he*, you are of judgment to consider, how
"greatly I am otherways entertained with business; and wish you not to be there-
"fore discouraged from continuing your writing; for your letters are very wel-
"come unto me." Sir FRANCIS approv'd likewise of his design to visit the
Towns upon the Loire; and wrote to him again on the 19th of the same month
from his house at Barn Elms in Surrey, to thank him for his favours and courti-
sies to his servant, the bearer of that letter, and for his writing so often to him;
desiring him to continue it, and to make him partaker of such particulars, as he
should learn in those parts, whither he had withdrawn himself⁴. Sir FRANCIS
WALSINGHAM's servant was probably Mr. NICHOLAS FAUNT, one of his secretaries,
and under the following reign, in the beginning of the year 1605, considerable
enough to be offer'd the post of resident with the States General, then discharg'd by
Mr. RALPH WINWOOD⁵. He pass'd thro' Paris about the end of August 1580, with
letters to the English ambassador at that court, and afterwards proceeded to Ger-
many and Italy, from both which countries he corresponded with Mr. BACON;
who, about the middle of August 1580, retired to Bourges in Berry. Here he
resided many months, continuing still his correspondence with secretary WAL-
SINGHAM; who in a letter from the court at St. James's on the 25th of March
1581⁶, taking notice of Mr. BACON's having express'd to him the small content-
ment, which he receiv'd from his residence in that city, as a place very corrupt,
as well in respect of religion, as in conversation of civil life, and his inclination
to remove to Geneva, as the better soil for both these respects, Sir FRANCIS greatly
approv'd of his determination in that point, "agreeable, *says he*, to your natural
"disposition, and answerable to the good opinion, that is conceived of you. The
"danger in truth is great, that we are subject unto in lying in the company of the
"worse sort: In natural bodies evil airs are avoided, and infection shunned of
"them, that have any regard to their health. Otherwise by reason of the sym-
"pathy, that is between natural bodies, the one would easily corrupt, and the
"other would be as easily corrupted by the other. There is not so probable a
"reason for the corruptions, that may grow to the mind of one from the mind
"of another; but the danger is far greater, and the effects, we see, more frequent;
"for the number of evil disposed in mind is greater than the number of sick in
"body; and as the mind is infinite, so is the infection, that cometh from the
"mind, not to be limited or bounded with any certain compass of place. Many,
"that are far off, are very much inflamed by the heat of that fire. Then they,

¹ I find a note of Dr. PARRY's to Mr. BACON, for fifty French crowns borrow'd Aug. 1. 1580, Vol. i. fol. 125.

² Mr. BACON's letter to the earl of Essex, ubi *supra*.

³ Vol. i. fol. 16.

⁴ Ibid fol. 15.

⁵ Sir HENRY NEVILLE's letter to Mr. WINWOOD, 11 March 1605. WINWOOD's Memorials, Vol. ii. p. 198.

⁶ Ibid fol. 52.

“ that are nigh, cannot but burn, unless they have some very extraordinary preservation, surpassing the nature of the salamander. For tho’ the well-disposed will remain some good space without corruption, yet time, I know not how, worketh a wound into him, as in time the salamander will burn. Which weakness of ours considered, and easiness of nature, apt to be deceived, look’d into, they do best provide for themselves, that separate themselves, as far as they can, from the bad, and draw as nigh to the good, as by any possibility they may attain unto. And this disposition being found in you, cannot but be well liked of all, that love you, and as greatly wish’d to be continued with increase; whereof as they shall have great cause to rejoice, so it will be to me no small pleasure.” Sir FRANCIS then observes, that he had been inform’d, that Mr. BACON finding sometimes some little alteration in his body, tending, as he conceiv’d, to an indisposition, he too easily and too often gave himself to the taking of physick, “ *a thing*, adds he, which as I have by experience found hurtful in my self, when I was of your years, so you shall find in time many incommodities, if you do not in time break it off. Your years will better wear out any little indisposition, by good order of exercise and abstinence, with some other little moderation in diet, than abide to be corrected by physick, the use whereof altereth nature much, yea maketh a new nature, if it be without great cause used in younger years. And therefore if it be so, that you do take any such order with yourself, you shall do well to leave it, and by charging nature with her own offices, rather choose to make her strong, than to weaken her; which undoubtedly you shall, if you hold on any such course.”

The correspondence of Mr. BACON, whose character, family and fortune, as well as curiosity and attention to public affairs, gave him peculiar advantages in informing himself of the state of France at that critical time, could not but be highly acceptable to a secretary of state so devoted to all the duties of his office, as Sir FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM is universally acknowledg’d to have been; tho’ the public is less acquainted with the particulars of his conduct in it, than might be expected from the greatness and variety of the scenes of business, which pass’d thro’ his hands. But it is not improbable, that the secrecy of the management of his intelligence both domestic and foreign prevented posterity from being acquainted with the detail of it. However, I shall give, as a supplement to the little, which is already known of it, the substance of a paper, which I find among those of Mr. BACON^a, intitled, *A note of special services perform’d by EDWARD BURNHAM, for her majesty, at the commandment and appointment of the right honourable Sir FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM, knt. her majesty’s principal secretary and my honourable master.* Mr. BURNHAM, who is sometimes mentioned in the SIDNEY papers^b, went, in the year 1577, by the secretary’s order, into Picardy in France, to Calais, Boulogne, Montreuil, Abbeville, and Amiens, to see and learn what French forces were there levied to enter the Low Countries; and at his return pass’d thro’ Licques, where he had a conference with Monsieur de Licques, with whom he had an acquaintance before; and another conference with Monsieur de la Motte, governor of Graveling. This secret journey was perform’d before the Duke of ANJOU, brother of HENRY III. of France, made his first voyage into the Low Countries; and Mr. BURNHAM brought back a relation of the state of things

^a Vol. iv. p. 234.

^b Vol. i. p. 302, 331, 369.

agreeable to the secretary's instructions, with which both he and the queen herself were extremely satisfied.

After this, when the lord COBHAM and secretary WALSINGHAM were sent by her majesty in 1578 in the Low Countries, Mr. BURNHAM was dispatch'd by the secretary to Paris to Sir AMIAS PAULET, the queen's ambassador there, and thence to Rheims in Champagne, in order to see and learn what ill-affected subjects of her majesty were there, where he ventured so far, as to confer with Dr. ALAN, afterwards made a cardinal; and other Englishmen, equally averse to the religion and government of their own country. Thence he went to the camp of Don JOHN of AUSTRIA, then besieging Limburg, and continued in it fifteen days, till that city was taken. In this hazardous situation he concealed himself under the protection of JOHN BAPTISTA DE MONTY, to whom he had brought a letter of recommendation from an Italian gentleman at Paris, pretending himself to be a gentleman of his cornet of horse. After he had observed the state of that camp, and the enemies garrison-towns through which he passed, he carried the relation, which he had drawn up; to the Lord COBHAM and the secretary, then at Antwerp.

About half a year after the death of Don JOHN of Austria, which happen'd on the 1st of October 1578, Mr. BURNHAM was sent by the secretary into the camp of the prince of Parma, the successor of Don JOHN, to observe in what situation things were at that prince's entrance into the government, and how his highness was lik'd of the nobility, soldiers and commonalty; of which, at his return, he drew up a relation, approv'd of by the queen and the secretary.

Upon the first news of the death of cardinal HENRY king of Portugal in 1680, when it was doubtful, whether Don ANTONIO, prior of Crato, or PHILIP II. were in possession of that kingdom, and the former had sent to queen ELIZABETH, JOHN RODERIGO DE ZENZA, Mr. BURNHAM was dispatch'd by the secretary, by her majesty's order, into Portugal, to see in what state that country then was. He continued in Lisbon for that purpose 22 days, in the disguise of a servant to a factor of Mr. BIRD a merchant; and was for three months expos'd to continual danger, being strictly examined at several places, particularly by the Conde de Lemos, at the time when the account came of ARTHUR lord GREY of Wilton's having put to the sword the Spaniards, who had landed in Ireland. And his danger was the greater, as Don BERNARDINO DE MENLOZA, the Spanish ambassador in England, had received some intimation of his voyage to Portugal, and sent over a description of his stature, countenance, and particular marks, to know him by; and he had embark'd but twelve hours in his return to England, before orders arriv'd from the court of Spain for his apprehension.

For these services, as well as the several journies, in which he had been employ'd by the secretary to the duke of ANJOU, WILLIAM prince of Orange, CHARLES DE CROY prince de Chimay, and the states of the Low Countries, he requested some extraordinary gratification,

Mr.

Mr. FAUNT, with whom Mr. BACON contracted a great intimacy and friendship, while they were both at Paris, having received a letter from him, while himself was at Francfort, return'd an answer to it on the 26th of May 1581, after his arrival at Venice on the 3d of that month, giving him an account of his journey thro' Germany, where he had spent three months and half, and seen the courts of the duke of Bavaria, the archduke FERDINAND, uncle to the emperor, and the elector Palatine, and had since his coming to Italy resided twelve days at Padua, in order to settle Mr. KNIGHTLEY, son of Sir RICHARD KNIGHTLEY of Northamptonshire, in that university. He wrote again to Mr. BACON on the 8th of July following from Padua, where he had then spent two months, intimating his design to travel about the end of that month towards Tuscany, and to make some stay at Sienna. He mentions the names of several Englishmen then at Padua, Mr. SPENCER, Mr. ARTHUR THROCKMORTON, son of Sir NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON, Mr. GUICCIARDIN, who was to return shortly into England, Mr. TOOLEY, Mr. MIDDLETON, Mr. BRUNINGE, Mr. RENDAL, and Mr. KNIGHTLEY; and at Venice Mr. EDWARD UNION, and Mr. KIRTON; and that Mr. HENRY NEVILLE was expected in Italy out of Germany. He observes, that if Mr. BACON should yet have any suspicion of the danger of travelling into Italy, he could assure him, that the state of Venice was more secure for all strangers than any part of France. "I hear, *adds he*, it is so whither I am going. At the least I know, that generally with good government for the point, that is most doubted of, there is no danger any way. The nature of the Italian is different from that of the Frenchman, who is thro' his lightness more inquisitive and hot, than courteous and wise in his conversation. The other, among other notes of wisdom and discretion, hath this worthy commendation, that he will never urge any man to speak of his religion, though he know him of the contrary to his, but rather seek to shun that kind of discourse with a stranger. I speak of the best sort; and with the other there is no conversation."

Mr. BACON had before this remov'd from Bourges to Geneva, where he was lodg'd in the house of that eminent divine, THEODORE BEZA, who had so great an esteem for him, that out of regard to him, as well as to the learning and piety of lady BACON his mother, he dedicated to her his *Meditations* ⁴.

Soon after his arrival at Geneva, he wrote on the 27th of June 1581 to Mr. FAUNT, who received his letter at Padua on the 29th of July, whence on the 3d of August he return'd an answer, expressing his satisfaction, that Mr. BACON was lodg'd with so good an host and an hostess as BEZA and his wife, to whom Mr. FAUNT himself was no stranger, having liv'd for some time with Mr. PEROT, their next neighbour. The only news, which he sent in this letter, was, that the old empress was coming from Germany, thro' the territories of Venice, in her passage to Portugal, where she was to assume the government for her brother the king of Spain; and that the duke of Medina Celi was look'd for about the middle of the next month with great pomp at Milan, as governor of that city; and that an

³ Vol. i. fol. 53.
Vol. xiii. fol. 21.

⁴ Letter of Mr. ANTHONY BACON to the earl of Essex, 11 Sept. 1596,

embassador from Turkey was daily expected at Venice, who was to be received with extraordinary solemnity.

Mr. FAUNT wrote again to Mr. BACON on the 16th of August following, from Pisa, desiring to see Mr. BACON before the latter pass'd the Alps, as he then seem'd inclin'd to do *.

The negotiation of marriage between the queen and the duke of Anjou and Alençon, and her majesty's desire, that a league offensive and defensive should be previously concluded between England and France, rendering it necessary for secretary WALSINGHAM to take a journey to Paris, in the latter end of July 1581, he wrote from thence on the 3d of September an answer to Mr. BACON's letter of the 13th of August †, in which the latter had mentioned his having before sent a journal of his travels between Bourges and Geneva, which had not come to the secretary's hands. The bearer of Sir FRANCIS's letter was to inform both Mr. BACON and Monsieur BEZA of the cause of his coming to Paris, and of the success of his negotiation.

Mr. FAUNT in his return from Italy passing thro' Geneva, was with Mr. BACON there in the latter end of November 1581 ‡, and proceeding to Paris, wrote from thence a letter to him on the 4th of February 1582 §, informing him, that he expected a full answer from the English ambassadort here, concerning the passport, which Mr. BACON had requested. This ambassador was Sir HENRY COBHAM, descended of a noble family ¶ in Kent, and from his tenderest years dedicated to her majesty by his father, who however not daring to prefer him to her service during the reign of her sister MARY, sent him to the earl of Devonshire, that he might be in place to her highness's liking. Upon her advancement to the throne, Mr. COBHAM was made one of the gentlemen-pensioners, and afterwards employ'd by her to the emperor **, and the king of Spain, in the end of March 1571 †, and again the year 1575, to persuade that monarch to change his measures in the Low Countries from war to peace **. He succeeded Sir AMIAS PAULET as ambassador to the Court of France in November 1579 ‡. Mr. FAUNT in his letter speaks of his temper and behaviour, especially to the friends of Sir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, with some severity. “ You must not, *says he*, marvel, that my lord ambassador doth not make too much hast to dispatch for you, seeing he is changed from ill to worse in pleasuring any, that know him, as you do. And if heretofore he cared little for me, and such, as belong to my master [secretary WALSINGHAM] now he is become so stout and strange towards all, especially such, in whom he may in any respect conceive jealousy, that he hath been at odds with all the honest gentlemen my master favoureth, even to have chased them away ; and

* Vol. i. fol. 55.

† Ibid. fol. 56.

‡ There is a note of his dated at Geneva, Nov. 23, 1581, for twenty crowns, borrow'd of Mr. BACON, Vol. i. fol. 24.

§ Ibid. fol. 47.

¶ Collection of letters from the original manuscripts of many princes, great personages, and

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statesmen, by LEONARD HOWARD, D. D. p. 340. Edit. London, 1753, in 4to.

** Ibid. p. 353.

† Sir DUDLEY DIGGES's Complete Ambassador, p. 71. edit. London, 1655. fol.

‡ CAMDEN's ELIZ. p. 266. Edit. Lugd. Batav. 1625.

§ Dr. HOWARD's Collection, p. 353.

" for those, that yet remain, he hath ever in fuspicion, and ufeth those after a
 " ftrange fort. And therefore I am glad it was not your refolution to come hither in
 " his time (tho' in the forefaid refpect you might have matched him well enough)
 " where I perceive you fhould have found fmall contentation in refpect of that you
 " may in thefe parts. I doubt not but before the end of your travel, if then you
 " please to come hither, you fhall find a new, and I dare fay not worfe, in his
 " place, for I think you have enough of this." He then obferves, that he had
 heard, that Sir AMIAS PAULET * was newly become a courtier in England,
 not having been at court fince his return from France above ten days; and
 it was hoped, that he fhould be appointed fecretary of ftate, which poft was then
 vacant by the death of Dr. WILSON in the June preceeding. " I have not yet,
 " fays Mr. FAUNT, received any letter out of England, and therefore do write
 " no more than I did of Monsieur [the duke of Anjou] his being, but that
 " here is fome fpeech, that he is towards his voyage to Flanders. I think you
 " have heard of a great flaughter of Englifh at Groningen in Frifeland by the
 " malecontents; that Mr. NOREYS is fore wounded, but liveth ftill; the death
 " death of LA NOUE †; the coming of the Spaniards and Italians into the Low-
 " Countries; Don ANTONIO [of Portugal] his being at Tours, where he stamp-
 " eth his coin, and is to meet with STROZZI ‡ at Nantes. From England of the
 " taking of the earl of Defmond there, Baltinglafe in Ireland, and the death of
 " SAUNDERS § there." He adds, that the French king was the next day to end
 his pilgrimage to Chartres, whither he and his queen had gone on foot, in order
 to procure them a young fon; during which journey thither, the queen having
 beftowed alms upon an old woman, among other poor perfons of that fex, the
 latter ask'd her majefty, to what place ſhe was going thus in pilgrimage, and for
 what reafon? and being answered to Chartres, after a fon or child, " O Lord!
 " replied ſhe, Madam, I am forry for your pains; for the prieft of Chartres, that
 " was wont to make children, faire les enfans, is dead long; and did you never
 " hear of it?"

His next letter to Mr. BACON was on the 8th of the fame month *, in which he
 complains of his not having yet been able to obtain a paſſport for him from the
 embaffador, who behav'd both to Mr. FAUNT and Mr. KNIGHTLEY with a cold-
 neſs, which furprifed them. But Mr. KNIGHTLEY was to return to England with
 Mr. SIDNEY † within two days after. Mr. FAUNT takes notice in this letter,
 that the French king had been then at Paris fix or ſeven days, and was ſaid to in-
 tend to go to Blois that ſpring: That lord Percy was ftill at Paris; and that the

* He was governor of Jerſey, and in 1585 had the cuſtody of the queen of Scots committed to him, at whoſe tryal he was one of the commiſſioners, and in 1587 was made chancellor of the order of the garter, dying the year following.

† FRANCIS de la NOUE, ſur-nam'd *Bras de fer*. He did not die till 1591, being kill'd at the ſiege of Lambele in Bretagne. See his *Life* written by Monſieur Amyrauld, and printed in 1661 in 4to.

‡ PHILIP STROZZI, ſeigneur d'EPERNAY, Colonel of the French infantry, and ſon of PETER

STROZZI, marſhal of France.

§ DR. NICHOLAS SAUNDERS. PITS ſays, that he died about 1580; CAMDEN in 1583; but EDWARD RISHTON, his friend, ſays with more exactneſs in 1581. See Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 206. 2d edit.

* Vol. i. fol. 48.

† ROBERT SIDNEY, ſecond ſon of Sir HENRY SIDNEY, and younger brother of Sir PHILIP SIDNEY. He was created in 1603 lord SIDNEY, and in 1618 earl of Leiceſter.

last courier out of England had brought news, that the duke of Anjou was upon his departure thence towards Flushing; but that the French said, that he would come first into France.

Mr. BACON's passport was soon after procur'd and sent to him; as Mr. FAUNT inform'd him in his letter of the 12th of February 158 $\frac{1}{2}$, in which he likewise acquainted him, that it was held for certain, that the Duke of Anjou was at Antwerp; but what the success thereof would be, was not known. "The duke de Mayenne", *says he*, will be here within these two days. BIRON^{*} is already arrived; and most of the chief of France, with all the governors, are to repair hither shortly; to what end is not yet known. The king will to Blois after Shrovetide, and there the queen of Navarre shall presently be expected. This day was the marriage of Monsieur de la VALETTE^{*} (which pass'd by Lyons when we were there) solemnised at the Louvre; and to-morrow doth the duke of Guise feast the king and all the court; and the marriage of his brother, the Mignon, now duke d'Espèrnon, shall shortly also be finished[†].

Mr. BACON was still at Geneva, not having received his passport, when he wrote on the 9th of February 158 $\frac{1}{2}$ to Mr. FAUNT, who upon the receipt of his letter of the 26th answer'd it on the 1st of March^{*}, informing him, that two of the earl of Shrewsbury's sons arrived the day before at Paris; and that there was a report, that not only the English, but likewise the greatest part of other strangers, were chased out of Italy, by reason of the king of Spain's levying of men in those parts, and of the resolution taken to persecute heretics by all means possible. That the Spanish troops had already begun to march towards Flanders, "where there will, *says he*, be some-what done this summer or never. For first the Spaniard employeth all his forces that way. And the states on the other side are presently in treaty with Monsieur at Antwerp^{*}, with whom are arrived out of England in embassy the earl of Leicester, the lord Hunsdon, and many other great ones with them. It is written hither since their arrival, that the States General shall hold a council there on the 25th of this present, where, among other articles, the first is sure to be the utter rejection of the Spaniard, and to declare him to have no title or claim to any of those countries, and after the said meeting presently to intitle Monsieur, &c. who shall with like expedition recover the countries of Hainault and Artois yet had by the Prince of Parma. Great solemnity hath been used at the receipt of Monsieur at Antwerp, with orations made unto him at divers places and times. The princes of Germany are called to this assembly; and

^{*} CHARLES de Lorraine second son of FRANCIS de Lorraine, duke of Guise, and of ANNE d'ESTE FERRARE. He was born March 26, 1556, and died October 4, 1611, at the age of 64. He had been at the head of the league against Henry III. and Henry IV.

[†] ARMOND GONTAULT de Biron, Marshal of France, father of the duke de Biron, who was beheaded. The Marshal was kill'd at the siege of Espèrney in July 1592.

^{*} BERNARD de Nogaret de la Valette, brother

of the duke d'Espèrnon. He married ANNE de Batarnay du Bouchage, and he was governor of the Marquisate of Saluces.

[†] The duke was offered in marriage by HENRY III. his sister-in-law CHRISTINE, sister of his queen LOUISE de Lorraine, and younger daughter of NICHOLAS de Lorraine, count de Vaudemont, and duke de Mercœur.

^{*} Vol. i. fol. 49.

^{*} The Duke of Anjou, made his entry into that city on the 19th of February 1584.

“ to be short, they seem to bestir themselves. But for all I can see, I will not change my note, but pray God, that Monsieur return not again into England (as it is reported he will shortly) for all is but treason. If we feel no other smart hitherto, it is enough, that her majesty is made to spend her treasure in this order, and to be drawn in the open cause alone. On the other side, the queen mother departeth hence within these four days towards Moncereau beside St. Jean d’Angeli, there to treat with the king of Navarre and prince of Condé, whilst STROZZI and his companions, under the pretence of aiding DON ANTONIO, have great store of ordnance from hence drawn into Normandy, which is thought shall be used in some exploit against Rochelle. True it is, that POPELINGERE, that hath so long remain’d there, and was so highly accounted of the magistrates, being sent hither about their affairs, hath so played the traitor with them, that he dare not return thither again, but liveth here at the queen mother’s devotion. And of late there was a hot and strong alarm given them thro’ the burning of divers houses in the fairest street of their town, by what means other than some pretended treachery, is not yet known. The king in his mother’s absence will remain at St. Germain en Laye, and the dukes de Guise and de Mayenne go forthwith toward Picardy, as it is given out. The court hath not been so great of long time, as it is presently; but shortly it will be lessened.”

With regard to the news out of England, he writes, that her majesty was in health, and after having taken leave of the duke of Anjou at Dover was return’d to Greenwich; and that there were general musters and training of soldiers in all parts. “ It is thought, *added he*, for certain, that Sir AMIAS PAULET is secretary, or shall be shortly; whereby I fear (under hope to prefer me in haste) some of my friends will wish me where I would not be so soon, seeing it is most likely, that my master will furnish him with some of his men. But I have somewhat acquainted you with my mind touching all such service; and tho’ I am constrained to return, yet will I either procure some farther time to spend abroad, or else some more private and solitary life. As I was about to break off, mine old friend PISEUM telleth me, that there are ten thousand men levied secretly about Poictou and Gascony, to surprize the king of Navarre, and prince of Condé, or do some other mischief thereabouts, whilst the queen mother is in conference with them. This fellow being of some judgment in these matters is assured, that as well here as in Scotland, and in Flanders by Monsieur, there is a great piece of treason in hand. It is said, that there is newly come forth a protestation of the true religion in Scotland against the Romish, procured by D’AUBIGNY^b, to keep them still in good opinion of him, till he hath wrought his purpose, for the which he was sent thither. Here is no talk but of murdering, and combats every day by the courties, and that the pulpits ring against her majesty and country for the death of the Jesuits, whereof there is a discourse newly reprinted with the king’s privilege, and in every street is cryed by those, that sell pamphlets, *Les cruautés d’Angleterre*, notwithstanding our new league, &c.”

^b ESME STUART, earl of Lenox, cousin german to the king of Scotland, a zealous papist, born in France, and dependant upon the house of Guise.

Mr. FAUNT wrote another letter from Paris on the 12th of the same month of March 158 $\frac{1}{2}$, wherein he acquainted Mr. BACON, that he had within the last three days received two letters from the English court, in which his master, secretary WALSINGHAM, commanded him to return with all expedition; which gave him some concern, as he was desirous to have spent more time abroad, and particularly in the company of Mr. BACON. That he had heard out of England, that the earl of Leicester was return'd from Antwerp, whither he had gone with Monsieur in embassy, his lordship arriving at the court at Greenwich on Shrove-tuesday; but the principal matter, which he had brought, was not yet known, beside the receiving of Monsieur with great solemnity and preparation; the creating of him duke of Brabant, and count of Flanders, with his oath of fidelity to them, and that of the States of obedience to him, and his being in his way to Ghent, where he was to be received in the same manner, and afterwards begin to attack and expel the enemy. But that no great assurance could be yet had of the success of this, since all persons at Paris, who knew any thing, discours'd differently, and no man saw their designs plainly. That Monsieur VILLEROY de NEUFVILLE pass'd thro' that city that morning, being sent from Monsieur first to the king, and then to the queen mother, who was on her way to the king of Navarre. That the king resided most at St. Germain's during his mother's absence; which occasion'd nothing to be talked of in Paris but concerning England, Flanders, and the King of Spain's preparations in Italy. "The count de Borissac, adds Mr. FAUNT, hath an enterprize to America with three thousand men, who with STROZZI for Don ANTONIO, I fear, will meet together about Rochelle. But hereof you shall hear more certainly, if you be forward in your journey. I hear, that the greatness of D'AUBIGNY in Scotland is likely to breed some stir shortly in England, for the king beginneth to drive from the court and council such noblemen, as favour most her majesty's proceedings. But of all these matters the fruits will appear in their likeness now this spring-time, seeing the seeds cannot for the season stay long under-ground. The handling of our nation in Italy is daily worse and worse; for it is advertised my lord ambassador, that the inquisition is newly established in the state of Venice and through all Italy against strangers, especially our nation. It is expected, that all the gentlemen in Venice and Padua are Prisoners; that the great prior, an English fugitive there, and many other catholics at Rome, are clapt up, and generally all other English, if the least suspicion can be gathered, that they have other than papists to their friends in England. For LISTER and others in the inquisition at Rome, it will go very hard: but on EOLEBY and DUTTON there is like to be execution done, if already it be not. I fear, that Mr. MAYCOT is the third time fast in his voyage from Genoa to Venice; for we can hear no news of him, tho' I did write from hence at my first arrival to get him away, by one means or other, out of that country; and of late my master hath written for his return. But it is too late, for we hear, that all the passages are stopt, so that no English can get from thence; and the letters, that be sent them, being assuredly intercepted, must needs do them more harm than good; which maketh me to abstain from writing to many there, as I have occasion. But the lord deliver them at his pleasure. In my judgment, the cause hereof is the king of Spain's preparations there to do us no good, which he would not have any way discovered."

The last letter, which Mr. FAUNT wrote before he left Paris to Mr. BACON, then at Tholouse, was on the 17th of March, 158 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^d, acquainting him, that it had been given out in that city for six days past, and was then reported upon some authority, that Monsieur de la Noue, the brave French protestant officer, was was escap'd out of prison, and safe at Antwerp: The probability of which account was chiefly grounded upon this circumstance, that the gentleman, his keeper, seeing the world to go hard with his party at the arrival of Monsieur in Flanders, and being corrupted by Monsieur de la Noue for 2500 crowns reward, and by a reasonable pension for life, went off with him to Antwerp. "For my part, says Mr. FAUNT, I am yet in some doubt thereof, the news is so good; but yet I hope it is as we would have it. In England of late there hath been a fray between my lord of Oxford and Mr. THOMAS KNEVET^a of the privy chamber, who are both hurt, but my lord of Oxford more dangerously. You know Mr. KNEVET is not meanly beloved in court; and therefore he is not like to speed ill whatsoever the quarrel be. Our ill news of Italy continueth, and there is calling home from thence of all hands, if it be not too late. Here is newly arrived a courier from your parts, that there are entered 600 Spaniards into Avignon; whereat the King seemeth to be greatly disquieted. But I fear, under the pretence of declaring open war between the Spaniards and the French, they mean to entrap the poor princes^b there on both sides."

Mr. FAUNT left Paris on the 22d of March, and some time after his arrival at London wrote a long letter to Mr. BACON on the 15th of April 1582^c, giving him an account of his having waited upon lady BACON, his mother, and his brother FRANCIS, to acquaint them of Mr. BACON's desire of continuing longer abroad. Having then describ'd his own situation in the office, which he had at court, under secretary WALSINGHAM, as by no means agreeable to himself, he proceeds to the state of publick affairs. "You know, says he, that (thanked be God) here is no such change and sudden accidents, as in those parts; neither that safety nor liberty in these days to write of that occureth, as hath been heretofore. All our talk is of the doings in Flanders, from whence we have present news, that the prince [of Orange] is now again upon the amendment since his second bleeding^d; and they say he shall do well. Her majesty had sent Mr. FULK GREVILL^e and Mr. EDWARD NORREYS at several times to visit him; who are both return'd already. There all enterprizes especially depend upon the resolutions in France to be declared at the return of the prince Dauphin to Antwerp, for which purpose he was sent to the court. For Ireland and Scotland I hear no new thing. And here is lately set forth a new proclamation against all jesuits and other priests to declare them traitors so soon as they land, with all such as shall harbour them, restraining the liberty of all travellers, except such as be allowed for some special causes, and be well known; and for the calling home of others within four months upon pain of rebellion; with many other hard

^a Fol. 58.

^b He was afterwards created lord KNEVET of head on the 18th of March 158 $\frac{1}{2}$ at Antwerp, by Escrike. See Wood, Fasti. Oxon. Vol. i. Col. 145. JOHN JAUREGUI, a Biscayan.

^c The king of Navarre and prince of Condé.

^d Afterwards created Lord Brooks.

^e Vol. i. fol. 59.

“ clauses; which is like, if the execution be accordingly, to bring forth some good effects. It is written hither of great credit from a gentleman of Florence, a great personage there, and well affected to our nation, that thro’ our fugitives means, there is great rigour like to be used to any of our country, that shall be found in those parts, being true subjects to her majesty. The lord chief justice of the common pleas DYER ^k is lately deceased, but none yet in his place. We have yet no new secretary, nor any nominated of late. And my lord ambassador is like to stay yet there these ten months, as some think. My lord treasurer since mine arrival hath been very much pained with his old disease [the gout] but is now recovered.”

His next letter was dated from secretary WALSINGHAM’s house in London on the 8th of May 1582 ^l, inclosing one from Mr. FRANCIS BACON to his Brother, and another from the same Gentleman to BEZA. “ For public matters, *says Mr. FAUNT*, all is here as before, without any change or stirring more than accustomed. The prince [of Orange] in Flanders doth well. From monsieur here is lately arrived BACQUEVILLE; but wherefore, you shall hear by the next what I shall learn.”

He writes a much fuller letter on the first of August following ^m, excusing his not having written for above a month before, on account of his absence all that time both from the city and court, and acknowledging the last letters, which he had receiv’d from Mr. BACON, dated at Lyons, March 25, who since that time had remov’d to Montpellier, and to whom a license from her majesty for travelling abroad three years longer had been sent about May. But Mr. FAUNT informs him, that his return was wish’d for by all his friends, especially as he was now prevented from going into Italy. He excuses himself likewise for the infrequency and slightness of his letters, “ since the time, *says he*, serveth not now almost to write any thing from hence into those parts, such search is made of ordinary letters upon any the least suspicion. And how much such a mishap might prejudice me in the place, that I am in, I leave to your good discretion to judge. Otherwise, or if I were assured of your certain being and nearer hand, I may and would better gratify you, than I could ever hitherto. Whereof when I sometimes think, I am not a little grieved, that I cannot make you partaker of such things, as I would not impart to any other, and I know would stand you in stead against your return and after, because you would use him well, as few can do. For I must needs say, that this is home, when all is done; I mean, the place, where I live, and have lived before, yieldeth me more experience, than all my travel hath done. You will say, now that you are returned, you perceive it more. Truth, I do so; but yet where abroad I enjoyed all outward sights and observations, here I see into the inward course of things, and very cabinets of secrecies, indeed not common to many: but withal I will conclude, that when.

^k Sir JAMES DYER, born in Somersetshire, educated at Oxford, Serjeant at Law, and Speaker of the House of Commons in the reign of EDWARD VI. made one of the judges of the Common Pleas by queen MARY, and advanced to be Chief Justice

of that court in the beginning of queen ELIZABETH’s reign. He died at Stowton in Huntingdonshire, on the 24th of March 1582.

^l Vol. i. fol. 60.

^m Fol. 62.

“ the best traveller returneth, he shall find himself far to seek in many things,
 “ whereof being abroad he could not imagine that ever he should need, or might,
 “ by not being forewarned thereof, be driven to remove sometimes too late the
 “ stumbling block, whereunto I see all travellers are subject, howsoever they study to
 “ govern themselves before they return.” He then assures Mr. BACON, that when
 he should be nearer to him, he *would adventure more than he then could by letters* ;
 and that in the mean time he was daily augmenting his store, having already re-
 covered all his writings and books, which he had left behind him in Italy and at
 Francfort; and that whatever he had collected either before or since, should be at
 that gentleman’s disposal.

“ For public matters, *says he*, God be thanked, her majesty is in perfect health,
 “ tho’ of late my lady Stafford near about her hath been dangerously sick of a
 “ lethargy, but is now on the mending hand. We have no unquietness now but
 “ with jesuits and priests, whereof you have heard there is already a very good hand
 “ made of those, that were taken. The rest dare not appear, but cast forth their
 “ pamphlets; but the printer is taken, and their books answered, both that were
 “ written here and abroad, and nothing is left of them but crying afar off, and
 “ secretly.

“ In Scotland also they have been very busy thro’ D’AUBIGNEY’s means,
 “ against whom the ministers have so exclaimed in the king’s presence, that he
 “ yieldeth to all conformity by his subscription and otherwise. And tho’ there be
 “ daily messages thither sent by the duke of Guise, with other practices to cause
 “ troubles; yet, God be thanked, the great part of the nobility, and the whole
 “ commons stand fast in the cause of religion, and withstanding the French.
 “ No particular accident hath happened there of moment since the earl of ANGUS’s
 “ flying hither, with other of that house of the DOUGLAS, whereof the earl of
 “ Morton was the chief.

“ You have long since heard of the going of the lord WILLOUGHBY,* in embassy
 “ from her majesty to the king of Denmark, carrying him the garter, and about
 “ merchants causes of traffic. Mr. WAAD† is gone with him as a follower. We
 “ hear nothing yet of any successor to Sir HENRY COBHAM; but some speech is of
 “ Mr. EDWARD WOTTON‡, or Mr. MIDDLEMORE§. My lord GREY, my lord
 “ deputy of Ireland, is repairing hither, but to return again, none being appoint-
 “ ed in his place, but such as are already there. There is indifferent good quiet-
 “ ness now in that country. LISTER with his sons are return’d from Rome, and
 “ faith there is none yet executed of our English there. Mr. CASTOL¶ is likewise
 “ come from Geneva a good while since, whereof, and of the present state of that
 “ town, you must needs know more certainty than we here: But our advertisements
 “ were, that it is thought the duke of Savoy hath yet some intelligence within;
 “ which appearing by a late attempt, which should have been made by scaling

* PEREGRINE lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby.

† Afterwards Sir WILLIAM WAAD.

‡ Afterwards created lord WOTTON.

§ Mr. HENRY MIDDLEMORE, who had been em-
 ployed abroad in the beginning of the queen’s reign.

¶ Minister of the French church in London.

“ the walls, was prevented¹. And now the Swiss are agreed at the diet of Baden
 “ to make the enemy retire out of the Bailliages of Messieurs de Berne. But hereof,
 “ as also what articles are propounded, you are nearer than we to those parts,
 “ and cannot but receive daily advertisements by *terra firma*, when ours must
 “ attend the winds and weather.

“ Mr. PHILIPS is at Bruges, and Mr. PARRY², your old acquaintance, is pre-
 “ sently to go over. He will, I take it, abide most at Paris. He hath found
 “ good friends in this place.

“ Touching the Low Countries, there is like to be some sharp war out of hand.
 “ The prince of Parma is strong of 17000 men in camp, hath lately taken Oudenarde³,
 “ a town of importance near Ghent, and since Liere⁴, hard by Antwerp, minding
 “ to prosecute his good fortune. Monsieur, the prince of Orange, and States, lie
 “ at Bruges in Flanders, where of late there hath been a notable conspiracy dis-
 “ covered about the killing of those two princes by one SALCEDO⁵, a Spaniard’s
 “ son, tho’ born in France, and the young count EGMONT, with others; the par-
 “ ticularities whereof I think needless to set down, for that it cannot be hidden
 “ from you, it is so notorious.

“ Our English regiments there at variance with the Frenchmen, and among
 “ themselves mutinied for want of pay at Mr. NORREYS’s hands, and thereupon
 “ 300 of them are gone to the enemy. The prince CHIMAY, son to the duke of
 “ ARSCHOT of the chiefeft family of the Low Countries, is of late, by the per-
 “ suasion of his wife and others, become of our religion, and thereupon retired to
 “ Sedan, where the duke of BOUILLON resideth, a place reformed, with all his
 “ family : which is thought will be of some good consequence to those parts, after
 “ his father’s decease.

“ The lord CHENEY and the lord RUSSEL are gone to the Spa.

“ All our Italy gentlemen, as Mr. SPENCER, Mr. MAYCOTT, Mr. CARY, and⁶
 “ others, be now at the diet at Augusta [Augsburg] save Mr. NEVILLE and Mr.
 “ SAVILLE⁷ who be at Paris, whither our gentlemen go daily from hence with

¹ Spon. *histoire de la ville et de l’estat de Geneve*, L. iii. p. 266, 267. 3d edit. Utrecht 1685.

² The traitor mentioned above.

³ It surrender’d to the prince on the 5th of July, 1582. Meteren, *hist. des Pays Bas*, L. xi. fol. 216. verso. edit. de la Haye, 1618. in fol.

⁴ It came into the prince’s hands on the 2d of August, by the treachery of Captain WILLIAM SEMPLE, a Scotfman. *Id. ibid* fol. 217.

⁵ NICOLAS SALCEDO, who, in conjunction with FRANCISCO BAZA, an Italian, and NICOLAS HUGOT, surnam’d LA BORDE, a Wallon, at the instigation of the prince of Parma, on the part of the king of Spain, undertook to kill the duke of Anjou and the prince of Orange. SALCEDO, who was in the service of that duke, and very familiar

with count LAMIRAL d’EGMONT, was seized at Bruges on the 21st of July, 1582, and both he and BAZA confes’d the fact. HUGOT escap’d, but count d’EGMONT was kept prisoner for some time, and at last set at liberty, and return’d with the duke to France. BAZA kill’d himself in prison, on the 30th of July, and SALCEDO was executed at Paris on the 25th of October, being drawn to pieces by four horses. Meteren, fol. 217 verso & 218: See likewise Thuanus, L. xxxv. cap. 16.

⁷ Mr. (afterwards Sir) HENRY SAVILLE, who travell’d in France and other countries in 1578. (*Wood Ath. Oxon.* Vol. i. fol. 465) and is sufficiently known to posterity by his writings and the lectures founded by him.

" licence; as of late Mr. STANLEY *, second son to the earl of Darby, Mr. ANTHONY COOKE, Mr. Secretary WILSON's son, with many others."

With regard to his own situation, Mr. FAUNT observes, that he was, as he used to be, a *continual courtier*, but extremely dissatisfied with the disorders of that court, which has been generally supposed eminent above all others for strictness of manners, and just regard for religion and piety. " The only discontent, *says he*, " I have, is to live where is so little godliness and exercise of religion, so dissolute manners and corrupt conversation generally, which I find to be worse than when " I knew the place first; so general is that defection foretold by the apostle in " these latter days. And this is daily a torment unto me, inasmuch that some- " times (were it not that I remember the duty I owe to my country and him " whom I serve) I am even resolved to rid myself from hence; and therefore do " propound in myself, that being once discharged of these bonds by some law- " ful means, I must for the quietness of my mind settle myself in some private " life, how mean soever it be, as carrying no ambitious mind, or building upon " that hope, which I see to fail many, that have spent twice my years in attendance " for that, which I would not enjoy with so hard conditions for my conscience."

Many of Mr. FAUNT's letters are evidently lost; for in the next of those, which are still extant, dated from the court at Windsor on the 1st of December 1582^a, he says, that this could not be so little as the twelfth, which he had written to Mr. BACON, since his own return to England. He sent this letter by Monsieur MAILLET, who had been deputed by the city of Geneva to England to request a loan of money in their present distress and danger from the duke of Savoy^b. " What success he " hath in his affairs here, *says Mr. FAUNT*, himself can best declare unto you; " and you cannot be unacquainted therewith, who are esteemed not unworthily one " of the special well-wishers of that state, and presently a member thereof. For " my part, as I continually think their preservation to be no small comfort to my " self, and all those, that sincerely affect the glory of God, so can I but only wish, " that where the same profession is in substance of doctrine embraced, there might " in effects worthy thereof appear a sympathy and mutual feeling of their out- " ward estate otherwise; and then no doubt should the mouth of the adversary be " stopped, and the tyrants of the earth compell'd to give testimony to the Lord's " truth, who can at all times, and by infinite ways, without man's help, send " succour unto his afflicted church wheresoever."

He takes notice of her majesty's continuing in perfect health, " whereby, *says he*, is also continued the happy course of our quiet and safety in all prosperous " effects, as before. In Scotland things are not yet brought to so peaceable terms, " as were to be wished; for D'AUBIGNY is not yet departed, having hitherto pre- " tended contrariety of wind and weather to sail toward France; and indeed he " hath been three or four times embarked, and some good way on the sea; but

* WILLIAM STANLEY, who succeeded to the title of earl of Darby, upon the death of his Brother FERDINAND, on the 16th of April 1594. He was knight of the garter, and died Sept. 29, 1642.

^a Vol. i. fol. 63.

^b STRYKE's Annals, vol. iii. p. 88. and Appen- dix. B. i. No. xv, xvi. p. 89.

“ yet prevented again. And now having made suit to stay in the north part of
 “ that realm all this winter, or have liberty to pass this way into Dover, (his
 “ meaning only being to win time, whereby his faction there might be able to
 “ break forth for his assistance and recovery to the place he was in before) it is now
 “ lately granted, that he shall pass thro’ this realm, and his passport already sent
 “ to the king; so that we look daily to hear of his passing this way; which I pray
 “ God may be performed without that danger of broils, that is yet feared will fall
 “ out before his departure. It is appointed, that after he shall be passed the seas,
 “ there shall come two gentlemen in embassy hither from the king, for the
 “ establishing of a more sound and perfect amity between these two crowns,
 “ whereof you shall hear more hereafter.

“ For Ireland, since the lord Grey’s return there is yet no governor sent over.
 “ It is now in consultation, and I think it will be Sir JOHN PERROT^c. Out of
 “ Flanders you have as ordinary advertisements as we; where we hear that the
 “ enemy followeth his happy success in taking of towns and forts: for since the
 “ loss of Oudenarde, he hath gotten now lately Ninove^d, a place of great impor-
 “ tance, with some other holds near unto Brussels, which is thereby put into great
 “ danger. It is said BIRON and the Swisses are now passed the frontiers, and the
 “ most of the great forces ready to embark at Calais, and to pass into Flanders.

“ The Muscovite ambassador hath had an audience here, where he must continue
 “ till after the spring.

“ LA MOTHE FENELON is newly arrived here from France. His errand is to
 “ go into Scotland *pour brâiller les cartes*, and to the Scots queen: but it will be
 “ hardly granted him.

“ Here are come some from the Terçeres, that report how Don ANTONIO should
 “ have taken the Isle of St. Michael again: But sure it is, that there will be some
 “ new stir shortly between the Spaniard and him, if not with other princes in his
 “ behalf. You have heard of the death of Mr. WENTWORTH^e not long since
 “ married to my lord treasurer’s daughter; which to requite, I am sure you have
 “ not heard of the late marriage in court between the earl of ORMONDE^f, an
 “ Irish lord, and Mrs. ELIZABETH SHEFFIELD. Here is no speech of any to go
 “ in Sir HENRY COBHAM’s place, nor of any secretary in Mr. WILSON’s room.”

Having almost finish’d this letter, he was inform’d by Monsieur MAILLET, that
 he was not to depart for ten days; for which reason he resolved to trust it to the
 post, and to write again by that gentleman, when he intended to give Mr. BACON.

^c He was not appointed lord deputy till January 1582.

^d It was taken in November 1582. METEREN, fol. 219. verso.

^e Mr. WILLIAM WENTWORTH, eldest son of THOMAS lord WENTWORTH. He died in the beginning of November 1582.

^f THOMAS earl of Ormonde, whose first wife

was ELIZABETH, daughter of THOMAS lord BERKLEY; his second ELIZABETH, daughter of EDMUND lord SHEFFIELD, father to the first earl of MULGRAVE; and his third ELLEN, daughter to DAVID lord Viscount BARRY. He had no issue but by his second lady, a son born in 1584, who died before 1600.

an account of his friends, concerning whom he was then ignorant, except only that the lord treasurer was that day return'd to Windsor, with others of the council, from Hertford, where the last term had been kept, by reason of the infection at London, which had been dangerously disposed hitherto; and that week there had died of it 150 or thereabouts, among whom was one of the sheriffs of London.

Mr. BACON was at Marfeilles in January 1587, whence he wrote to Mr. FAUNT on the 9th of that month, and sent it by his friend and fellow-traveller Mr. SELWIN, who delivered it to Mr. FAUNT on the 13th of February. That gentleman's answer, * sent by Mr. SELWIN, who was returning to Mr. BACON, is dated on the 22d of February, at the court of Richmond; and in it he congratulates Mr. BACON upon his recovery in some measure from a long and severe sickness, which had weakened his constitution; and hopes, that upon Mr. SELWIN's return, he would be *cur'd in body, mind and purse*. " Touching your request, *says he*, to be informed of the present state of foreign parts, as we here understand them to be in general, it shall not be amiss for you to remember, that we of this age are fallen into those perilous latter times, which are forewarned us in scripture, wherein the enemy rageth the more extremely, because he seeth his kingdom daily declining, and even almost utterly ruined. The chief instrument he useth is the Antichrist, as motive to all the other princes he keepeth yet in bondage, who by them only is presently supported, as is known to all the world: And particularly to behold, how on every side they combine themselves together for subduing of the church of God, as much as in them lieth. You cannot forget the late practises of this Roman for the enterprise of Geneva, which he thinketh, being once effected, would be greatly for his purpose. Therein he hath already flesh'd the young duke of Savoy, who, it is thought, will not be discouraged for this once missing his mark. And howsoever now the said Duke seem to grow to a composition with that town, appointing their diets and places of treaty, yet you see how the matter hath ever since the last summer been drawn into length; whereby the professed enemies of religion are wont now in all parts to colour their hidden treacheries. Now this matter being of very great importance for all the reformed parts of Christendom, hath occasioned some of the rarest judgment and insight in the present course of this rage to look deeply into the consequence thereof; among whom there is one, that discourseth thus, which shall suffice to give you a sufficient light to that you have and may hear touching any particular accidents happening in those parts, for that as well herein, as concerning other states, I would only inform you of the general disposition and likelihood of things, and not of the common occurrents, wherein there is no grounded knowledge to be learned, and which you may be acquainted withall in the place you are: Whereas when you see into the nature of a people and government, you may better judge of the particular actions, that fall out, and thereupon frame to yourself more probable discourse.

" * He saith, that things are not yet so well settled in Swisserland, that men may conceive any certain hope of a thorough quietness there; finding the papists

“ to be more earnest than ever they were in their practises, and those of the re-
 “ ligion so secure or rather senseless, that they have no apprehension at all of the
 “ apparent mischief hanging over their heads, the corruption used by the enemies
 “ being of such sort, that it blindeth the others eyes. For, saith he, the long
 “ peace, which the Swisses have now enjoyed by the space of these fifty years, hath
 “ broken their wonted courage, that there remaineth in those of the protestant
 “ cantons no more but a very mass of flesh; and the small knowledge and ex-
 “ perience they have in worldly causes, for that they never go forth of their own
 “ country, hath so decayed their judgment, that they can scarce believe what they
 “ see before their eyes. On the other side, those of the papist cantons do thrust
 “ themselves into every place, go on warfare, some in garrisons, and in the guard
 “ of foreign princes persons, and are but too privy to the inward humours and
 “ meaning of their neighbours. And even now, whilst the duke of Savoy was in
 “ the field, and the Bernois, contrary to their own opinion, thought themselves too
 “ weak to make head against the enemy, there was at one time a motion made,
 “ that those of the religion should knit themselves together in some strait league,
 “ for the mutual defence of one another. But so soon as the storm was a little
 “ overblown, they presently grew careless of the matter; whereby, and by some
 “ other like observations, which I cannot here set down in any sort, it is apparent,
 “ that Geneva is not to repose itself too much upon the protestant cantons, nor
 “ the said cantons, albeit they seem to be of greater strength than their neigh-
 “ bours, so to account of their multitude, or the union, that is generally amongst
 “ them, and hath long endured, but that thro’ the corruption and practises of the
 “ great princes their neighbours, that union may be soon broke, and in such sort,
 “ as it will not easily be knit again. Which is one proof of my proposition
 “ touching this perilous season, leaving you to add the rest, for the late and
 “ better experience you have of things in those parts.

“ The state of the empire in Germany hath not been subject of long time to
 “ any notable alteration or stirs, either privately among the sundry kinds of go-
 “ vernments, or publicly by foreign attempts: and yet hath it not been free from
 “ the enemy’s malice, who all this time of their outward rest hath secretly under-
 “ mined them by practises to hinder the course of the gospel; wherein have been
 “ particularly employed the sect of jesuits, who are scatter’d into all parts of the
 “ empire, and even into the dominions of the kings of Polonia, Swedeland, Hun-
 “ gary, and unto the barbarous Muscovite. But the chief patrons of them are
 “ the emperor and the rest of the house of Austria, with the duke of Bavaria,
 “ who is wonderfully besotted with their illusions: and thereupon is it, that of late
 “ time within these twelve years there are many new retreats for them also in the
 “ free towns and common-wealths both upon the Rhine and the Danubius, who
 “ have of their own devotion builded many rich monasteries for them.

“ But of this matter you may see examples round about you in other countries,
 “ where the like innovation hath been and is yet attempted by such instruments,
 “ especially where the true religion is in any sort planted.”

Mr.

Mr. FAUNT then refers Mr. BACON to two papers, which he had drawn up for another person, one concerning the enterprize, which had been lately attempted by the archbishop of Colen^a on the chief electors of the empire, a project of the greatest importance, that could fall out (if it should be accordingly seconded, for the breaking of the very neck of Antichrist, and giving a free course unto the gospel, and all other honest liberty, which other princes of the empire had long enjoy'd. "And if this man, says he, have any good success, it is not to be doubt-
 "ed, but that the other two Bishops electors, with the rest of the princes,
 "held yet under that tyranny, will find the sweetness of their freedom, and with
 "him cast off their like yoke; which is a matter of little difficulty in the judg-
 "ment of those, that see best into their present states, and in what terms the
 "other princes their neighbours stand severally in their qualities." The other paper related to some effects, that followed the late alteration in the Low Countries. He accompanied these papers with a little discourse concerning the greatness of the house of Austria, which he had lately received.

His next letter was dated in London on the 15th of March 1582^b, and contain'd little except his own desire, concurring with that of Mr. BACON's friends, for his return; referring him to his friend Mr. SELWIN, then in England, whom he had acquainted with every thing.

He wrote another letter on the 30th of April 1583^c, in which he inform'd him, that now upon the return of the Muscovite ambassador, Sir JEROM BOWES was appointed to accompany him, and to go as ambassador to the emperor of Russia, with instructions from the queen, where he was to stay until the end of the summer, as the Muscovite ambassador had done in England the whole winter. Mr. FAUNT was of opinion, that besides the matters of trade, Sir JEROME was to treat concerning a farther amity and league between England and Russia, which was part of the Muscovite ambassador's instructions and commission to her majesty.

He then informs Mr. BACON of the arrival of ALBERT ALASCO, Count Palatine of Sirad in Poland, who was come to England only from a desire to see her majesty and her country. "His family, says he, you shall read to be the best there [in Poland]
 "and of which the kings have heretofore been most commonly elected, and for
 "his personage very rare, and surpassing all, that I have seen of his years, which
 "are fifty six or thereabouts. He hath been general in more than forty
 "fought battles, and yet is of that lustiness and strength, that he is able to lead as

^a GEBHART TRUCHSES, of an antient and illustrious family in Suebia, a nephew of OTTO Cardinal of Augsburg. He had been chosen archbishop and elector of Colen on the 8th of May 1577, which dignity he endeavoured to retain, tho' he had privately married AGNES daughter of GEORGE Count MANSFIELD. This being soon known, gave great offence to the See of Rome, and those devoted to it; while the protestant princes, on the other hand, applied themselves to him, and he in December

1582, declar'd for liberty of conscience in religion, and fortified himself in Bon. But he was at last obliged to abandon his electorate, and fly in April 1584 for protection to the Prince of Orange at Delft. THUANUS, vol. iv. L. lxxvi, lxxviii, and lxxix. GROTII Annales de rebus Religicis. L. iv. p. 81. Edit. Amstelod. 1658 in 8vo. & METEREN, l. xi. fol. 232 verso.

^b Vol i. fol 61.

^c Ibid. fol. 70.

“ many more, before he be ready in man’s judgment for the grave. He is very
 “ civil, and speaketh the Italian and Latin very well, but the Sclavonian and other
 “ languages thereabouts very naturally. He hath in his time greatly annoyed the
 “ Turk. He is of great revenues, and liveth here at his own charges, having re-
 “ fused her majesty’s offers in that behalf, who taketh great delight to talk with
 “ him, and hath already in one week since his coming given him her presence
 “ twice. It is thought he will stay here this summer, being desirous to travel into
 “ some parts of this country. And her majesty meaneth this next week to carry
 “ him to Nonsuch, and some other such places, where he shall be feasted and en-
 “ tertained according to his quality: After which we shall learn farther of his
 “ estate and purpose of coming hither.” The count staid four months in England,
 where he was magnificently entertain’d by the queen, and nobility, and the uni-
 versity of Oxford, in June 1583¹; but he left our country privately, on account
 of the debts, which he had contracted in it^m.

Mr. FAUNT’s letter from the court of Greenwich, on the 6th of May 1583ⁿ,
 gives Mr. BACON a full account of the state of affairs in England. He begins
 with acquainting him of the continuance of her majesty’s *health and happy state*;
 That his brother Mr. FRANCIS BACON was *sometimes a courtier*: that the lord
 treasurer’s daughter ELIZABETH did not live long after her husband Mr. WENT-
 WORTH: that the earl of Oxford, who married ANNE, another of his lordship’s
 daughters, had a son born, who died soon after his birth: that Mr. VAUGHAN, the
 lord treasurer’s ward, was likewise dead: that it was feared, there would be a great
 mortality in the approaching summer, since the infection was already very great both
 in the city and country, especially in all great towns throughout the kingdom: that
 he heard of certainty, that the sweating sickness was on foot in London, or some such
 like contagious and pestiferous disease; but of hot fevers, that were little better,
 all the world complain’d already; so that her majesty would not reside long so near
 London, and the next term, it was thought, would not be held in any place: that
 many devices and orders were already set forth for the avoiding of these dangerous
 diseases: that the parliament, which had been so often prorogued, and had so
 many sessions, was now wholly broken up; so that it was not likely, that there
 should be any for a good while; and when there should be occasion, there must be
 a new parliament called. That the Muscovite ambassador was ready to depart,
 having spent all the winter in England with rewards and satisfaction. That Dr.
 HERBERT, a civilian, was sent to the king of Denmark with instructions about
 merchants’ causes, especially the passing of the Sound in the way to Muscovy, of
 which the king of Denmark would debar the English merchants, and have them to
 receive the commodities of Russia within his dominions; cutting them off by that
 means from that traffic in Russia. That Mr. WAAD was likewise newly sent to
 the emperor’s court at Vienna concerning certain differences between the Hans-
 Towns and English merchants abroad, for the settling of which he was to procure
 a meeting with their deputies and the English in some place of England.

¹ Wood Hist. & antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. i. p. 299.
 Edit. Lugd. Batav. 1625.

ⁿ Vol. i. fol. 72.

^m CAMDENI Annales Eliz. p. 366.

“ There have been sent, *adds he*, at sundry times, two gentlemen from hence to Monsieur, to be informed of his estate and resolution since the late accident happened in the Low Countries ² so greatly to his dishonour and disadvantage ; where now is no great matter in hand, both parties being even wearied and out of breath, what with want of men, money and victuals ; as also astonished with those late treacheries, which have weakened both parties, and undone itself, I mean the French, who will never recover any credit there. There is talk of a treaty between the States and Monsieur at Dunkirk, where he hath been lately sick, and will so continue till his mother come to heal him ; who, it is now said, prepareth her voyage towards him, carrying with her the queen of Navarre ³, and the princess of Lorraine, whom it was thought the duke of Savoy should have married ; but now the mask is pulled from the face, some do confidently give out, that this journey of the queen mother is to conclude the match between her son and her : for needs he must now come home, as he is indeed, having play’d the last part he had appointed him in that tragedy, whereof (and thro’ the merciful protection of our good God) there was never an act play’d among us here, nor in some other countries near unto us, as was projected should have been. He keepeth his court yet as governor of those countries ; but *pro forma* only, and the whole country continueth incensed against that whole nation, insomuch that now in the camp directed by marshal de BIRON, all other nations are in continual fear of some farther treachery by them, especially our nation, in respect of the services they did against the French after the late treason executed by them. The states seem at this present to take some breath, and are glad, that with their toil since that time, they have obtained these three things, which they think are sufficient, considering the hard terms they were in before they were aware. And those, first, the removing of Monsieur so far off, even almost out of the country. Next the keeping of the land of Waes from the spoil of the French, after their retreat out of Brabant, with the getting of all the towns surpris’d, except Dunkirk, seeing it was greatly feared he would have rendered them to the enemy. And lastly, that they have already a camp indifferently furnished to resist the enemy, and to be ready to follow him or withstand him, in any course, that he shall take this summer ; which is not yet known, but will be shortly, the time growing so fast on.”

With regard to Ireland, that country, he observes, had enjoyed good quiet for a long time, where the earl of ORMONDE ⁴ being governor of Munster, and general of the queen’s forces in those parts, daily won either by force or other milder means great numbers to her majesty’s obedience. And it was hoped, that the only rebel of quality, the earl of DESMOND ⁵, would shortly be received

² The failure of the duke of Anjou’s attempt to possess himself of Antwerp on the 17th of January 1583.

³ MARGARET daughter of HENRY II. married to HENRY king of Navarre in August 1572.

⁴ THOMAS earl of ORMONDE, made lord treasurer

of Ireland, by queen ELIZABETH, in the first year of her reign.

⁵ GERALD FITZ-GERALD, the eleventh earl of that family. He was kill’d in November 1583, in a cabin where he lay hid, and his head was sent to England and fix’d on a pole on London-bridge.

in upon some conditions, or other device. That the government of that kingdom was still, and like to continue, in the hands of two lords justices, Dr. ADAM LOFTUS, archbishop of Dublin, and lord chancellor, and Sir HENRY WALLOP, treasurer of war, being both dispens'd with on account of their double charge.

" Here is newly arrived an honourable embassage out of Scotland to her majesty. The chief person is Mr. WILLIAM STUART of the king's blood, captain of his guard, counsellor, and a principal favourite about him. He did, at my being in the Low Countries, serve the States as chief over 3000 Scots, and yet is commonly call'd Colonel STUART, being to return thither again shortly, after that the time limited him by the States to be absent from thence for the service of his prince and country shall be expired; and in the mean time he hath his lieutenant there for the government of his charge. He is a personage thought to be as sufficient and well-qualified inwardly, as I know him to be a rare man for outward proportion, and of other gifts outwardly. His train are of choice persons, and some of good quality. What his message shall be, few yet know, and I may better let you know by the next than now. Howsoever all is presently well in Scotland, and never better occasion offered to assure us of that country than now, which is wholly at our devotion, the French being altogether disappointed of their intended plots; and after D'AUBIGNY, both La MOTTE and MANINGVILLE ambassadors, sent after his departure, hasten'd away with their great discontentment, and little hope to lay any other practises there, that may any thing annoy us. The accident happened in the Low Countries hath put them with others out of taste with the French, seeing it is discovered, that they should have had their part in the tragedy, as well as others, and perhaps more deeply than any whatsoever. Mr. ROBERT BOWES, treasurer of Berwick, continueth there yet her majesty's ambassador resident, who is a most sufficient man, and hath and doth great service there. D'AUBIGNY lieth still in Paris sickly, and since his coming thither was like to have gone, it is thought, thro' that disgrace and fall, which so suddenly and violently is come unto him; he

¹ SPOTSWOOD, p. 324. and Memoirs of Sir JAMES MELVIL, p. 133. Edit. London, 1683. fol.

² He is call'd MENEVIL by archbishop SPOTSWOOD, in his History of the Church of Scotland, L. vi. p. 324. who says, that LA MOTTE arrived in Scotland in January 1583, the former by sea, and the latter by land, thro' England, in company with Mr. DAVISON, sent ambassador to the king of Scotland by queen ELIZABETH. That historian likewise informs us, that these two French ambassadors had the same instructions, which were to work the king's liberty in the best manner they could, to confirm his mind in the love, which he bore to the French, and to renew the purpose of association, which had been set on foot the year before, and almost concluded upon these terms, that the queen of Scots should communicate the crown with her son, and both be join'd in the administration of affairs, that so he might be acknowledg'd for a lawful king by all christian princes, and all

domestic factions suppress'd. But upon D'AUBIGNY the duke of Lenox's being sequester'd from court, it had been laid aside; and the assembly of the church in their last meeting had made this one of their special grievances, and complain'd of it as a most wicked practice. And when the Ministers of Edinburgh heard of its being renewed by the French ambassadors, they declaim'd bitterly against them in their sermons, especially against Monsieur LA MOTTE, who wearing the badge of the order of the Holy Ghost, a white cross upon his shoulder, they stiled it the badge of Antichrist, and him the ambassador of the bloody murderer, meaning the duke of GUISE, who, they said, had procured him to be sent thither, proclaiming a fast to be observ'd on Feb. 16th, the same day, on which the king had desired to feast the ambassadors before their departure.

³ The attempt on Antwerp by the duke of Anjou.

“ now living very privately ; such, as followed him out of Scotland, for the most part, leaving him, and being returned home, and he hath taken, as we hear, the *Verkuryrs*, sometime your lodging, *aux Faubourg St. Victoire*. Thus you see how merciful the Lord is still unto us, how unworthy soever we be of such goodness.

“ MAILLET, the agent for Geneva, is yet here, but looketh shortly to be ready to depart ; and his long abode hath not been fruitless ; for the collection is very forward, and will in the whole amount to seven or eight thousand pounds sterling at the least, whereof there is yet but a third part brought in, but very sure, and good order for the rest. And all this cometh of free devotion and liberality, without constraining any person ; which I think is the best course, tho’ otherwise the sum might be augmented, for that hereafter, if farther occasion be offered to demand the little support, either for them or any other church in like sort afflicted, there will be no difficulty made to perform greater offices of charity.”

He next takes notice, that several voyages of discovery were then in hand, and some already entered upon. That Sir HUMPHREY GILBERT was once again crossing sail towards a part of America not yet perfectly discovered *, with whom Mr. RALEGH, the new favourite, had made an adventure of 2000 pounds in a ship and furniture thereof. That Sir THOMAS PECKHAM was towards some such course, and one Mr. CARLILE †, a gentlemen allied to secretary WALSINGHAM ; “ whereby, adds he, you may perceive, that our long peace doth not breed in us all slothful and abject minds ; but that this island is of too strait bounds to contain some of us here. You have heard of a great scandal happened in this church thro’ the lewd practises of Sir ROBERT STAPLETON, and others his complices, used to defame the archbishop of York ‡ ; which whole matter having been ripped up, and confessed by them, was handled by the lords in the Star-chamber at two sundry days, and yesterday judgment given against the offenders ; which is, that Sir ROBERT STAPLETON shall pay a fine of 300 pounds, abide three years imprisonment ; restore the money exacted of the archbishop ; and yet after his imprisonment, to remain at her majesty’s farther pleasure. The rest in their kind, and according to the foulness of their facts, shall be pilloried, imprisoned, and have their ears cut off. It is thought by some also, that Sir ROBERT STAPLETON shall be degraded of his knighthood. Howsoever, I fear all is not yet well ! At the least this offence to the world hath done much harm, and will never die in the mouths of the adversaries.”

He then mentions, that the good archbishop of Canterbury [GRINDALL] was immediately to resign his see, being now altogether blind in body, but most vigilant in

* This was Sir HUMPHREY GILBERT’s second expedition to Newfoundland, whither he sail’d from Plymouth on the 11th of June, 1583, and having taken possession of that country, venturing in a small frigate in his return, was lost in the night of September 9th following. See HAKLUYT, vol. iii. p. 149.

† CHRISTOPHER CARLILE, who having dis-

tinguished himself by his valour and abilities in war in the Low Countries, France, Ireland, and America, died in 1593. His brief summary discourse upon a voyage intended to the hithermost parts of America, written in 1583, is printed in HAKLUYT, vol. iii. p. 182.

‡ Dr. EDWIN SANDY. See STRYPE’S *Annals*, vol. iii. p. 98. & seqq.

mind to do good as long as he lived : And therefore having made great suit to be removed, and to obtain license to found certain schools and places of learning in the university, had to that purpose discharged his train, and employed all the profits, which he had spared of his revenue, besides his ordinary expences, reserving some little to maintain himself, and a few servants, during the rest of his life, which could not be long⁷. “ It is thought, says Mr. FAUNT, that WHITGIFT, now bishop of Worcester, shall succeed him⁸; but wherein, besides his place, it is easily guessed, “ and all the rest will hold on the like course for the maintenance of their lordly estates. As this late scandal⁹ is notorious, so have many others of the crew at this present been no less inferior to that prelate in their offensive conversation, than in their degree of titles and honours; whereof this place is too much and often a witness. God be merciful unto us; for this defection in that calling cannot but presage unto us some heavy punishment at hand.”

He observes likewise, that Mr. RICHARD SPENCER, afterwards knighted, and ambassador from king JAMES I. in the treaty for the truce made in 1609 between Spain and the States General, would be shortly at Paris in his return from Germany, and was a gentleman of a good, open, and kind disposition, and well grounded in all humane learning. That the lord DARCY was married to the daughter and heiress of Sir THOMAS KITSON; young Mr. SOUTHWELL to Mrs. ELIZABETH HOWARD; and that Sir AMIAS PAULET's son and heir was immediately to marry lord NORREYS's daughter¹⁰; Sir WILLIAM RUSSEL, the heiress of the lady LONG; and Mr. PHILIP SIDNEY the only daughter¹¹ of secretary WALSHINGHAM; which last marriage was to be solemnized before Michaelmas.

On the 28th of the same month of May, 1583¹², Mr. BACON was advertised, that the king of Spain had restored ANTONIO PEREZ to the office of secretary, and made Don JUAN IDIAQUEZ, president of the orders; and that letters from Constantinople certified the arrival of a great English ship there, with cloths and other merchandize of value, and divers English gentlemen, who come thither to establish a continual traffic in that city and other parts of the Levant, under the grand signor's dominion; these gentlemen being so well received by the Turks, that it was held for a certainty, that they should obtain a free trade, but with condition to traffic under the banner of France.

Mr. FAUNT wrote again to him on the 31st of that month from the court at Greenwich¹³, acknowledging a letter received a few days before from Mr. BACON, then at Marseilles, in which that gentleman had sent him a large relation of the public occurrences, with several sonnets, and a description of the people of that city. Mr. FAUNT, in his letter, informs him, that those were but vain reports, which Mr. BACON had heard of Sir JOHN HAWKINS's and the lord RUSSEL's voyage, who

⁷ He died at Croyden, July 6, 1583, in the 64th year of his age.

⁸ He was elected on the 24th of August 1583, and confirm'd at Lambeth on the 23d of September.

⁹ Rais'd against archbishop SANDYS.

¹⁰ CATHERINE sole daughter to HENRY lord

NORREYS.

¹¹ ELIZABETH, by whom he had a daughter of the same name, born in 1585.

¹² Vol. i. fol. 71.

¹³ Vol. i. fol. 73.

were both then ignorant of any such matter. But that he might depend upon the traffic into Turkey; there having within two days past been brought advertisements of the arrival of HARBORNE¹, at Constantinople, and of his great entertainment there, such as had scarce been given to any French ambassador. “He departed hence upon a sure ground; and therefore the voyage could not but prosper well. For there is here a new company erected for that traffic only, established, by her majesty’s order, of those, that be of greater wealth in London; laws and privileges given them; a very great adventure and rich presents made at this voyage unto the grand signor there; and lastly (which may content you in this behalf) so great hope and success already, that the vent being open and thoroughly cleared, it is thought, that a far richer and surer trade will follow thereof unto us, than unto the French, Venetians, or any other nation whatsoever, seeing they were ever but as retailers and transporters of our commodities heretofore: and for that the grand signor did until of late think, that her majesty was but a princess subject to or depending upon the French; but being now sufficiently made acquainted with her greatness both by sea and land, and the abundance of those commodities coming directly from hence thither, with many other particularities of our government, religion, (whereof he liketh better than of the popish, in respect of images, &c.) and quiet intercourse of traffic in all parts, &c. hath therefore granted very large privileges and freedoms unto her majesty’s subjects, greater than unto the French; hath written more lowly and friendly unto her, than to any other prince; and giveth us hope, that our trade thither will only be commodious, and cut off the gain of other nations, if the passage be free, as it is thought the grand signor will accordingly provide therefore, by appointing certain of his galleys to attend at the seasons for their passing the Straits, and to safe conduct them from the malice of the Spanish king or the Venetians, if they shall go about to withstand our fleet.”

As for the alliance with Denmark, lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby, being sent ambassador to that king, with the order of the garter, he had accepted it in good part, and enter’d into a stricter amity with queen ELIZABETH, promising, that if her majesty should in his time have cause to doubt the force of any of her enemies, he would not stick to come in person to her assistance, and bring with him the best means to give her proof of his willingness and good meaning to affect her friendship before all other princes of the world.

“Touching the increase or decrease, *says he*, of the intelligence between her, and her late new friend, it is a question not so easily to be answered from hence by me, as it was from thence by you propounded; but at some other time I will resolve you thereof. In the mean time you may remember the old maxim in

¹ WILLIAM HARBORNE, who was sent ambassador to the grand signor by queen ELIZABETH, and continued in Turkey almost six years. HACKLUYT, Vol. ii. Sir HENRY COBHAM, in a letter to the earl of Leicester from Paris, June 9, 1580, published in Dr. HOWARD’s Collection, p. 381. recommended to his lordship Mr. GEORGE HOP-

TONNE, then on his return to England, as a sufficient well-disposed gentleman, who had particularly furnished himself with observations of the grand signor’s court, and the manner and quality of negotiating there, so that the queen might very well serve herself of him that way, if there should be occasion, as well as otherwise in Italy.

“natural

“ natural philosophy, which will likewise hold in this moral, that all things are
 “ conserv’d or dissolved by those means they were first created and compounded;
 “ and according to the ground and intention hath every league and combination
 “ its strength and continuance. Now look into the effects of this intelligence,
 “ and so without farther help you may judge of the nature and present condition
 “ thereof.”

He observes likewise, that in the Low Countries, there had of late no matter of importance fallen out: that the prince of Orange was daily more and more suspected of the States General and those of Antwerp^a, insomuch as they had caused, or would shortly cause him to remove out of the castle, and remain within the town: which jealousy of theirs, if it should grow to any harder terms, it was thought he would attempt to escape from them into Holland. That he had made an excellent oration before them in council of late touching his opinion for the last remedy, which they were to lay hold of. That the duke of Anjou remain’d yet at Dunkirk^b; but all hope of accord was clean cut off. That the wind having been contrary for three weeks past, no news had been received from thence, except, that one CHARTIER, the duke’s secretary, having been lately with her majesty from his master, was in his return taken by LA MOTTE, at Gravelin, and remain’d still prisoner with his letters intercepted. That D’AUBIGNEY, duke of Lenox, who had so long troubled himself and others in these parts, was lately dead^c in Paris: that Scotland had yet very good quietness, and the ambassadors^d were return’d thither from England, with contentment to the king their master.

“ Some little stir, *continues he*, hath been lately in Ireland; but ill success hath followed the traitors, that were the authors thereof.

“ General NORREYS is look’d for here with the next wind out of Flanders, only to do his duty unto her majesty, and to be present at the marriage of his only sister to Sir AMIAS PAULET’s eldest son, at the lord NORREYS’s house, where will be present the count palatine and duke of Polonia [ALASCO] mentioned in some of my last unto you; and from thence he is to go to the commencement at Oxford, and so to Killingworth with the earl of Leicester.

“ Her majesty hath spent this last week at THEOBALD’s, where my lord of Oxford was reconciled and received to her majesty’s favour, and now is here at court.

“ This day Sir JEROM BOWES is departed with the Muscovite ambassador towards Russia^e.

“ Don BERNARDINO de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, is shortly to depart from hence, and faith, he stayeth only for letters out of Spain.

^a METEREN, L. xi. fol. 227. verso.

^b Id. ibid.

^c He died on the 26th of May, 1583. SPOTSWOOD, L. vi. p. 324.

^d Col. STUART, and Mr. JOHN COLVIL. SPOTSWOOD, ubi supra.

^e HAKLUYT, Vol. i. and CAMDEN, p. 364.

“ You have heard of a voyage by sea into the East-Indies, undertaken by Capt. FENTON^a, about a year since. There is newly arrived one, who reporteth very ill success of that journey; for one of the captains is returned into Plymouth with his ship, and the other likely to follow: howbeit doubtfull, by reason, that they were separated in fight with a Spanish fleet, returning from the said Indies stronger than our men. The cause of their hard adventure is said to be their inconsiderate provision of victuals, whereof they began to stand in necessity before they had passed half way, and yet they were not to assure themselves of any supply until they had been upon their return homewards, these countries not yielding any for their use.”

In this letter Mr. FAUNT inclos'd the following paper^a, entitled, *The Relation of a Gentleman's private opinion touching the present Estate of Germany, by way of general discourse, and upon occasion.*

“ The affairs of Germany, *saieth the writer*, are generally in good quietness; but it is like they will not continue in so good estate; for if by conjectures and likelihood any knowledge may be gathered of that which is to follow, there is a fire inkindling, which will soon break forth, and be long before it be quenched. The body, which hath remained long without sickness, when it happeneth to be diseased, is commonly in greater danger, being then for the most part full of evil humours. So the country of Germany having long enjoyed peace, if it begin once to be visited with troubles, it is like to suffer much, by reason, that long peace and quietness hath nourished much matter apt to continue strife and contention. And to set down the reasons, which move me to be of this opinion, you shall first understand, that whosoever shall now travel even thro' that whole country, is assured to find all sorts of people generally discontented with the present state, in so much as they seem to desire nothing more than wars, hoping thereby, that some alteration will ensue. Again, as the inferior sort is for the most part evil affected towards their princes, in respect of the great tributes and taxes, wherewith, perhaps not without good cause, they find themselves overburthened; so likewise the princes, thro' the diversity of their religions, are divided into sundry factions and sects, as some papists, some favouring the book of Concord (or rather disorder) some Zwinglians, &c. so that in this diversity of opinions, in the matter of religion, each prince or commonwealth endeavoureth to displace that, which another establisheth, and for hatred to each other's professions, impugning each other's proceedings, to the end, that nothing of either part might happily succeed. The experience hereof appeared at the last diet at Augusta, where many things were propounded, but nothing concluded, some drawing one way, some another, every one studying to maintain his own party, and none looking to the preservation of that whole estate. Besides, it is to be observed, that such princes, as are found to agree in the matter of religion, have yet some private occasion or other of disagreement, nourishing thereby a continual hatred; which commonly in personages of quality creepeth so far, till in

^a EDWARD FENTON. HARLEVY Vol. iii. has published the instructions to him, from the lords of the council for his voyage to the East-Indies, and CATHAY, in 1582, and an account of that voyage, by Capt. LUKE WARD his Vice-Admiral. ^a Vol. i. fol. 109.

“ the end with division public revenge ensue, &c. A special sign of this alteration
 “ to follow is the general decay of justice, and due execution of the laws, in those
 “ parts : for whereas in times past such matters, as fell out between prince and
 “ prince, were wont to be decided by the imperial chamber at Spire, and so peace
 “ and quietness maintained ; now either the sentences are thro’ favour and parti-
 “ ality from time to time delayed, and so matters kept in continual suit ; or if
 “ any sentence be pronounced against such as be of any power and authority, it is
 “ notwithstanding hardly or not at all executed. And the cause hereof is, that
 “ every prince thinketh himself able to defend his own party, without the assist-
 “ ance of his friends ; and so no state standeth in fear of the emperor ; for that it
 “ is well known, how small his force is, and how great his charges, which he is
 “ constrain’d continually to sustain for the defence of the frontiers against the Turks
 “ invasions, being thereby not able to enforce them farther than themselves shall
 “ please : whereas heretofore the emperors being of more power, they commanded
 “ more absolutely, and the imperial laws were generally obey’d. Moreover it is
 “ apparent to all the world, that no greater enmity can be with-held from break-
 “ ing forth into action, than is between the imperial cities and princes, whom they
 “ take for enemies to their liberty ; which might be proved by many notable and
 “ late examples, if it were not too manifest. So that, to conclude, it must needs
 “ be granted, that the general inclination of their mind to unquietness, the diver-
 “ sity of their religions, the decay of justice, contempt of their head, and the am-
 “ bition, that is crept in amongst all estates, is an evident token of some great
 “ alteration and trouble likely to follow within a short time. And that it is al-
 “ ready in hand, ready to break forth, this matter of Colen may serve for an
 “ alarm ; which being duly weighed is of great consequence, and a most apt
 “ matter to receive the flame approaching.”

Mr. FAUNT, in his letter from London on the 6th of August, 1583 °, complains
 of having heard nothing of Mr. BACON, since the beginning of April, when the
 latter was at Marseilles. He mentions his own journey into Norfolk for three
 weeks, and his dangerous sickness since his return, which had detain’d him in
 London twenty days ; “ and to tell you the truth, *says he*, I find this a more sweet
 “ life, thus in mercy to be afflicted by the Lord, where I receive other spiritual
 “ consolations, than to lead that life I have done in court, where, beside that I re-
 “ ceive the causes of mine outward diseases and sicknesses, my mind is also most
 “ grievously wounded with the view I am there constrained to have of *all enor-*
 “ *mities, where sin reigneth in the highest degree.*” After this severe censure on the
 court, he acquaints Mr. BACON, that his brother FRANCIS was now seen in his
 utter barrister’s habit abroad in the city, and *therefore*, adds he, *must needs do well.*

“ Here is yet, *adds he*, God be thanked, no present matter of alteration, that may
 “ import our quiet, altho’ it cannot be but time must make us more capable there-
 “ of ; only the mutability of the Scottish court putteth us in doubt of some farther
 “ disquiet. My master * is like to be sent thither very shortly with very weighty
 “ instructions, altho’ at this present that resolution seemeth to be revoked.

“ We

° Vol. i. fol. 74.

* Sir FRANCIS WALSHAM, who was sent

by queen ELIZABETH into Scotland, in the be-
 ginning of September, to challenge the king for
 breach

" We have yet no chamberlain¹; but it is thought it will be the lord
 " HUNSDON. Mr. STAFFORD is appointed to succeed Sir HENRY COBHAM in
 " France, with whom I hear Mr. BODLEY shall go as his chief secretary, with
 " many other able men to serve the place; otherwise than of late it hath been; a
 " matter, which is already well commended in the gentleman.

" The bishop of Canterbury shall have WHITGIFT for his successor very
 " shortly; so must there be a removing of that crew from place to place. I have
 " heard of Mr. COBHAM's death at Orleans. Mr. SPENCER² is returned, having
 " been sometime in Scotland, whither he came out of the Low Countries."

Mr. STAFFORD, mentioned in this letter, as appointed ambassador in France, was born of an ancient and noble family, and had been employ'd by her majesty to that court in 1578³. He was knighted probably before his return thither, and resided there several years. In the beginning of the year 1597 it was expected, that he would have been admitted into the privy council⁴, and about the same time was offered the post of secretary of state, which he refused⁵; tho' he was desirous of being of the council, which he had often been disappointed of, to his no small mortification⁶. In February 1597, he was again talk'd of for secretary⁷; and when the place of vice-chamberlain was expected to be vacant in April, 1600, he was thought to have a view to succeed in that post⁸. He died almost suddenly, in February 1604, being then possess'd of two beneficial offices, one in the first fruits, and the other in the pipe⁹.

While Mr. BACON was at Bourdeaux, HENRY duke de MONTMORENCI, known during the life of his elder brother by the title of marshal D'AMVILLE, and advanc'd in 1593 to the post of constable of France, committed to his care two letters from himself, one to the queen, and the other to ROBERT DUDLEY, earl of Leicester. Mr. BACON accordingly inclos'd them in one of his own to that earl; and these being delivered to his lordship by Mr. FRANCIS BACON on the 7th of October 1582, the earl wrote an answer on the 10th to Mr. ANTHONY BACON¹⁰, to inform him of the receipt of those letters. " That to her majesty, *says*
 " *he*, I delivered, who is glad she may have so good a man as you to send and re-
 " ceive letters by, and will write to the duke again, if she may first understand,
 " that you shall still have occasion to be in place, where her letters may safely both
 " come to you, and by you be delivered to the duke; which I pray you let me
 " understand from you so soon as you may; for thereupon do I stay my writing
 " to him also."

The court being settled at St. James's, in November following, Mr. FAUNT being informed by Mr. J. BODLEY, who had received letters from Mr. BACON,

breach of promise in readmitting the earl of Arran, and casting off the noblemen, who had maintained his authority at the hazard of their lives and fortunes. SPOTSWOOD, p. 326. See also MELVIL's Memoirs, p. 142, 147, & seqq.

¹ This post was vacant by the death of THOMAS RADCLIFFE, earl of Suffex.

² Mr. RICHARD SPENCER.

³ CAMDEN, p. 289.

⁴ SIDNEY papers, vol. ii. p. 62.

⁵ Ibid. p. 61.

⁶ Ibid. p. 69.

⁷ Ibid. p. 89.

⁸ Ibid. p. 115.

⁹ WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 49.

¹⁰ Vol. i. fol. 75.

of his design to come to Paris, and winter there, wrote to him on the 20th of November, 1583^b. In this letter he told him, that the news out of the Low Countries was, that now again it was thought, the accord was pass'd between the duke of Anjou, and the States, especially Holland, Zealand, and some other towns and members, for their assistance in that extremity; wherein the prince of Orange had mightily prevailed in this assembly at Dort^c, *which, says he, if it be confirmed, you may easily guess the final issue of their misery and utter ruin.* That it was again confirm'd, that the Elector Palatine was dead, and had made the Landgrave of Hesse his son's protector, and governor of the Palatinate; which was like to breed a jar betwixt him and CASAMIR, the next in blood, and to whom that right belong'd. That this accident would hinder the matter of Colen, which, it was said, had well succeeded of late; since there were seven or eight ensigns of the malecontents wholly defeated, and the victory pursued by the count de Meurs, an assistant to the old bishop. But that until the end of the diet at Franckfort, it would not be known what end that action would have. That they had lately good news touching the delivery of monsieur de la NOUE^d and the viscount de Turenne^e, whom the king of Spain was now content to exchange for the count D'Egmont, and other prisoners, having already written to the prince of Parma to that effect: "But I, *says Mr. FAUNT*, greatly doubt of the matter. For some matters, tho' I would yet forbear to write farther unto you, yet to you only will I add thus much, that the treacheries of the papists here are daily increasing so far, as that there have been discovered two sundry and deep conspiracies against her majesty's estate and person at one time; and it is found, that the one hath not been acquainted with the other's plot or intention, so infinite are the enemies in our own bosoms. Neither are the practises abroad few or feeble, but concur with those at home both for time and other circumstances; whereof you may hear, I doubt not, at your coming to Paris. The young gentlemen go over by heaps from hence out of all places, and most by the creeks, and in fisher-boats, carrying with them great provision, of all necessaries. There is a new erected seminary at Eu, a town of the GUISES inheritance, by the sea-side in Picardy. You shall hear there how it is filled in a short time, so as the revolt and falling away increaseth daily, notwithstanding all the prisons be full of them here. You may gather somewhat of this strange, and, as it should seem, general consent and vow of them; whereby I fear the Lord hath even determined to lay his heavy hand upon us for the great contempt we have made of his word and ministry amongst us.

"You may hear of the great preparations the Spanish king maketh of shipping for the spring-time; and it is certain his malice to us will not be forgotten, now

^b Vol. i. fol. 76.

^c METEREN, fol. 230. verso.

^d FRANCIS de la NOUE, known by the name of *Bras de fer*, after he had lost his arm at the siege of Fontenay-le-Comte in 1570. He was taken prisoner by PHILIP DE MELUN, Viscount de Gand, and Marquis of Risbourg, at the siege of Ingelmonster, in May, 1580, and confin'd at first in Mons, and afterwards at Namur, where he continued several years, and was not released till June, 1585.

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He was kill'd at the siege of Lamballe in Bretagne, Aug. 4, 1591. See his life published by MOSES AMIRAULT, at Leyden, 1661, in 4to. THUANUS, Tom. v. L. cii. STRADA, de bello Belg. decad. ii. L. iii. & METEREN, L. ix. & xvi.

^e He was kept prisoner two years and ten months, and obtain'd his liberty in June 1584, by paying a ransom of 53000 crowns. See Histoire de HENRY de la TOUR D'AUVERGNE, duc de Bouillon: par M. MARAULIER, Tom. i. L. iii. p. 315—323.

G

"that

“ that he hath a strong hand in the Low Countries, which must needs return intirely to his subjection.

“ There are also arrived in Scotland the Dutchess of Lenox, the wife of D'AUBIGNY, with her children, called thither by the king; so as that French course there is nothing abated. We hear there will be some great embassage sent hither from that king shortly; but no time yet assigned. The young prince is still possess'd by the worst faction, and continueth that violent course he began since the last alteration of his court, whereof I wrote at large unto you.

“ The archbishop of Canterbury [WHITGIFT] in his late sermon at Paul's Cross hath begun the new trouble in our church. It was only an invective against the best professors, whom he termed *wayward fellows*. His text was of *obedience*; that there were three enemies thereof, viz. *papists, anabaptists, and wayward persons*, meaning such as lacked reformation. Against these last was his whole bitterness and vehemency, which you may conceive by his former proceedings in these matters. The choice of that man at this time to be archbishop maketh me to think, that the Lord is determined to scourge his church for their unthankfulness. The archbishop's sermon, mentioned by Mr. FAUNT, who appears from this and others of his letters to be zealously attach'd to the puritan party, was preach'd on the 17th of November, the anniversary day of the queen's accession to the throne. His grace's text was from St. PAUL's epistle to TITUS, ch. iii. verse 1. *Put them in remembrance to be subject unto principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, and to be ready to every good work, &c.* Mr. STRYPE has preserv'd the notes of this remarkable discourse¹.

The freedom, with which Mr. FAUNT wrote in this as well as several other letters, made him request Mr. BACON in the conclusion of it, to destroy them, since he saw daily the danger of keeping letters, tho' private, and written with the most dutiful and good meaning.

Another of Mr. BACON's correspondents at this time was Mr. CHARLES MERRBURY, a traveller, writer, and courtier, much esteemed by persons of distinction in England. He was educated under the learned Dr. LAURENCE HUMFREY, at Magdalen College in Oxford, and afterwards engag'd in the service of the earl of Suffex, lord chamberlain of her majesty's household. And both himself and his father were dependents on the duke and dutchess of Suffolk, from whom they enjoyed a pension². He published in 1581, a *Discourse of Royal Monarchy*, after it had been examin'd at the bishop of London's desire by Mr. THOMAS NORTON, one of the council and solicitor to the city of London, and one of the translators of the psalms. He was at Rochelle, in November, 1583, from whence he wrote to Mr. BACON, then at Bourdeaux, on the 23d of that month³, acquainting him, that he arriv'd there the Saturday after he had parted from that gentleman. “ I found here, *says he*, a nobleman of Portugal,

¹ See *Life of archbishop WHITGIFT*, B. iii. ch. 4. p. 133. and appendix, B. iii. No. 3. p. 42. and seqq.

² STRYPE's annals, vol. iii. p. 73, 74.

³ Vol. i. fol. 77.

“ named Don ALVARES DE TRIE, who with 60 or 70 soldiers was sent by Don ANTONIO 2000 miles from hence, more than half way to the Indies, to fortify a place which he had there; but finding the place prevented by the Spaniards, they are returning to their king. Here arrived since my coming an English ship out of Spain, with 70 French soldiers, of Tercera, who report, that the king of Spain hath sworn by his crown, that this next summer he will send into England. It is credibly reported here, that HAWKINS of Plymouth hath taken his treasure of 200,000 crowns, which was sent unto him for three years from the Castel de Mine. Here is also in this town a lord of Scotland of the religion, a man in years, and, as it seemeth, out of his country for some discontentment.”

Mr. FAUNT not having received a letter from Mr. BACON since one dated September 8, 1583, complain'd of this in his own from the court at St. James's, on the 17th of December¹, wherein he regrets, that Mr. BACON was resolved not to return homewards. “ I can no longer, *says he*, abstain from telling you plainly, that the injury is great you do to yourself, and your best friends, in this your voluntary banishment (for so it is already termed) wherein you incur many inconveniencies; and yet it is impossible you should perceive so much there, where you cannot make tryal of any person or cause you should deal withal, and have your senses especially occupied. For you will one day say, that travel is rather a time of recreation than of any serious action; wherein the rarest gifts, and parts of ripest judgment, are either learned or employed. That a little necessary experience at home is more worth than all the variety thereof abroad, if they go not together; and, if they be coupled, yet is it not commendable or allowable for any to be *curiosus in alienâ republicâ*, and not in time to know and enter into the depth of his own by personal practice and experience, without the which hardly can any soundness be attained unto, tho' it be most requisite in these days, especially for those of your place.

“ You have heard, *adds he*, of some great matters fallen out here; and I must tell you, that the bruits are not altogether vain: that my lord PAGET, CHARLES ARUNDEL, and others, are on that side escaped; and many other things fly about every where concerning our proceedings here; which must needs have some ground, whereof you are not to look for any particular discourse from me. Neither would I have said thus much, but only to move you to bethink you of your being, as I assure you (if I have any credit with you) it becometh you greatly. The times are not, as heretofore, for the best disposed travellers. But in one word, Sir, believe me, they are not the best thought of where they would be, that take any delight to absent themselves in foreign parts, especially such as are of quality, and known to have no other cause than their private contentment; which also is not allowable, or to be for any long time, as you will shortly hear farther, touching these limitations. In the mean time I could wish you looked well to yourself, and to think, that whilst you live there, perhaps in no great security, you are within the compass of some sinister conceits, or hard speeches here, if not of that jealousy, which is now had even of the best, that

¹ Vol. i. fol. 78.

“ in these doubtful days, wherein our country hath need to be furnished of the
 “ soundest members and truest hearts to God and prince, do yet take delight to
 “ live even in those parts, where our utter ruin is threatned, and the beginning of
 “ our woe hath already grown, and had e’er this made farther entrance, if the
 “ Lord in mercy had not delivered us from their malice.”

Mr. MERBURY being at Poitiers in the latter end of this month of December, 1583, wrote a letter from thence on the 29th to Mr. BACON^k, to inform him, that since his arrival in that city, he had heard of an overthrow given to duke CASIMIR, at Colen, by the duke of Bavaria, whom the people of Colen had received instead of archbishop TRUSCHES, a brother of whom had been kill’d in that defeat^l. He added, that monsieur de la SCALA, who is more generally known to the learned world by the name of JOSEPH SCALIGER, had departed from Poitiers^m four days before his own arrival there, and had left behind him his book *de Emendatione Temporum*, which was to be sold there, having been printed that year at Paris in folio, a work of immense erudition, and which has justly made its author considered as the father of chronology.

He wrote again from the same place, on the 16th of January, 1584ⁿ, expressing his wishes for Mr. BACON’s speedy departure from Bourdeaux, the rather for the ill news, which himself had heard that morning, and which, tho’ he hop’d it was false, yet because of the place, from whence it came, he could not altogether neglect. There came to him that morning a Scotsman nam’d Mr. GEDDES, well learn’d, and well esteem’d in Poitiers, who having newly receiv’d a letter from monsieur de L’ESTAIN, the minister of the reform’d religion in those parts, concerning the state of the queen of England, desir’d to know farther of Mr. MERBURY in that point. That gentleman copied the contents of this letter, and sent it to Mr. BACON, hoping, that before they should come to his hands, he would be able, by better knowledge, to disprove them. He added, that there was at present in Poitiers a son of monsieur de la NOUE, who was come thither from the Low Countries, expressly to gather money for his father’s ransom. That there had been within the week past two proclamations published, one forbidding to carry weapons, the other warning soldiers and men of arms to repair to their garrison: that some said, that the king meant thereby to raise a force against his brother, the duke of ANJOU, with whom he was at variance; and that this duke had already levied some number of Reisters, pretending to be lieutenant-general of France, as the king had been to his brother, CHARLES IX.

Mr. BACON, who had been very much indisposed at Bourdeaux, from August, 1583, till February following^o, began to recover his health in the beginning of that month; on the 12th of which he wrote to one of his brothers^p, that it was

^k Vol. i. fol. 79.

^l THUANUS, vol. iv. L. lxxix. & METEREN, L. xi. fol. 232. verso.

^m He had liv’d for several years with LOUIS CHASTRIER de la ROCHEPOZAY, whom he had attended in his travels, and who was afterwards

bishop of Poitier.

ⁿ Vol. i. fol. 67.

^o License to him for eating flesh in Lent, dated 15 February, 1584, in a volume of his papers in my possession, fol. 58.

^p Vol. i. fol. 85.

then better than it had been for a year before, tho' some little indisposition and weakness of his stomach yet remained.

The same day Mr. FAUNT wrote to him from the court at Whitehall^a, acknowledging the receipt of Mr. BACON's of the 28th of January from Bourdeaux, and regretting his resolution of not yet returning to England. He observes, that in his last he had advertis'd him of Mr. WAAD's being sent into Spain, who he thought would in his passage thither find Mr. BACON at Bourdeaux, and impart to him such passages, as could not be written from England. "I wish, says he, you did think, that notwithstanding you hear of the discourses of treason and executions here, whereby no great and apparent alteration hath happened; yet in those four years of your absence you should find a wonderful change in the private dispositions and humours of all sorts, wherewith being the longer unacquainted, you are like the more to be hindered in your good intentions and contrary ways of proceeding."

Mr. WILLIAM WAAD, mentioned in this letter, was son of ARMIGEL WAAD, esq; a gentleman born in Yorkshire, and educated at St. Magdalen Collège in Oxford, who was clerk of the council to king HENRY VIII. and EDWARD VI. and employed in several campaigns abroad, and died at Belsie or Belsife House in the parish of Hamstead, near London, on the 20th of June, 1568^c. His son WILLIAM succeeded him in the place of clerk of the council, and was afterwards knighted by king JAMES I. and made lieutenant of the Tower. The occasion of his journey into Spain in the beginning of the year 1581, was upon the discovery of the Spanish ambassador MENDOZA's being concerned in the plot of FRANCIS THROCKMORTON, and other English catholics, in favour of the queen of Scots, and being ordered to depart England immediately, of which he loudly complain'd, as a violation of the law of nations. Mr. WAAD was therefore dispatch'd to the king of Spain, to inform him of her majesty's reasons for sending away his ambassador, and with a letter from her to that king, dated at Westminster, the 11th of January^d, in which she wrote, "*Quæ nuper hic in regno nostro longè præter opinionem nostram acciderunt, faciunt, ut de MENDOZA ad S. V. relegando cogitemus. Quid subsit causæ dedimus in mandatis huic nobili GULIELMO WAAD, servienti nostro, qui has præfert, ut pro temporis usurâ S. V. exponat pleniorẽ universæ causæ narrationem, quam scriptis commendari curavimus, exhibituro, ut datis ad eam rem opportunitatibus, percurrere, si volet, queat. Cætera quod attinet, de quibus animi nostri sensa S. V. nostro nomine & mandatis declaraturus est, rogamus, ut in iisdem exponendis eam, quam nobis, si præsentem essemus, tribuendam putat, fidem ei præpare velit, nosq; dignari eo responso, quod ex usu nostro & honore vestro videbitur.*" But PHILIP II. would not give audience to Mr. WAAD, who therefore refused on his part to communicate his business to that king's ministers.

Mr. BACON did not neglect to cultivate a correspondence occasionally with secretary WALSHINGHAM, to whom he wrote on the 12th of January, 1581, which

^a Vol. i. fol. 66.
Vol. i. fol. 324.

^c Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. Col. 154.

^d Mr. Bacon's Papers,

letter Mr. FAUNT in his own last cited says, he was glad to meet with, and promised to take occasion both to have some speech with the secretary concerning Mr BACON, and to procure the secretary's cypher as conveniently as might be. "But, *adds he*, it hath pleased God of late to visit him with sickness, to the great hindrance of her majesty's service, and the good of her subjects, being presently at his house in the country[†], near unto Putney, upon the Thames, where he thinketh to recover the sooner, in respect of the good air and affection he beareth to the place. And we all hope the same will be now within a few days, when I will not fail to hasten your satisfaction in this behalf."

Mr. FAUNT wrote again on the 28th of February, 158 $\frac{1}{4}$, from Whitehall[‡], having received that day Mr. BACON's letter of the 12th, in which he mentioned his having seen Mr. WAAD in his journey towards Spain. He sent, at the same time, a letter to secretary WALSHINGHAM, which was delivered to him by Mr. FAUNT, who was just come from him at the writing of his own letter, in which he informs Mr. BACON, that the secretary had been very sick for seven days past, tho' that day better dispos'd for the recovery of his health than before, having been much subject to great indispositions all that winter, and now lately much tormented with a vehement cold, some fits of a fever, and not altogether free from his old disease. "After he had heard your letter read, *says Mr. FAUNT*, he willed me to put him in mind to answer the same within a few days; which I mean shall be to-morrow, God willing. And tho' he be at his own house, yet having well considered of the contents thereof, he hath willed me now at my coming hither to deliver the same to Mr. BEALE[¶], who waiteth in his room, and whom, I take it, he hath desired to shew the same unto her majesty, finding the matter very important, and concurring with the best intelligence from that nation, as myself can witness, and hereafter shall farther give you to understand. Thus much in the mean time I could not but impart unto you, until my master's letter shall return you the deserved acknowledgement of your sufficiency and faithfulness in the service of your prince and country.

"This day, *adds he*, Mr. DYER[§] is return'd out of the Low Countries, where he was lately employed by her majesty to the Prince and States: what is there effected, you shall there know by my lord ambassador.

"My lord of Leicester hath had of late a grievous sickness, but is now somewhat well recovered; and generally there is a very dangerous fever reigning and raging in these parts.

"The archbishop of Canterbury holdeth on his course[‡], as I formerly advertised you, without any relaxation."

[†] Barn Elms.

[‡] Vol. fol. 65.

[¶] ROBERT BEALE, clerk of the council, afterwards secretary to the queen for the northern parts,

and one of the commissioners at the treaty of Boulogne, in May, 1600.

[§] Afterwards Sir EDWARD DYER.

[‡] Of severity against the Puritans.

He inclosed secretary WALSINGHAM's letter to Mr. BACON in his own, of the 2d of March, 158 $\frac{1}{2}$, from Whitehall *. "What other good token, *says he*, of his unfeigned affection towards you I have observ'd in him, I will now forbear to add. Yourself by this can conjecture much: only I must needs justify that you find now written, being the bare writer thereof. And tho' we commonly receive but his general instructions in the draught of a letter; yet I found him in this to be very strict, especially in setting down that, which her majesty commanded to be written in her name to you; as particularly, *the care and diligence, &c. sheweth whose son you are, &c.* So as you may not think there was herein left unto me any great liberty of words for the enlarging of the matter.

He wrote another letter on the 12th of that month [March] from Whitehall †, in which, as well as in the preceding, he supposed Mr. BACON would be soon at Paris. "Until your arrival there, *says he*, or Mr. WAAD's return hither, I shall have little to write, which you shall not sooner understand where you are than from hence. For seeing the Low Country causes do now fill the world, it were in vain to advertise any thing thereof, both because they vary daily, and you are to meet with these letters at the fountain, from whence not only these, but all other occurrences, are derived unto us. Only I will add, that Mr. JOHN NORREYS arrived here yesterday, being, as it is yet thought, not to return in haste; and time must make me better acquainted with that he bringeth.

"At home, God be thanked, we enjoy our accustomed quiet; and as I doubt not but the Lord will continue the same so long as the sincerity of his truth and holy will shall be maintained amongst us, even for their sake, whom out of the multitude he hath chosen to himself; so looking into the untimely displacing the best and zealouslest ministers at this day, and the violent course, that is in all places (especially by the archbishop's rage and jealousy) held against them now, when the realm is full of seminaries and hirelings, who have seduced infinite, and still serve their turn of this opportunity to trouble both the church and state, I cannot but greatly fear, that the same our Lord will shew himself highly displeased against us for so great a contempt of his word, the true professors and ministers whereof are presently more subject to all kind of inquisition and persecution, than either papist, atheist, or whatsoever profane and dissolute person. And can there be any more evident token of the miserable calamities approaching, than to see the true teachers and pastors thus spoiled, by those especially, that would seem to be the pillars of the church, who having the mark of the beast, it is impossible they should know the necessity of that sweet food of the gospel; and as they never have taken thereof in any measure themselves, how can they feel the want, that others have thereof? And therefore drowned in ambition and over-great abundancy of other outward things, they be such, as neither will enter themselves, nor suffer others to enter in at that strait and narrow passage. Such punishment hath the Lord reserved unto us for the infection, which you see by continuance of time these romish relics remaining among us have bred in this land. I am the rather moved to unfold unto you these greatest

* Vol. i. fol. 68.

† Ibid. fol. 69.

“ miseries of our state, for that I know you have a part in the mutual participation thereof; as also by reason of some speech it pleased my good lady your mother to use unto me touching these matters, wherein having observed many testimonies of her said sincere and most christian affection, I cannot but praise the Lord for the same, and accordingly rejoice in your behalf. The Lord raise up many such matrons for the comfort of his poor afflicted church, assuring you, Sir, that I have been a witness of her earnest care and travel for the restoring of some of them to their places, by resorting often unto this place to solicit those causes, whom otherwise I have not often seen in court, and am thoroughly persuaded therein not to take any comfort or delight, except to see her majesty and her ladyship’s good friends.”

He gives it as his opinion, that Mr. WAAD would not return soon from Spain, it being doubted in England, that “ his audience would be deferred a good while, if no other ill usage and hard intreaty accompany the same. And to be plain with you, he carried bitter stuff, and such as may perhaps endanger him in some fort or other.”

He concludes his letter with the close of a sermon preached that day before the queen by Dr. TOBY MATTHEW, then dean of Durham, to which preferment he had been collated in September, 1583, and was in 1595 advanced to that see, and at last, in 1606 to the archbishopric of York, who having occasion by his text to shut up his speech with complaining, that rewards were not bestowed by those in authority upon such, as deserved them, neither with a full hand, often repeated these words, *that rewards were due to those, that deserved well in the church or common-wealth, and no man should so live, as his labour should be lost, &c.* or to this effect in other words; often and covertly inveighing at the nice point of niggardness at court. Whereupon her majesty afterwards, in lieu of her thanks, cast him these ambiguous words out of the window, *Well, whosoever have missed their rewards, you (some said thou) have not lost your labour.* Whereof many were in doubt of the interpretation: “ But it is sure, says Mr. FAUNT, he was hit home for his fauciness, as also for that his greediness is disliked here, having kept some other benefices in his hands a good while, since he was dean of Durham.”

Mr. FAUNT wrote again on the 28th of March, 1584, from Whitehall^b, by a gentleman belonging to the English ambassador, who, he presum’d, would find him at Paris; and promised to write to him more at large by Mr. EDWARD GRIMESTON, who was to be dispatch’d thither.

His next letter, dated at Whitehall, on the 13th of April, 1584^c, was sent by Mr. GRIMESTON, in which he acquaints Mr. BACON, that Mr. WAAD was newly arrived, by whom he understood, that the lord treasurer and secretary WALSHINGHAM began to be somewhat satisfied with Mr. BACON’s longer stay abroad.

^b Vol. i. fol. 89.

^c Ibid. fol. 90.

He wrote again on the 26th of that month ^d, taking notice of his having heard from Mr. WAAD, and others of his friends, of his resolution to travel into Germany, and recommending to him as an attendant in that journey Mr. PALMER, a young student and fellow of a college in Cambridge, and master of arts, and son of a gentleman, who had been esteemed by the lord keeper BACON.

There are extant no more letters to Mr. BACON, during the course of the year 1584, in which queen ELIZABETH was endeavouring to unravel the designs of her enemies against her, and actually discovered one form'd by the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Guise, for invading England; which occasion'd a general association of men of all degrees and conditions there, to prosecute to death those, who should engage in any attempt against her majesty. The queen of Scots was likewise remov'd from the custody of GEORGE, earl of Shrewsbury, into that of Sir DREW DRURY and Sir AMIAS PAULET. This year was likewise distinguish'd by the death of the duke of Anjou, on the 10th of June, N. S. and the assassination of WILLIAM the first, prince of Orange, on the same day, at Delft in Holland, by BALTASAR GERARD, a Burgundian; upon which occasion the States conferr'd the government of Holland and Zealand upon his second son, MAURICE, who began to shew himself soon after one of the ablest generals of that age. In December of the same year, the duke of Guise, who had before reviv'd the league, sign'd a private treaty with the king of Spain, for the exclusion of HENRY de Bourbon, king of Navarre, and raising CHARLES cardinal de Bourbon, uncle of that king, to the throne of France, after the death of HENRY III.

Mr. BACON does not appear to have come to Paris at the time, when he was expected; but took the opportunity of paying a visit to the king of Navarre, and his sister, in the principality of BERN, where he was ^e when the duke d'Espernon was sent thither with a magnificent retinue, by HENRY III. to treat with that king ^f. Here Mr. BACON was obliged to stay longer, than he first intended, by a wrench in his foot; and became acquainted with the learned LAMBERT DANÆUS, who was born at Orleans, and having first studied the civil law, afterwards applied himself to divinity, in which he prov'd one of the ablest writers of his time; and of which he was at first professor at Geneva, then at Leyden and Ghent, whence he was invited to Orthez in Navarre, and at last remov'd in 1594 to Castres, where he died in 1596 ^g. This divine had so high an esteem for Mr. BACON, that he dedicated to him several of his works ^h.

During Mr. BACON's stay at Bourdeaux, a relapse into a quartan ague detaining him there all the winter, he incurr'd the jealousy and resentment of the bigotted papists, by his intimacy with, and services to, the protestants there; which occasioned one WENDEN, an old English mass-monger, to draw up a remonstrance,

^d Vol. i. fol. 51.

^e Letter of Mr. BACON to the earl of Essex, 12 Sept. 1596.

^f GIRARD, hist. de la vie du Duc d'Espernon, L. i. p. 89 & seqq. Edit. Paris, 1730.

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^g MEURSIJ Athen. Batav. L. ii. p. 127, 128. & TEISSIER eloges des hommes Savans, part ii. p. 236, 237 Edit. Genev. 1683.

^h Letter of Mr. BACON to the earl of Essex, ut supra.

H

sign'd

sign'd likewise by two English jesuits, and presented to the marshal de Matignon¹, governor of Bourdeaux, charging Mr. BACON, that his lodging was the receptacle of all rebellious hugonots; that his pen was their intelligencer and the director of all their commotions; and that his personal presence and assistance, at their assemblies and communions, was no small countenance and encouragement to them. This remonstrance made such an impression upon some members of the court of parliament there, that they declar'd him to deserve the rack; but the marshal, with great candour and civility, took the affair into his own hands, and protected Mr. BACON in all quietness and security².

At his first coming to Montauban, where we find him in the beginning of the year 1584, the chief counsellors of the king of Navarre, as GRATTENS, chancellor CLERUAU, SEGUR, DU PLESSIS, superintendants, and DU PIN, chief secretary, plac'd a great confidence in him; frequently sitting in council in his chamber³.

Mr. FENNER, a friend of Mr. BACON, returning into England in February, 1584, the latter took this opportunity of sending letters to his other friends, and among the rest to Mr. FAUNT, who had not received any from him for nine months before, nor heard any certainty of his residence, as he complains in his answers from London, on the 16th of April, 1585⁴, which he sent by Mr. CHAMPERNON, who was dispatch'd by queen ELIZABETH to the king of Navarre. In this letter he informs Mr. BACON, that Mr. FENNER had since his arrival been admitted to frequent conferences with her majesty; and relates his own conversation with lady BACON, with regard to the indisposition of Mr. BACON, and his want of 500 l. He acquaints him likewise with his own marriage with the daughter of a merchant of London.

Mr. BACON did not omit to write sometimes to archbishop WHITGIFT, under whom he had been in some measure educated, while the latter was master of Trinity College, which place he held till June 1577, after he had been consecrated bishop of Worcester, in April preceding; from which see he was translated to that of Canterbury, in August, 1583. His grace's answer to Mr. BACON's late letters was in these terms⁵.

Salutem in Christo.

“ Good Mr. ANTHONY, I heartily thank you for your friendly letters, wherein
 “ you declare your good nature mindfull of your friends in your absence. The re-
 “ ports made by those two companions are so notoriously untrue, that there needeth
 “ no confutation thereof. I am, I thank God, exercised with such like calumina-
 “ tors at home also; but I comfort myself in a good conscience, knowing, that
 “ lies and false rumours cannot long prevail. In matters of religion, and other-

¹ JACQUES GUYON, seigneur des Matignon, count de Thorigni, and prince de Mortagne, who signalized himself on several occasions, in the reigns of HENRY II. HENRY III. and HENRY IV. He was made lieutenant-general of Guienne, in 1585.

He died suddenly at Bourdeaux, in June, 1597.

² Letter to the earl of Essex.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Vol. i. fol. 93.

⁵ Vol. i. fol. 95.

“ wife,

“ wife, I remain the same I was at your being with me, and so intend to do, by
 “ God’s grace, during life; wherein also I am daily more and more confirmed by
 “ the uncharitable and indirect practises (that I term them no worse) as well of
 “ the common adversary the papist, as also of some of our wayward, unquiet, and
 “ discontented brethren. But hereof more at our meeting, which I wish with as
 “ convenient speed as your health will suffer, the rather in respect of the danger-
 “ ous troubles in the places, where you are. Among the rest of your friends you
 “ shall find me in good will not inferior to the best. And whatsoever you answer
 “ in my behalf for the defence of my integrity, either in matters of religion,
 “ or life, I trust no man shall ever be able to impeach you thereof. *Domino thee*
 “ *sto aut eado*. But in the fight and respect of men I fear no accuser, where I
 “ may be heard, according to the rule of justice. *Vale in Christo*. From Lambeth,
 “ the 10th of May, 1585-

“ Your most assured and loving friend,

“ JO. CANTUAR.”

Mr. FENNER, who was in the service of the king of Navarre, by whom he had been sent to queen ELIZABETH, wrote, after his arrival in England, to acquaint Mr. BACON of the delivery of his letters, and those of that king to her majesty, and his discourse with the lord treasurer, and lady BACON, and her son FRANCIS, concerning Mr. BACON; the substance of which, and others of his letters, he repeated in one from London, dated the 22d of July, 1585*, in which he likewise observ’d, that lady BACON would not comply with Mr. BACON’s request, that his steward HUGH MANTELL might come to him, but had importun’d her majesty to send a person to recall her son from abroad.

Sir FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM wrote also to Mr. BACON from the court at Nonesuch, on the 22d of September, 1585†, that his friends, considering the troubled state of that country, where he was, and the sickly state of his body, wish’d him at home. “ As they did, *says he*, heretofore love you for your particular, so now
 “ they love you, for the public, being thro’ your travel and industry made very
 “ sufficient to serve both her majesty and your country. I dare not say much
 “ unto you concerning public proceedings here, resting doubtful of the safe passing
 “ of these letters.”

Mr. FAUNT’s letter from London, of the 6th of October, 1585‡, was sent by Mr. CHAMPERNON, who was so well instructed in all points relating to England, that Mr. FAUNT thought it unnecessary to write any particular account of them to Mr. BACON, then at Montauban, whom he urg’d to return.

These are the chief letters among Mr. BACON’s papers, during the year 1585; nor are there many in 1586; but it appears, that his friends were still importunate for his immediate return to England. Mr. FAUNT, in his letter from London, of the 13th of June, 1586§, takes notice of the *many strange accidents, which*,

* Vol. i. fol. 96.

† Fol. 97.

‡ Ibid. fol. 98.

§ Ibid. fol. 106.

says he, *give no small credit to the old prophecy of the approaching year, 1588.* And in another letter from London on the 31st of December, 1586¹, he writes to the same purpose: “ You hear of our accidents, and see, that the eyes of the world
“ are fix’d upon us even to behold our ruin, or speedy amendment; and of this
“ latter I see no hope. The Lord be merciful unto us, and send you hither speedily
“ to the comfort of your friends, and that you may have some time to prepare
“ and settle your estate here before this heavy change light among us.”

The discovery in July, 1586, of BABINGTON’s plot for assassinating queen ELIZABETH, to which the queen of Scots had been privy and consenting, having occasioned the latter to be brought to a tryal in October following, and sentence of death against her being confirm’d by the parliament, her son king JAMES sent Mr. WILLIAM KEITH, gentleman of his chamber, and afterwards the master of Gray, and Sir ROBERT MELVIL, to England, to prevent the execution of that sentence: And he wrote to queen ELIZABETH on the 26th of January, 1587², the following letter³.

“ Madame and dearest sister,

“ If ye could have knouin quhat divers thochtis have agitat my mynde,
“ since my directing of VILLIAME KEITH unto you, for the sollistig of this
“ matter, quheirto nature and honoure so greatly and unfeynedly bindis and
“ obleigis me; if, I say, ye knew quhat divers thochtis I have bene in, and
“ quhat just grief I hadd, veying deeply the thing itself, if so it shoulde proceed;
“ as Godd forbidd, quhat eventis micht follou thairupon, quhat number of straites
“ I volde be drivin unto, and amongst the rest hou it micht perrell my repu-
“ tation amongst my subjectis: If thaife thingis, I yet say againe, uayre knouin
“ unto you, then. dout I not but ye uold so far pittie my case, as it uold
“ easely mak you at the first to resolve youre ouin best into it. I doubt greatlie
“ in quhat facon to writt in this purpois, for ye have alreadie taken so evill with
“ my playnneis, as I feare, if I shall persist in that course, ye shall rather be ex-
“ asperatit to passions in reading the uordis, than by the playnneis thair of be per-
“ suadit to consider richtlie the simpill trueth; yet justly preferring the deutie of
“ ane honest freind to the suddaine passions of one, quho, hou soone they be past,
“ can uyslier vey the reasons, then I can sett thaime doune, I have resolved in few
“ uordis and plaine to gif you my friendly and best aduyce, appealing to your
“ rypest judment to discern thairupon.

“ Quhat thing, madame, can greatlier touche me in honoure, that both is a
“ king and a sonne, then that my nearest neihboure being in straitest friendship
“ with me, shall rigorousslie putt to death a free souveraigne prince, and my na-
“ turall mother, alyke in estaite and sexe to her that so uses her, albeit subject,
“ I grant, to a harder fortune, and touching her nearlie in proximitie of bloode.
“ Quhat law of Godd can permitt, that justice shall strikke upon thaime, quhome
“ he hes appointed supream dispensatouris of the same under him; quhome he
“ hath called Goddis, and thairfore subjected to the censure of none in earth;

¹ Ibid. fol. 108.

² Vol. i. fol. 100.

“ quhose

" quhose anointing by Godd cannot be defyled by man unreuenged by the au-
 " thoure thair of; quho being supreme and immediate lieutenantis of Godd in
 " heauen, cannot thairfore be iudgit by thaire æquallis in earth. Quhat mon-
 " struous thing is it, that souueraigne princes thaimselfis should be example-
 " giueris of thaire ouen sacred diademon prophaning? Then quhat should moue
 " you to this forme of proceeding (supposen the worst, quhich in good faithe I
 " looke not for at youre handis) honoure or profite? Honoure uaire it to you to
 " spaire, quhen it is least looked for? Honoure uaire it to you (quhich is not
 " onlie my friendlie advice, but most earnest suite) to tak me and all other princes
 " in Europe eternally beholdin unto you, in granting this my so reasonable re-
 " quest, and not (appardon, I pray you, my free speaking) to put princes to
 " straittis of honoure, quhaire through youre generall reputation and the uni-
 " versall (almost) mislyking of you may dangerousslie ferril both in honoure and
 " utillitie youre persone and estate. Ye know, madame, well enough how small
 " difference CICERO concludis to be betwixt *utile & honestum* in his discourse thair of,
 " and quich of thaim ought to be framed to the other. And now, madame, to
 " conlude, I pray you so to vey this feu argumentis, that as I ever presumed of
 " your nature, so the quhole uorlde may praise your subgettis for thaire dutieful
 " caire for your preseruacion, and yourself for youre princelie pittie; the doing
 " quhair of only belongis unto yow; the performing quhair of onlie appartaynis
 " unto yow. Respect then, good sister, this my first so long continuid and so
 " earnest request, dispatching my embassadouris with such a comfortable ansaure,
 " as may become your persone to give, and as my louing and honest heart unto
 " yowr merites to ressaue. But in caice any do uant themselves to knou farther
 " of my mynde in this matter, then my ambassadouris do, quho indied are fully
 " acquainted thairwith, I pray yow not to takk me to be a Cameleon, but by the
 " contrair thaim to be malicious impostouris, as surelie they are.

" And thus praying yow hairtilie to excuse my to ruide and longsom lettir, I
 " commit yow, madame and dearest sister, to the blessed protection of the most
 " hie, quho mott give you grace so to resolve in this maiter, as may be most ho-
 " norabill for you, and most acceptable to him. From my palleis of Holirud-
 " house, the 26th day of Januarie, 1586.

" Your most louing and affectionatt

" Brother and cousin,

" JAMES R.

" A madame ma tres chere soeur & cousine la royne d'Angleterre."

But neither this letter of the king of Scots, nor any other application of his,
 could prevent the execution of his mother, on the 8th of February, 1587.

Mr. BACON continued still at Montauban, notwithstanding secretary WALSHING-
 HAM had written to him on the 10th of November, 1586, from the court at
 Greenwich, by the queen's command, to return to England with as much ex-

pedition as he could; and tho' his situation in that city grew less agreeable to him, than it had been before. For CHARLOTTE ARBALESTE, wife of PHILIP de MORNAY, seigneur du PLESSIS MARLY, one of the most considerable men for learning and abilities among the protestants in France, perceiving, that he would not bite at the bait, which was laid for him, by marrying her daughter *, and being unwilling, that her husband should part with the 1500 crowns, which Mr. BACON had procured to be delivered to Monsieur BUZENVAL in England, and likewise extremely incens'd against him for taking the part of the principal minister, whom she persecuted for censuring her scandalous excess in her head-attire, she alienated her husband's mind from Mr. BACON, and broke off the friendship, which had been between them. Mr. BACON being therefore thus injuriously deprived of his own, and absolutely unprovided with means for his support, was oblig'd to embrace and entertain a friendly correspondence with the bishop of Cahors, which had been offered kindly by the bishop, and was grounded upon the good opinion, which that prelate's uncle, the old marshal de Biron, had profess'd, of Mr. BACON. The bishop, after many kind offices, as letting pass and repass freely his messengers, and advancing to him the sum of 1000 crowns, requested him to write a letter of recommendation to the lord treasurer BURGHLEY, in favour of two priests imprisoned by his lordship at Westminster. This request was complied with by Mr. BACON, partly to shew himself thankful to the bishop, but principally to procure a safe conduct for his servant Mr. THOMAS LAWSON, whom he was dispatching into England, not only for his own particular business, but also to convey and deliver safely to the lord treasurer's hands certain advertisements of great importance to her majesty's service, and dangerous for himself. But his lordship, instead of rewarding Mr. LAWSON, kept him in prison ten months, in compliance with lady BACON's passionate importunity, arising from false suggestions and surmises, authorised by Monsieur du PLESSIS and his wife †.

Mr. FAUNT being sent upon a sudden occasion to Paris, in the beginning of February, 1587, wrote to Mr. BACON from thence on the 21st of that month, new style, pressing him to hasten his return to England, for, "seeing it is now known, *says he*, that you have money sufficient, whatsoever excuse you shall hereafter alledge, will be accounted frivolous, and serve to increase the sinister suspicions already conceived of your delay in that behalf. And tho' for my own part, I know and think some others your best friends give small credit to such conceits and false bruits, yet now, if any new excuse be made, and the time of your return deferred but one month more than is thought reasonable for that same, (considering, that it is known, that in this time of the truce you may easily come away, but after that is ended, there is no possibility thereof) I dare assure you, all old matters will be revived, and every oversight, never so small, construed to the worst."

* Probably her daughter SUSANNA DE PAZ, by her first husband JOHN DE PAZ, sieur de FEUQUERES; which SUSANNA was afterwards married to RENE DE LA VALLIE, a gentleman of good quality in the country of Maine. See Histoire de la vie d'MESSIRE PHILIPPE de Mornay, p. 374, & 722. Edit. Leyde, 1647, in 4to. Madam de

PLESSIS, who had one son and three daughters by Monsieur du PLESSIS, her second husband, has a high character in that history, p. 31 and 323. for abilities, piety, charity, and all other virtues.

† Letter of Mr. BACON to the earl of Essex, Sept. 12, 1596.

Vol. i. fol. 110.

The resentments of the king of Scots for the death of his mother, were not so strong as to make him indifferent to the interests of queen ELIZABETH, during the dangers threatned by the approach of the Spanish Armada in 1588; on the 4th of August of which year he wrote the following letter to her majesty ².

“ Madam and dearest sister.

“ In the times of straits true friends are best tried. Now merits he thanks of you and your country, who kythes himself a friend to your country and estate. And so this time most moves me to utter my zeal to the religion, and how near a kinsman and neighbour I find myself to you and your country. For this effect then have I sent you this present, hereby to offer unto you my forces, my person, and all that I may command, to be employed against your strangers in whatsoever fashion, and by whatsoever means, as may best serve for the defence of your country. Wherein I promise to behave myself, not as a stranger and foreign prince, but as your natural son, and compatriot of your country in all respects.

“ Now, Madam, to conclude, as, on the one part, I most heartily thank you for your trouble, beginning by your ambassadors in offers for my satisfaction; so, on the other part, I pray you send presently down commissioners for the perfecting of the same; which I protest I desire not; for that I would have the reward to preceede the deserts, but only that I with honour, and all my good subjects with a fervent good will, may embrace this your godly and honest cause; whereby your adversaries may have ado, not with England, but with the whole island of Britain.

“ Thus praying you to dispatch all your matters with all possible speed, and wishing you a success convenient to those, that are invaded by God’s professed enemies, I commit, madam, and dearest sister, your person, estate, and country to the blessed protection of the almighty. From Edinburgh, the 4th of August, 1588.

“ Your most loving, and

“ affectionate brother and cousin,

“ as time shall now try,

“ J. R.”

Mr. BACON was in the year following, 1589, still unwilling to return to England; and therefore desired captain FRANCIS ALLEN, who was several years after knighted, to satisfy his mother and other relations, with regard to his continuance abroad. That gentleman wrote to him from London, on the 17th of August, 1589 ³, the result of his conversations with them on that subject, informing him, that when he waited upon the lord treasurer, his lordship demanded the cause of Mr. BACON’s not coming home, and said, that he *spent like a prince, being but a*

² Vol. i. fol. iii.

³ Ibid. fol. 121.

Squire; tho' with respect to his expences, and not returning, he would not condemn him before he had heard him speak. His Lordship added, that he must hereafter feed men with deeds and not words; confessing however, that he had virtues and metal in him. He open'd likewise Sir JOHN NORREYS's letter, and prais'd it very much for the goodness of the language and style. The lord treasurer and Mr. FRANCIS BACON gave Mr. ALLEN each of them a letter in favour of Mr. LAWSON, for lady BACON; which she would not once vouchsafe to look upon, tho' she had treated captain ALLEN at Gorhambury with great civility, till he began to move her for Mr. LAWSON, upon which she express'd the utmost resentment at her son's so long continuance abroad, calling him traitor to God and his country, and alledging, that he had undone her, and sought her death; but that when he should gain that, which he fought for, he would have but an hundred pounds more than he had then. That she was resolv'd to procure the queen's letter to force him to return home; and that upon his coming back, if her majesty gave him his right, she would commit him to prison. She declar'd, that she could not bear to hear of him, and that he was hated of all the chiefest in France, and curst of God in all his actions, since Mr. LAWSON's being with him, whom she was determin'd not to suffer to return to his master Mr. BACON. Her ladyship added, that she had rather, that he had engaged in the wars under the king of Navarre, than to have staid so long idle at Montauban. She us'd several other expressions of her concern for his delaying to come back, urging, that she had spent her jewels to supply him, and had borrow'd the last money, which she had sent him, of seven different persons. Captain ALLEN found Mr. FRANCIS BACON very tractable and earnest to effect what his brother desired; but the apprehensions of his mother's displeasure prevented him from interposing much in his affairs.

Captain ALLEN added to this letter another of the news of the court, wherein he inform'd Mr. BACON, that the earl of Essex had *chas'd Mr. RALEGH from the court, and confin'd him into Ireland*. "Conjecture you, adds he, the rest of that matter." That the two generals, Sir JOHN NORREYS for land, and Sir FRANCIS DRAKE for sea, were returned from their Portugal voyage, *with no better success than must needs*. That Mr. ROBERT CECIL was very shortly to marry lord COBHAM's daughter; as lord chancellor HATTON's heir, Sir WILLIAM HATTON^b, had judge GAWDY's daughter and heiress^c, the lord chancellor having danced the measures at the solemnity, and left his gown on the chair, saying, *Lie there, chancellor*. That the countess dowager of Leicester, mother of the earl of Essex, had married the gentleman of her horse, Sir CHRISTOPHER BLUNTE, knighted by the lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby, in Flanders, where that nobleman had been general during the absence of Sir JOHN NORREYS, whom the States demanded again; "and I hope, says captain ALLEN, he goeth with as ample authority, as ever my lord Leicester had."

"As for your aunt, my lady RUSSEL, the matter is broken off between my lord Worcester and her, and since he is dead.

^b He was nephew to the lord chancellor, being son of his lordship's sister DOROTHY, by her husband JOHN NEWPORT, of Harringham in Warwickshire. Sir WILLIAM had chang'd his name

from NEWPORT to HATTON.
^c ELIZABETH, daughter of Sir FRANCIS GAWDY, Lord chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

" Alderman MARTIN is married, and SKINNER, that hath been sheriff [in 1587]
 " is now in the Counter, to teach him to give judgment, and after to do justice;
 " for he whipt Mr. NEVILLE's wife, that is in the Tower, for a suspicion to keep
 " hospitality; and since he hath been condemn'd by my lords of the council, as
 " some say, to pay her a thousand pounds. There his crafty wit deceiv'd him, as
 " well as alderman BEARD's, when he consented to the robbing of himself.

" Mr. DANIEL ROGERS is a clerk of the council, and Mr. LAKE[†], Mr. secre-
 " tary's man, clerk of the signet. I have sent you *Martin-mar-Prelate*, which I
 " found written expressly for you by a friend of yours.

" Here is a bruit, and I had it from the mouth of a great man, that her majesty
 " is minded to send ten or twelve thousand to the aid of the king[‡].

" I must send you one news, for the which I pray rejoice with me. My brother
 " FRANCIS VERE is knighted[§]. It is he, that made the voyage with me into
 " Polonia.

" The passing up the river of Thames by Mr. CAVENDISH is famous, for his
 " mariners and soldiers were clothed in silk, his sails of damask, his top-masts cloth-
 " of gold, and the richest prize, that ever was brought at one time into England.

" Mr. ROBERT CECIL is this year sheriff of Hertfordshire.

" Sir ROBERT SIDNEY goes lord governor of Flushing. Mr. DEVEREUX hath
 " been the voyage of Portugal with my lord [of Essex] his brother, and now is
 " returning to the king [of France] with Sir ROGER WILLIAMS in his company.
 " You divined well, for he was cosened of all his horses, and, I believe, so will be
 " again.

" There was never in court such emulation, such envy, such back-biting, as
 " is now at this time."

Sir JOHN NORREYS being at London, in September, 1589, wrote to Mr.
 BACON from thence on the 16th of that month^{*}, acknowledging his obligations to
 that gentleman for his honourable opinion of himself, and his many courtesies to
 captain ALLEN, " to whom, says he, as to one, that hath had his chief bringing
 " up in the wars with me, I do wish as much happiness as may be. And now that
 " you have so well spent a long time in those remote parts of France, whereby
 " you are able to do your country service, which hath, and will have daily more
 " occasion to employ you, I could wish you thought of your return, a thing
 " desired, I know, of all your good friends. The altered state of France I will
 " leave to Mr. ALLEN to write unto you. I assure you the king hath passed some

^{*} Afterwards Sir THOMAS LAKE, and secretary
 of state.

[†] HENRY IV. of France, who succeeded to the
 crown upon the assassination of HENRY III. on the
 18 of August, 1589.

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I

[‡] He was knighted by the lord WILLLOUGHBY
 of Eresby, general of the English in the Low Coun-
 tries, for his behaviour at the siege of Berghen, in
 Brabant. CAMDEN, p. 537.

[§] Vol. i. fol. 126.

" difficulties,

“ difficulties, and is not yet at the end of them. He hath had some succour come hence, but too slowly; and, I hope, will every day grow better.”

Upon the return of the English from the expedition against Portugal, undertaken in April this year by Sir FRANCIS DRAKE and Sir JOHN NORREYS, attended by the earl of Essex, capt. WILLIAM FENNER sent Mr. Bacon, in a letter from Plymouth, the following account of *that miserable action*, as he styles it^a, in which he was present, declaring, that he was unable to endure to write that with his hand, which his heart thought.

There departed of ships English and Flemish out of Plymouth, on the 18th of April, 1589, one hundred and eighty sail, with 21000 men for the Groyne, in Biscay, where they arrived the third day after their departure. At their entrance into the haven, they burnt four ships of the king of Spain, the chiefest of which was, that of Don MARTIN DE ROCALDIE, vice-admiral of the Spanish navy, which had come the summer before against England. In her were taken 68 pieces of brass cannon, and Don JOHN DE LUNA, lieutenant to Don MARTIN. The next day they took the lower town, above half an English mile in length, with an infinite quantity of wine and oyl; of which a sufficient provision being taken for the use of the fleet, the rest was burnt with the lower town.

They parlied with the higher town, which was exceedingly strong, and afterwards with pioneers and cannon made a breach, where the wall not being well under-propp'd fell, and kill'd the master of the works and three hundred of his men. Several assaults were made by the English captains and gentlemen, who suffered so much, from the musket-shot and stones from the walls, that it was impossible to prosecute the attempt. The chief of those who were killed were captain JOHN SYDENHAM, and captain KERSEY; and of the gentlemen, lieutenants and common soldiers, two hundred and fifty. Among the wounded were colonel JOHN SAMFORD, and the captains COOKE, WILLIAM POOLE, JOHN WINALL, SEAGER, and THOMAS JOHNSON, and the lieutenants SOMMERAS, who afterwards died of his wounds, and CLIFFORD.

Three English miles from the Groyne, the Spaniards, to the number of four thousand, had intrench'd themselves by a river's side, not having any passage but one small bridge to come to them; which general NORREYS hearing of, march'd with 1700 men towards them. Advancing to the river's side, he enter'd upon the bridge, but was beaten back. The second time he enter'd, with Sir EDWARD NORREYS, colonel THOMAS SIDNEY, and captain COOPER, upon the bridge, and they drove the Spaniards back, beat them out of their trenches, and had the killing of them more than an English mile, in which action 1200 or 1300 Spaniards were supposed to be slain; and of the English the captains COOPER, EDMUND PUGH, and SPIGGOT, and Sir EDWARD NORREYS, and colonel SIDNEY, were wounded, the latter killing the Spaniard, who had wounded him with his pike upon the bridge.

^a Ibid. fol. 117. See the accounts of this expedition in HAKLUYT, Vol. ii. CAMDEN, p. 550 & seqq. METEEN, L. xv. fol. 317.

This service being ended, and no hope of gaining the higher town, because of a general want of powder in the fleet, the generals commanded the companies to re-embark, and set sail with a fair wind for Lisbon, the sickness increasing amongst the men, and destroying many. Within six days they had the sight of the rock of Lisbon, when a council was called, who delivered their opinions with relation to landing; which was at last determined to be at Penescha, a place thirty English miles to the eastward, or east north-east of Lisbon.

At their coming into the harbour of the Penescha, they took a castle, which was almost invincible, without the loss of a single man, and in it forty-eight pieces of brass cannon. They then landed without any impediment 180 ensigns of men, who marched towards Lisbon, leaving captain GEORGE BERTIE captain of the castle, and with them 200 soldiers, and captain EDMUND DOCWRA, who afterwards died. But captain BERTIE shipping himself in a French ship, which had been left there, with two Scots men, return'd to England, abandoning his men to the mercy of the Spaniards, by whom they were all put afterwards to the sword.

In the march towards Lisbon, Don ANTONIO, the king, and the prince of Portugal being there in person, look'd for the nobility, and chief of the country to come and submit themselves, with offer of such forces, as they were able to raise for the assistance of the king. But none appeared except a company of poor peasants without hose or shoes, and one gentleman, which presented him with a basket of cherries and plums.

Divers of the men fainted by the way with heat, and died for want of food; and divers, who would otherwise have died, were saved by the earl of Essex, who commanded all his stuff to be cast out of his carriages, and them to be fill'd with the sick men and gentlemen, who fainted.

At their arrival at Lisbon, they made themselves masters of the suburbs of the city, where was riches sufficient for two such armies, if the soldiers might have had the liberty of plundering it. But the intreaty of Don ANTONIO the King, with the commandment of the pain of death, and the hope of better pillage, had such an effect, that all things were almost left untouch'd, the churches unspoiled, the people un plunder'd, and the houses unhurt.

The earl of Essex went in company, and knock'd at the gates of the city, wherein were no more, as they heard, than 700 Spaniards for the guard of it. The want of one piece to make a breach, or shoot against the gates, prevented the English from taking it. And the want of match among the soldiers, and some store of powder for their muskets, a survey being taken thro' the army, forc'd them to retire, when the Spaniards would fall out in the habit of Portuguese, crying, *Amigos*, [friends] and kill the sick men in the rear of the army, and after finding their wants, the sick and sound all together. Of the slain, the principal were the captains BRIGHT, CARRE, and CRIPPE, provost marshal, and SPENSER lieutenant of the ordinance, who being all mortally wounded, were left for want of carriage; and the captains POORE, HART, EDWARD PETWIN, and GEORGE MORGAN. Of those

dead by sickness at Cascais, after the reembarking of the men, and taking of the castle, were, captain WILLIAM FENNER, rear-admiral, and colonel EDWARD UNTON, who were both wounded from the castle with a great shot, and captain WILSON, serjeant major.

After their imbarcking at Cascais, the castle being spoiled, and the ordnance taken out, they being ready to set sail, but no resolution whither, more than either for England, or the islands, riding at anchor, there came into the road to them a fleet of great hulks, all which they took as prizes, being laden with wheat, wax, hollands, striped canvas, holland cheese, and rye; but one great ship, which the king of Denmark sent with them for a wafter, and eleven others richly laden, escaped. The goods, which they took, if sold to the utmost value in Spain, would have been worth a hundred thousand pounds; but in England, would not yield thirty thousand pounds for the payment of men.

The next day after the taking of these hulks they set sail. Being becalm'd under Cape Picher, there came twelve gallies, and fought with the rest of the English fleet, of which a Fleming was burnt with most of the men, and the WILLIAM of Mr. HAWKINS of Plymouth sunk. But no captain, or any other person of consideration kill'd or hurt in that service; only captain CAVERLY, one of the quarter-masters of the field, forsaking his ship, and going into the long boat was taken. After this captain EATON, a merchant of Hampton, but not engag'd in that action, was taken, and made a galley-slave.

The gallies being gone, the English put off to sea, where they were surpriz'd in the night by a violent storm. Captain FENNER, the writer of the letter, being separated from the rest, wander'd as a lost ship, in search of the generals, being chased day by day by the gallies, and often almost taken, was at last delivered, when past hope. He and his company, for the want of water, which was their drink, sail'd for Porto Santo, an island betwixt the Salmagos and the Maderas, where by good fortune he took a small pinnace laden with apricots and red plums, which for four days refresh'd his men, when he met with his admiral, alone, as himself was, without any one of the fleet, or Sir FRANCIS DRAKE with him: for Captain CROSS and Captain FENNER had seventeen sail, the former admiral, and the latter vice-admiral, appointed by the council; which was the second supply, and went out twenty-one days after the sailing of the royal army. The admiral and vice-admiral meeting thus sail'd into the road of Porto-Santo, where lying one night in hope by some means to get fresh water, the next morning seven sail more of their company came to them; upon which they landed, and took the island, where they refreshed themselves for two days, and then ransomed the town, saving the church and corn for the following contributions, twenty-four pipes of fresh fountain water, sixteen pipes of water, sixty-eight jars of sweet oyl, two hogsheads of white vinegar, two rundlets of red vinegar, 1120 hens and chickens, ten fat oxen, one hundred fat sheep, and as many musk-melons, grapes, mulberries, and figs, as they wanted. After they had thus refreshed themselves, not meeting with the general, they sail'd for England, where they found the rest of their company.

2 Sir

Sir FRANCIS DRAKE and general NORREYS took Vigo in their passage homeward, and put divers of the inhabitants to the sword. There were two of the ships cast away upon the rocks, one a fly-boat of Mr. HAWKINS's, and the other captain FRANCIS DUCWRA's ship.

Of the 21000 men, who went upon this expedition, there were computed to be 11000 kill'd and dead of sickness since their coming home; and of the 1100 gentlemen of name, who were engag'd in the action, kill'd and dead about 750.

There were likewise dead in the town of Plymouth, since the return of the fleet, 400 of the inhabitants, divers more being sick at the time of writing that letter.

Mr. BACON finding his situation at Montauban not agreeable, on account of the prejudice which Monsieur DE PLESSIS had conceived against him thro' the suggestions of his wife, remov'd to Bourdeaux, where he resided till his return to England. During his continuance there, his gouty disorder, which had seiz'd him several years before, fix'd itself in such a manner in his constitution, that he was never thoroughly relieved from it during the rest of his life; and it is not improbable, that his ill health, while he was in that city, might interrupt his correspondence; for I find but few letters to him, while he staid there. One of the most remarkable is anonymous from a friend of his, who appears to be zealously attach'd to the puritan party. It was written at London, on the 11th of March, 1597, and is as follows¹.

" Right worshipful Sir,

" At the receipt of your letters, with what joy I was ravished I cannot express unto you. For I rejoiced greatly, both that my letters, such as they were, came into your hands, whereof I had but little hope, especially in such troublesome times and place; as also principally to hear from yourself of your health and welfare, which I trust you shall henceforth better enjoy, and of your purposed return, after so long absence, wished and desired of all your friends. The good acceptance of my writing gladdened my heart, tho' I confess it to have been no more, nay much less than my duty, for such favours, as I have felt at your hands in my greatest need; the which, tho' it pleaseth you to forget, or not to take notice of, yet I always at the least with a thankful heart remember; and, God willing, so long as I live, the memory thereof shall never die. For particular matters, here are few worth the writing. Mr. BABINGTON^{*} is now doctor of divinity, when every man thought he had done with those things long ago. Dr. SUTCLIFFE^{*} is dean of Exeter, and hath written two books against church discipline, wherein he caper-claweth BEZA very fore. *Impar congressus Acbilli*. Our church of late hath been marvelously troubled about matters of government; and the labouring and striving to bring in an uniformity doth cause, and is farther like to make, a wonderful desolation and deformity amongst us. The best preachers, and faithfullest in

¹ From a volume of Mr. ANTHONY BACON'S Papers in my own possession, fol. 25.

^{*} GERVASE BABINGTON, successively bishop of Landaff, Exeter, and Worcester.

^{*} Dr. MATTHEW SUTCLIFFE, founder of Chelsea College, for the defence of the church of England against that of Rome, and author of many learned Works both in Latin and English.

" their

“ their callings, are cast into prison, sometimes being close shut up from the speech
 “ and company of their dearest friends, being degraded and deprived of their
 “ livings and callings, some having six or seven children, whom the charity of
 “ our clergy pillars send a begging for any thing they do unto them. Mr. CART-
 “ WRIGHT is, I think to honour him, cast into the Fleet¹. Mr. FENNE of Co-
 “ ventry, a man of rare gifts, in the Clink, with many more. UDALL, a profitable
 “ preacher of Kingston on Thames, is condemned, and hath judgment given
 “ upon him to be hanged² for a book called the *Demonstration of Discipline*; which
 “ book they labour much to have him confess to be of his doing, having before
 “ condemned him as the author. I can see nothing else but a way preparing to
 “ bring in popery; for atheism is in already, and in short time will overflow the land.
 “ It is said, that there hath been tampering about a general subscription through-
 “ out the land, not only of the ministry, but of all whatsoever bear any public
 “ office, that the authority of our bishops is lawful by the word of God; and
 “ that it was brought to my lord treasurer to subscribe to it, who should snub it,
 “ saying, that it is lawful by the positive law, but to say it is lawful by the word
 “ of God, that is another matter; and so there it stayeth. How long it will there
 “ rest, God knoweth. Sir WALTER RALEGH was made an instrument of the
 “ prolonging hitherto of UDALL's life³. They had informed the queen, that he
 “ held monstrous points; and that we had no church, no ministers, no sacraments,
 “ &c. But the speech is, he satisfied her majesty in those points with his own
 “ hand. *Omnia cum liceant; non licet esse bonum.*

“ Sir JOHN PERROT is the 8th of our March sent to the Tower, about some
 “ Irish matter⁴, as it should seem.

“ When I shall meet with any of your old acquaintance, I shall not be unkind-
 “ ful of my charge. In the mean while I humbly take my leave of your worship,
 “ and committing you and commending your good and happy return to the gra-
 “ cious protection of the Almighty. Because I know not into whose hands these
 “ may come, I mean to try your worship's divination, craving pardon of my
 “ boldness. March 11, 90.”

Among Mr. BACON's papers are several letters of the lord treasurer BURGHLEY,
 written in the end of the year 1590, and in the beginning of 1591, to Mr. ED-
 WARD GRIMESTON, who having been secretary to Sir EDWARD STAFFORD, em-
 bassador in France, was left by him at his return from thence, as agent at that
 court, in which post he appears to have continued till he was succeeded by Mr.
 THOMAS EDMONDES, afterwards knighted, and famous for his embassies at Brussels

¹ He was imprisoned there about September or October, 1590. See STAYPE's life of archbishop WHITGIFT, B. iv. Ch. 2. p. 337.

² He was try'd and condemn'd at Croyden, in June, 1590, but obtain'd his life, tho' he remain'd prisoner in Southwark till his death, about the year 1593. STAYPE, ubi supra, p. 344, 345.

³ See Mr. OLDYS's life of Sir WALTER RALEGH,

fol. 57, 58.

⁴ He was arraign'd on the 17th of April, 1592, for high-treason, and found guilty, and on the 16th of June receiv'd sentence of death, but died a natural one in September following. History of Sir JOHN PERROT, published from the original manuscript, p. 293. Edit. London, 1728. See likewise CAMDEN, p. 594, 595.

and Paris. Mr. GRIMESTON was probably the son ^p of that Sir EDWARD GRIMESTON, who was a privy counsellor, and comptroller of Calais, when it was surpris'd by the French in 1558, by whom he was taken prisoner, and confin'd in the Bastile above two years, till he made his escape from it in England, where he was tried for the loss of Calais, but honourably acquitted ^q, and lived to an uncommon age, dying in his 98th year, after having serv'd in several parliaments during the reign of queen ELIZABETH, for the borough of Ipswich. His son Mr. GRIMESTON, was seated at Bradfield in Essex, and by his wife JEAN, daughter and coheir of THOMAS RISBY, of Lavenham, in Suffolk, had a son HARBOTTLE, created a Baronet in 1612, who was father of Sir HARBOTTLE GRIMESTON, master of the Rolls.

The lord treasurer, in his letter to Mr. GRIMESTON, from the court at Richmond, of the 28th of December, 1590^r, observes, that if he were not assured, that Sir EDWARD STAFFORD had advertised Mr. GRIMESTON of the receipt of his *many letters diligently and circumspectly written*, he should condemn his own silence, having been very well satisfied with that gentleman's frequent letters to himself, which he had ordinarily imparted to her majesty, with her good liking. And after acquainting him, that he had a warrant to allow him twenty shillings a day, tells him, that in wisely procuring a suspension of letters of marque, he had gain'd the commendation and thanks of the merchants, who would be glad of his prosecuting the affair to some good final issue, since the decree of the king's council was but temporary. He desires him, at the same time, to obtain and send over a catalogue of the towns and principal noblemen of France, who obey'd HENRY IV. and of those who continued in rebellion against that king, who succeeded to the crown upon the assassination of HENRY III. on the first of August, 1589, and had, on the 4th of March following, gain'd the important battle of Yvri, against the duke de Mayenne. His lordship was in hope, by Mr. GRIMESTON's next letter, to learn, that Fescamp was surrendered; but could have wish'd that Caudebec had rather been attempted.

In another letter from the court at Richmond, of the 30th of January, 1592^r, he excuses his not having punctually answered the many letters, which he had received from Mr. GRIMESTON: "But the cause, *says he*, is partly for that I have "not leisure, being, as it were, roundly besieged with affairs to be answered from "north, south, east, and west, whereof I hope to be shortly delivered by supply "of some to take charge, as her majesty's principal secretaries." For after the death of Sir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM on the 6th of April, 1590, upon which the earl of Essex endeavoured in vain to procure from her majesty the restoration of Mr. DAVISON^t, who had been disgrac'd for sending away her warrant for the execution of the queen of Scots, there had been no secretary appointed, nor was there any one nam'd to that office till July 1596, when it was conferred upon Sir ROBERT

^p I find one EDWARD GRIMESTON, serjeant at arms, to have been the translator of several books into English, in the reign of king JAMES I. as, The general history of the Netherlands, The history of France, &c.

^q BURNET's history of the reformation, Vol. ii.

B. ii. p. 358.

^r Vol. i. fol. 134.

^s Ibid. fol. 128.

^t Supplement to the Cabala, p. 25. Edit. London, 1654, in 4to.

Cecil, who had long before discharg'd the duties of it, as an assistant to his father, who till that time kept the correspondences in all the foreign courts in his own hands. In the same letter his lordship informs Mr. GRIMESTON, that Mr. EDMUND YORKE was now sent to HENRY IV. to know that king's mind with respect to the dangerous estate of Bretagne, "whereof, says his lordship, her majesty doubteth, that the king hath not so great care, as the matter importeth, as Mr. YORKE will make you acquainted with his charge. And therefore, I doubt not but you will advise him with your knowledge, how he may have expedition to be heard, and to receive answer from the king." His lordship adds, that the matter of the suit of the count de Soissons for the surprise of Tours must needs work trouble to the king how to proceed with him; and that there would have been more trouble and greater danger, if he had recover'd Tours; "which I think surely, *says he*, should have served the duke of Parma for highway to Bretagne, at his second coming into France."

The lord treasurer, in another letter on the 6th of February, 1597, inform'd Mr. GRIMESTON of the arrival of the Deputies of Bretagne, the one a treasurer, and the other an advocate, who required aid from England to expell the Spaniards; and of that of Monsieur DE LA TOUR, who was to go into Germany, and by whom her majesty would send new letters to the princes of that country, to hasten their army.

His lordship's next letter was dated from his house in the Strand, on the 23d of February, 1597, in which he supposes, that the reason, why he had not heard of a long time from Mr. GRIMESTON, since his departure from Dieppe, was because since the king's army left that town, the leaguers of Newhaven and Roan had rang'd so over the country, having distress'd the band of horsemen of the governor of Dieppe, that there had been no security for any messenger to come, either from the king or the marshal de BIRON's camp; on which account Mr. EDMUND YORKE being sent to Dieppe, was oblig'd to take shipping from thence to Caen, and so to pass that way thro' that part of Normandy, to come to the king either at Tours or Chartres; for Mr. YORKE being at Caen, heard it both ways reported; who, his lordship doubted not, had been with the king long before that time, and he hop'd, was then upon his return. His lordship adds, that their latest news was by some, that the king had taken the Fauxbourgs of Chartres; and by some others, that he was master of the town; but that his own opinion was, that the king would be better occupied in taking the port-towns, as Newhaven, St. Malo, and Morlaix,

* CAMDEN'S ELIZABETH, p. 574. Mr. YORKE's instructions were dated January 27, 1597.

† Vol. i. fol. 131.

* HENRY DE LA TOUR d'Auvergne, viscount de Turenne, afterwards duke of Bouillon. He was attended to England by PAUL CHOART DE BUZENVAL, who was sent by HENRY IV. to reside as ambassador in ordinary in England, in the room of Mons. BEAUVOIR LA NOCLE, the viscount de Turenne being ambassador extraordinary. THUANUS Tom. v. L. c. cap. i. p. 45, 46. and MARSHALLIER,

Hist. de HENRY DE LA TOUR, duc de Bouillon, Tom. ii. L. iv. p. 19, 20. He was son of FRANCIS DE LA TOUR, the third of that name, viscount de Turenne, by ELEONORA, eldest daughter of ANNE DE MONTMORENCI, constable of France. He in 1591 became duke of Bouillon, and prince of Sedan, by the marriage of CHARLOTTE DE LA MARK, heiress of the house of Bouillon, and the year following was made marshal of France. He died at Sedan, 25 March, 1623.

† Vol. i. fol. 130.

those being places fittest to continue the rebellion, by receiving both of men and money from Spain, as they did continually. He concludes with desiring to be certified of the names and qualities of those persons, who were employed by the king as his chief counsellors, and principal secretaries, and how their provinces were limited to countries; and likewise how many of these were of the reform'd religion.

The lord treasurer's letter from Westminster, on the 29th of April, 1591, acknowledges the receipt of Mr. GRIMESTON's last of the 18th from CHARTRES, by which his lordship was glad to find, that at length the French king had gotten that town, tho' the conditions both to the soldiers and inhabitants were much more favourable than their obstinate rebellion deserved, or had been fit to have been yielded to, if the king had not been, as it seem'd, urg'd to it. "And now, *says* *he*, that place is had, I do not doubt but the king will resolve to attempt the other places mentioned in your letter, according to her majesty's earnest letters to the king to enterprize the same, with offers of her aid, in case he shall need the same; as also therein she hath fully delivered her mind to his ambassador here, who, I am sure, hath long e'er this acquainted the king at large with her mind touching the same. And therefore you shall use all the means you have, both towards marshal Biron, and any other of the king's council, that have most credit with him, to induce him to continue and speedily attempt that matter, the rather if you shall find the matter to grow cold, or to be slackened by any other enterprize, that the king may be set in hand withall, to serve others fancies, rather than his own good. And you may plainly say, if you should find any coldness of the king, or his council, to enterprize that place, that her majesty will think her cost evil bestowed in the aiding of the king, if he should reject her so good counsel and advice in a matter of so great importance, and it will cause her to be more careless than she hath been to give succours to the king, as he may have occasion to require her aid."

His lordship pressed the same point in his next letter from Greenwich, on the 5th of June 1591, in answer to Mr. GRIMESTON's last letter from Dourdan on the 10th of May, who had advertised the probability of the king's coming with his forces to Roan; "which is a thing, *says his lordship*, most desired, and in mine opinion more profitable for sundry respects to be had than the recovery of Paris. But her majesty hath no advertisement thereof from the king, neither his ambassador here, otherwise than by conjecture. And in truth, her majesty findeth some lack, that the king doth not advertise her more frequently of his actions and intentions; and especially she findeth it strange, that there is no more care had of the state of Bretagne, in that the king sendeth no greater forces thither to encounter the Spaniards new descents, or to recover such port-towns, as be of most moment, as St. Malo and Morlaix. And yet her majesty is truly comforted with certain late successes there happened in Bretagne since the arrival of Sir JOHN NORREYS, whereof I doubt not but the king is advertised from the prince de DOMBES, who hath by his letters to her majesty, and to the ambassador here, extolled the great valour of Sir JOHN NORREYS, and our countrymen, in the assaulting and taking of the town of Guinigamp. And it seemeth by Sir JOHN NORREYS, that if he had the six hundred men, parcel of his numbers, that

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“ were appointed for Bretagne, which are not ill occupied in Normandy, he should
 “ be able to do certain great enterprizes in Bretagne. And because they also in
 “ Normandy have done great services there, and are likely to do more, her ma-
 “ jesty will forbear to withdraw them from thence, and, I hope, will be pleased to
 “ levy other six hundred to be sent in Bretagne. And besides that her majesty
 “ hath presently sent away certain of her ships of war under the charge of Sir
 “ HENRY PALMER^a, with the number of a thousand men or thereabouts, to serve
 “ upon the coasts of Bretagne against the Spaniards, and against the Leaguers,
 “ thereby her majesty’s charges grow daily so great, as the French king hath great
 “ cause to acknowledge her majesty’s goodness towards him beyond all other
 “ friendships, that he hath in the world. And therefore you may do well, where
 “ you find opportunity, to notify these so great charges both of her majesty and of
 “ her realm, as we may find hereafter thankfulness both in the king and in his
 “ subjects.”

While Mr. BACON was at Bourdeaux in the beginning of the year 1591, he became acquainted with Mr. ANTHONY STANDEN, who was afterwards knighted by queen ELIZABETH, and whose zeal for the Roman catholic religion had occasioned him to leave England about the year 1563^b, and retire into Scotland, where he entered into the service of queen MARY; upon whose falling into misfortunes in 1565, he quitted that country. He afterwards became a pensioner to the king of Spain, having an allowance from him of fifty pounds a year^c; and among other services for that monarch, came post from Flanders in the beginning of November, 1572, to Paris, where he had daily conferences with the Scots ambassador, with a view, as it was supposed, of raising some disturbances in Scotland^d. But he was at last secretly engag’d in the service of queen ELIZABETH by Sir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, who procur’d him from her majesty a pension of 100 l. Having resided a considerable time in Italy, and especially at the court of Florence, he received an order from Sir FRANCIS, with whom he had held intelligence for several years, to go to Spain; he obtain’d leave of the Grand Duke for a year’s absence, and arrived in that kingdom in the end of March, or beginning of April, 1590, with a view to continue his service to his own sovereign, particularly by distributing pensions to some of his countrymen at the Spanish court; by which he was himself, soon after his arrival, assign’d forty crowns monthly, being chosen to attend the troops sent into Bretagne, and to embark with them at Ferrol in Galicia. But while the ships were preparing for the transportation of those troops, he accepted of an offer made to him of going to Bourdeaux, which he the more readily agreed to, as he might from thence more easily send Sir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM an account of the armada intended by the Spaniards against Bretagne, and receive from him a new cypher, having burnt his other, and all letters, at his departure from Genoa. Two days after his coming to Bourdeaux, which was about the beginning of August, 1590, he was discover’d by Monsieur de LANGLEY, who had been agent in Spain for the crown of France, and to whom he was well known; and this discovery caus’d him to be committed as a spy from Spain to prison, where he had lain some days before

^a CAMDEN, p. 576.

^b Mr. STANDEN’s letter to the lord treasurer BURGHLEY, from Bourdeaux, 7. June, 1591, vol. ii. fol. 19.

^c STRYPE’s Annals of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 374. The same Historian, vol. ii. p. 333. supposes the pension to be Ducats.

^d DIGGES’s Compleat ambassador, p. 286.

he heard of the death of his friend Sir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM. In this distress he was deprived of all means to write, or to procure his delivery, till the arrival of Mr. BACON at Bourdeaux, whom however, he could not open himself till after that gentleman's recovery from a sickness of five months continuance, who having regain'd a little strength^a, upon receiving a letter from Mr. STANDEN, on the 8th of April, 1591, sign'd by the fictitious name of ANDREW SANDAL^b, visited him in the prison, and being satisfied with Mr. STANDEN's account of himself, and the reasons of his coming to Bourdeaux, not only assisted him in his misery, but likewise endeavoured to procure his liberty. Mr. STANDEN by his advice, wrote on the 7th of June, 1591, to the lord treasurer BURGHLEY, to represent his own history and present unhappy circumstances, and to desire his lordship, in the room of the deceased secretary WALSINGHAM, to lay them before her majesty. In this letter he writes, with respect to his former endeavours, that he did not doubt of her majesty's having been duly informed of them; "for so, *says he*, Sir FRANCIS "by his letters did assure me; as also of my reintegration to her highness's favour concerning my youthful forfeit; assuring me fully thereof, and for a sufficient token told me of an hundred pounds pension it had liked her majesty to have assigned yearly for my maintenance, of which at my coming back from Spain to Florence in the year 1588, I found the effect by the receipt of a year's pay, and now this year another towards my voyage; which hath not sufficed for my expences in travelling to and fro, and especially now this last time being forced to remain for passage at Genoa for five months. The year 88, which was the time, that huge armada went and perished, I was by his order at the court of Lisbon, where I had the view of all, and by the way of Italy, gave advice of the whole manner of their designs, which by his letters I found in Florence seemed most grateful to her majesty. Thence proceeded the persuasion he used with me to procure this last time my return again to Spain; which accordingly I did put in execution. . . . Which considered, I do humbly intreat your honour, weighing the justice of my cause, to move her majesty, as well touching my relief as about my relaxation, and that in such wary sort, as it may not appear to Spain by any favour from you, whither, if it be her highness's liking, I intend to return, and continue, as heretofore, in faithful service and devotion to her majesty in whatsoever shall concern her highness's safety and of her realm, to both which I bear that affection, which becometh an honest true-meaning English heart, that is to say, to her majesty as a sworn servant, which I intend inviolably to observe, while I breath; to her realm, as the land, wherein I was born, and which above all other soils I love, not finding in my catholic weed any authority to warrant treachery against either of them: which opinion as I have in those twenty-six years absence maintained, so by our nation abroad, and namely by those of the Spanish humour, I have been observed and condemned."

Mr. BACON's conversation with, and endeavours in favour of, a man of Mr. STANDEN's religion, being related to his mother from the partial representations of the English factors at Bourdeaux, she, who was before much offended at his long residence abroad, began to suspect even his religion, and that he had some

^a Letter of Mr. STANDEN to the lord treasurer; *ubi supra*.

^b Vol. ii. fol. 14.

design of retiring with that gentleman to Rome. To remove her resentments on this account, Mr. BACON wrote to her a letter, and having it shewn to Mr. STANDEN, the latter highly approved of it, commending him for being plain, "especially, *says he*, with a woman, which is a vessel so frail and variable, as every wind wavereth, as you know. And altho' I well know, my lady, your mother, to be one of the sufficientest without comparison of that sex, yet, at the end of the career *il y a toujours de la femme*, with the perfectest of them all, according to a sentence the late queen of Scotland once alledged to me, when in talking of the queen's majesty, our present mistress, and extolling to the said queen our sovereign's rare parts, she said, these words, *Escuyer, quand vous parles en loüange de nostre sexe, en voulant louer quelqu'une de nous, ne dittes jamais, que c'est une femme avisée & sage, mais dittes, qu'elle est moins folle que les autres; car toutes en tiennent de la folie.*"

The interest of the queen, and the lord treasurer, procur'd secretly the liberty of Mr. STANDEN, on the 12th of October, 1591, when the marshal de MATIGNON, governor of Bourdeaux, having ordered him to be brought out of his prison to the town-house before himself and the jurats, and used some speeches of reprehension in no respect touching the cause, which mov'd him to set his prisoner at liberty, immediately enlarg'd him, by public act. He soon after gave the lord treasurer an account of this, expressing at the same time his concern, that he had heard no mention of his relief in point of charges, which had been great during his imprisonment for fourteen months. He takes notice of his lordship's suspicions of the reasons of his coming to Bourdeaux; to which he answers, that he had not indeed received any express order from court to come thither; "but the rather, *says he*, to write the more commodiously to Sir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, I procur'd this voyage of myself, my course being directed for Bretagne, which immediately upon my return back from hence to Spain should have followed, and having moved the same to Don JOHN DE VELASCO, general of Guipiscoa, he found it good, and gave me advice, that I should warily inform myself of the names of those towns and the governors of them, which held here in Guienne for the league, and how they were affected, being all, that I had to do for them. And for that PARSONS the jesuit is the only man, who in matters of our nation hath all entry with the king, to whose presence, for the opinion they have conceived of his sufficiency, he hath free access, when he liketh, to him I wrote of my coming hither, and of the cause, so far forth, as concerned the king's service, and of my intent to return back again with information of these proceedings here. Whether this letter of mine came to PARSONS's hands or no, I wote not, this being all I can say therein." He then mentions his determination, which was approved of by Mr. BACON, to return to Spain, intending to use the way of Italy for sending his intelligence, as he had done in his correspondence with Sir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM. He incloses to his lordship likewise a cypher, and a collection of the occurrences of Guienne, Spain, and

¹ Mr. STANDEN to Mr. BACON, Aug. 31, 1591.
Vol. ii. fol. 45. and letter of Mr. STANDEN to
Mr. SELWIN, of Sept. 5. fol. 51.

² Mr. STANDEN to Mr. BACON, 1 Sept. 1591.
Vol. ii. fol. 58.
³ Ibid. fol. 70.

Italy. He concludes his letter with these words: "Before I end this, for the discharge of my duty to God, and the acquittal thereof to my queen and country, I must crave pardon of your honour, if I say with less respect than becometh, yet with the truth and simplicity I would do before God, that in this my long peregrination and change of soils; I have had access to many, and to most of the potentates, that rule Europe, whose curiosity hath been such, as I have by them been sifted about the state of England, and her majesty's royal person, and admirable parts: also concerning her council and governors of that realm, namely, touching your honour in particular, whose actions above all the other are most eyed; yea and what countenance any of the rest there either have or seem to challenge to themselves. Your honour is the personage, who among these princes and great ones abroad is firmly believed only to hold the helm in such sort, that wheresoever it liketh you to address the vessel, it is to take the course you shall direct, so much to your commendation for the happy success hitherto, as your honour hath cause to be afraid of so general a conceit of your wisdom, sufficiency, and fidelity. Wherefore when it shall please God so to ordain it, as you may be contented to say with SIMEON, *nunc dimitte*, &c. which with double joy your honour might do, if by your good means some expedient were found, that her majesty might be induced to incline her favourable countenance by a permission unto her faithful and catholick subjects in her dominions, of that this king offereth to his here, wherein I durst engage my life, that her majesty should by them, that appertain unto her, I mean her subjects, be sincerely served, and this king here nearer his purpose, and the end of so many afflictions and broils. I see him and this his realm wrapt in the rigour heretofore used in England, being an example or shield to cover the obstinacy of this revolted people, and of the great part Spain and other strangers have with them. This being that I had to say, I thought it my duty every way to advertise your honour, in whose hands consisteth, after God, the greatest part of the healing and remedy of this pitifully wounded and dismember'd christianity, this not being my sole opinion, but the sentence of great princes, cardinals, counsellors of parliament, and others of judgment in matters of government, with whom I have heretofore had the honour to have had speeches".

Mr. STANDEN wrote several other letters to the lord treasurer, while he continued at Bourdeaux, which he left in the beginning of December, 1591, pursuing his journey towards Spain, whence he propos'd to send intelligence to England, being furnished with the following instructions, which were evidently drawn up by his lordship: "That it would please you of all preparations by sea or land to give me timely notice, especially of such, as concern us, or our nearest neighbours, France, Bretagne, Flanders, and of all the private practises upon the queen's sacred person: of the state and time of the king of Spain's fleet returning daily; of any intelligence, that from hence that king or his ministers receive by any unnatural subject, and of that all the circumstances possible, whereby we may find the snake in our bosoms. What practises are betwixt Spain and Scotland, and who be the instruments thereof: what with Ireland, and by

“ what means : what jealousies between the king of Spain, his son, and daughter ;
 “ who be the favourites of each party : of her marriage with the emperor or duke
 “ of Guise, or any other : what suspicion or confidence the king hath of the duke
 “ of Parma, and whether he mind to displease him : how he standeth with the
 “ pope, that now is, and how with other princes of Italy, how with his own
 “ subjects at home or abroad ; and how with Turkey, Persia, Barbary, East-India,
 “ West-India : what Englishmen he hath at his pension in Spain or elsewhere :
 “ whether cardinal ALAN comes to Flanders ; and what Englishmen are about him,
 “ and how entertained by the pope or other princes. The rest I leave to Mr.
 “ STANDEN’s discretion, assuring him, that the queen of England will well con-
 “ sider of his service, when she shall find it good and faithful ; and for that pur-
 “ pose I would wish him to certify me, whither and to whom he would have that
 “ provision made ; and I with his best friends will do what they can for him.”

Mr. STANDEN, in his way towards Spain, wrote under the name of LA FAYE, on the 9th of December, 1591^b, to Mr. BACON, from Sebibure, a village on the other side of the river of St. JOHN DE LUZ, within two leagues of Spain, acquainting him with the circumstances of his journey. “ I staid, *says he*, an afternoon in Bayonne, and spake but once with the governor. Flying from the common lodgings of English, I lighted in one, where only three were, which three drew unto them ten more. I passed amongst them for a Frenchman, and great entertainment and courtesy they used to me. But when they cackled amongst themselves, it was a pastime nonpareil to hear what they said of me, and what their judgment was of me, in which they concurred, that I was a notable rich merchant disguised like a soldier, and one that I had seen the world ; and in effect that I had a kind of proceeding, which resembled to an Englishman ; and in fine, I wote not wherefore, I was much in their good grace, which had been the contrary, if that they had known my quality.” In this letter he added, that he had learn’d there, that the king of Spain was to go into Arragon shortly, to hold Cortes there, which is the same with the parliament in England. “ Those people, *says he*, being assembled without Saragossa, ready to give battle to the king’s army, were set on by their own nobility, who had intelligence with the king. They are run some one and some another way, like surpris’d and ruin’d persons. If I follow into Arragon, you shall at no hand hear from me this way, but by way of Italy into England to my lord treasurer, which is nearer and more commodious. This night I am to set my doubtful steps on Spanish ground.”

Mr. BACON did not continue long at Bourdeaux, or in France, after the departure of Mr. STANDEN, but return’d to England, tho’ in a very ill state of health, in the beginning of February, 1591^c. Upon notice of his landing, his cousin german Sir EDWARD HOBY wrote to him from the court on the 6th of that month^d, to congratulate him upon his arrival, and to offer his service in any respect, and to meet him privately at Croyden ; “ esteeming it, *says he*, not amiss
 “ somewhat to confer with you before your repair to the court, which I do think

^b Ibid. fol. 80.

^c Vol. ii. fol. 3.]

" will be best as soon as you come to London." This gentleman was eldest son of Sir THOMAS HOBY, ambassador from queen ELIZABETH to the French king in 1566; by ELIZABETH, daughter of Sir ANTHONY COKE, and sister of lady BACON. He had been educated in Trinity College in Oxford, where he was entered gentleman commoner in the beginning of the year 1574, at the age of fourteen, and having spent several years at the university, where he took the degree of master of arts, travell'd abroad, and in 1582 was made constable of Queenborough castle in the Isle of Sheepy, in Kent. He was likewise member of parliament several times in the latter end of queen ELIZABETH. He was a man of considerable learning, and particularly skill'd in the controversy with the papists, as appears by several tracts published by him on that subject, and he was the translator of COGNET's *Politique Discourses upon Truth and Lying*, from the French, and of DON BERNARD DE MENDOZA's *Origin and Practice of War*, from the Spanish. He died at Queenborough Castle on the 1st of March, 1617, and was interr'd at Bysham, near Maidenhead, in Berkshire, where he was born^a. His concern for Mr. BACON, who return'd to England, under strong apprehensions of her majesty's displeasure, on account of his long stay abroad, appears from another letter of his from the court, on the 19th of February, 1591, in the following terms^b. " My own good cousin, tho' it be very late to set pen to paper, yet before I take my sleep, I could not quiet myself, before I had taken order for your early receiving of I know a most comfortable breakfast. It pleased her sacred majesty much upon the stroke of eleven to night to call me unto her, and, among other things, questioned me, if I had seen you since your return. I told her highness, that I had, and that as I found an infirm body of you, so a much more griev'd mind to have had that unhappiness, as thro' your own infirmities not to have been able to behold her, which your heart so much coveted to serve. I added farther, that her majesty should find you *un homme arrêté*, much more stayed and advised than others of us your kinsmen. She concluded, that she was sorry you were in so evil a plight, earnestly affirming, how that you had been greatly and from good hands recommended unto her. And this I thought good to give you, as a taste of her majesty's grace towards you. I humbly thanked her for her great care and princely regard had of you in your absence, wherewith you as yet relieved yourself. And so praying God to send you perfect health, and you to command me, I end, very late,

" Your poor kinsman to serve you,

" 19 February, 1591.

" EDW. HOBY."

Lady BACON's resentment against her son began likewise to subside upon his return, and she wrote to him a long letter on the 3d of February, 1591, which she sent by Mr. FAUNT, whom she had requested to take a journey to meet him, and to conduct him to London, where his brother FRANCIS was preparing his lodging at Gray's Inn for his reception. She expresses great concern, that he had sent before for his servant Mr. LAWSON, against whom she had long entertain'd an insuperable prejudice; but she speaks in terms of high approbation of Mr.

^a Wood, Athen. Oxon. (Vol. i. Col. 416, 417. Vol. ii. fol. 6. Vol. vii. fol. 102.

FAUNT, as not only an honest gentleman in civil behaviour, “ but one, *says she*, that
 “ feareth God, and indeed is wise withal, having experience of the state, and is
 “ able to advise you both very wisely and friendly; for he loveth yourself, and
 “ needeth not yours, as others have, and yet dispise with you.” She then proceeds
 to give him advice with regard to his religious conduct. “ This one chiefest
 “ counsel, *says she*, your christian and natural mother doth give you, even before
 “ the Lord, that above all worldly respects you carry yourself even at your first
 “ coming, as one, that doth unfeignedly profess the true religion of Christ, and
 “ hath the love of truth now by long continuance fast settled in your heart, and
 “ that with judgment, wisdom, and discretion; and are not afraid or ashamed to
 “ testify the same by hearing and delighting in those religious exercises of the sin-
 “ cere sort, be they French or English. *In hoc noli adbibere fratrem tuum ad*
consilium aut exemplum.” She adds afterwards, that it would be his best credit
 to serve the Lord duly and reverently; but that his brother FRANCIS was too negligent
 therein.

Soon after Mr. BACON's settlement at Gray's Inn, his brother FRANCIS wrote
 from thence on the 18th of February, 1591¹, to their mother, to inform her, that
 alderman HEYWOOD died that night, whose eldest son being a ward, and the
 lord treasurer, who was master of the court of wards, not generally hasty in disposing
 of them, the wardship of this minor was worth obtaining, especially on account of
 the widow, who was a gentlewoman of very good character. “ Your ladyship,
 “ *says he*, hath never had any ward of my lord treasurer. It was too early for
 “ my brother to begin with a suit to my lord, before he had seen his lordship.
 “ And for me, I do at this reserve my lord to be my friend with the queen. It
 “ may please your ladyship to move my lord, and to promise to be thankful to
 “ any other my lord oweth pleasure unto.”

Mr. BACON's ill health, and frequent returns of the gout, prevented him from
 paying his duty to the queen, not only at his first return to England, but even for
 the rest of his life; and this in some measure depriv'd him of the advantages,
 which his great abilities and qualifications might otherwise have procur'd both to
 the public and himself. But his infirmities of body, were not the only cause, why
 he was less capable of making his fortune at court; for he met with a still more
 considerable obstruction from the jealousy of his own uncle, the lord treasurer, and
 his cousin Sir ROBERT CECIL², who resented his early attachment, as well as that
 of his brother, to the earl of Essex, between whom and the CECILS there was an
 irreconcilable opposition.

Mr. FRANCIS BACON asserts³, that himself had knit his brother ANTHONY's service
 to be at his lordship's disposing. But it will be proper to hear Mr. BACON's own account
 of the rise of his dependence upon the earl. “ On the one side, *says he*, coming
 “ over, I found nothing but fair words, which make fools fain, and yet even in

¹ Vol. ii. fol. 5.

² He had been knighted at THROBOLDS, about
 the beginning of June, 1591, and sworn of the
 council in August following. SIDNEY papers, vol.

i. p. 326 and 329.

³ Letter to the earl of Devonshire.

⁴ Letter to the earl of Essex, Sept. 12, 1596.
 vol. xiii. fol. 21.

“ those no offer, or hopeful assurance of real kindness, which I thought I might
 “ justly expect at the lord treasurer’s hands, who had inned my ten years harvest
 “ into his own barn, without any half-penny charge. And on the other side
 “ having understood the earl of Essex’s rare virtues and perfections, and the in-
 “ terest he had worthily in my sovereign’s favour, together with his special noble
 “ kindness to my germain brother, whereby he was no less bound and in deep
 “ arrears to the earl, than I knew myself to be free and beforehand with my
 “ lord treasurer; I did extremely long to meet with some opportunity to make
 “ the honourable earl know, how much I honoured and esteemed his excellent
 “ gifts, and how earnestly I desired to deserve his good opinion and love, and to
 “ acknowledge thankfully my brother’s debt, presuming always, that my lord
 “ treasurer would not only not dislike, but commend and farther, this my honest
 “ desire and purpose”.

Mr. FRANCIS BACON’s own attachment to the earl was not founded, as he pro-
 tested*, upon the consideration of his lordship’s interest being the likeliest means
 of his advancement, but a persuasion, that the earl was the fittest instrument to do
 good to the state: “ And therefore, *says he*, I applied myself wholly to him, in a
 “ manner, which I think happeneth rarely amongst men. For I did not only
 “ labour carefully and industriously in that he set me about, whether it were
 “ matter of advice, or otherwise; but neglecting the queen’s service, mine own
 “ fortune, and, in a sort, my vocation, I did nothing but devise and ruminate
 “ with myself, to the best of my understanding, propositions and memorials of
 “ any thing, that might concern his lordship’s honour, fortune or service. . . And,
 “ on the other side, I must and will ever acknowledge my lord’s love, trust, and
 “ favour towards me, and last of all, his liberality”.

* Letter to the earl of Devonshire.

B O O K II.

ROBERT DEVEREUX, earl of Essex, whose conduct will be exhibited in the course of these memoirs with much more particularity and authority, than has hitherto been produced upon that subject, had now, in the beginning of the year 1592, tho' scarce twenty-five years of age, for several of them enjoy'd a high degree of her majesty's favour. He was descended of a very antient and noble family, originally of Evereux in Normandy, and was son of WALTER lord Ferrers of Chartley, viscount Hereford, and earl of Essex, to which last title he was advanced by queen ELIZABETH. His mother was LETTICE, daughter of Sir FRANCIS KNOLLYS, knight of the garter, and after the earl's death, which happened in 1576, married on the 21st of September 1578, to ROBERT earl of Leicester, and upon his decease in September 1588, to Sir CHRISTOPHER BLUNTE, in the summer of the year following, whom and her son she surviv'd many years, dying at a very advanced age on Christmas-day, 1634. The young earl of Essex was born about the year 1567, and his father dying when he was not ten years of age, he was sent at twelve, by his guardian the lord treasurer BURGHLEY, to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was educated under the inspection of Dr. WHITGIFT, then master of that College, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, for whom he always preserv'd a high regard, as well as for that prelate's great antagonist, Mr. THOMAS CARTWRIGHT, the most eminent writer among the Puritans*. When he was but sixteen years old, he took the degree of master of arts, for which he kept his public acts, the pregnancy of his genius then appearing to great advantage, tho' his father had died with a very low opinion of his parts, thro' a partial affection to his younger son WALTER, who was kill'd at the siege of Roan, in 1591*. His lordship, upon leaving the university, spent some time at his house at Lampfie in South Wales, where he grew so fond of a retired life, that he could scarce be drawn from it by his father-in-law, the earl of Leicester, against whom he had at first entertain'd a strong prejudice, which was softened by time and the influence of his mother*. He serv'd as general of the horse and field marshal in 1585, when that earl commanded the English forces in the Low Countries; and he ow'd to his lordship his first introduction into the queen's favour, who made him master of the horse in 1587, and general of the horse upon the Spanish invasion in 1588; gracing him in the camp at Tilbury, in the view of the soldiers and people, even above her former favourite the earl of Leicester, and honouring him with the order of the garter. Upon the earl's death on the 4th of September, 1588, he was a competitor with the lord chancellor HATTON, for succeeding him in the office of chancellor of the university of Oxford, into which he had been incorporated master of arts in April preceding: But he being generally considered as a patron of the puritan party, as his deceas'd father-in-law had been, the interest of the lord chancellor, supported

* Sir HENRY WOTTON's Remains, p. 174. 3d. edit.

* Id. ib. p. 172, 173.

* Ibid. p. 162

by that of archbishop WHITGIFT, carried the election from the young earl¹. He engag'd in the expedition to Portugal, in 1589, with several ships at his own charge, in favour of Don ANTONIO, without her majesty's consent or knowledge. But this excursion being considered only as a sally of youth, he was so far from forfeiting her good opinion, that he advanced in it; whether such an intermission might heighten her affection, or that having committed a fault, he became more obsequious to redeem it; or that she had not yet conceiv'd any suspicions of his popularity². In July 1591 he was commissioned by the queen to assist HENRY IV. of France with 4000 men, to be employed only in the siege of Roan; but that king designing to send them into Champagne, his lordship return'd into England, leaving however his troops behind him. HENRY therefore, to satisfy her majesty, causing that city to be invested, the earl, pursuant to his promise to him, tho' contrary to the queen's order, repair'd to the siege; which highly displeas'd her majesty; but she was soon pacified, upon his return to England after the raising of the siege by the duke of Parma. His marriage likewise with FRANCES daughter and heiress of secretary WALSINGHAM, and widow of Sir PHILIP SIDNEY, had likewise given offence to the queen, as it was contracted without her consent, and considered by her majesty as below the dignity of his family.

He began very early to establish such correspondences for procuring intelligence from foreign countries, as might give him weight and authority with the queen and her council; and it will soon appear, that Mr. BACON's assistance in that respect had a considerable share in procuring his lordship's friendship for that gentleman, who at last transferred to the earl those lights, which he had originally intended for the use of the lord treasurer.

This was the case with respect to that able intelligencer Mr. STANDEN, who at first, upon his return to Spain by order of the lord treasurer, took all opportunities of sending intelligence from thence to Mr. BACON, several of his letters being still extant, written some of them in French under the name of LE FAYE. In one of them of the 15th of April, 1592³, he mentions his having been examined by the commandment of the Spanish privy-council, concerning the communication, which he had had with that gentleman at Bourdeaux, concerning which he had given as good an answer as he could think of; but that his pension was still unpaid on that account: nor was he yet without apprehension of farther trouble; for which reason he hop'd, that he should be excus'd, if he did not write again soon. He observes, that in his former letters he had mentioned, that the treasure from the West-Indies was not then arriv'd; but that within six weeks past three frigates were come in, loaded with eight millions for the king, and three for private persons, in gold, the silver being detain'd till another opportunity. That the day before there came a man from court, who said, that by the end of that month the king of Spain, with the prince and infanta, would depart for Arragon, and that the infanta would embark at Barcelona, in order to marry the emperor, the design of the king's journey being not only to accompany her thither, but likewise to settle the affairs of Arragon, which were then in a good train, and according to

¹ Wood Pall. i. Oxon. vol. i. col. 134.

² Wotton, p. 165.

³ Vol. ii. fol. 101.

his own wish, his lieutenant-general Don ALFONSO DE VARGAS having accommodated the most important points in dispute with the people there. Mr. STANDEN was not able to determine, whether the neighbourhood of so powerful a prince, with his forces, which his presence would increase, might not prove dangerous to the country of Bearn, or Guienne, or both. He adds, that about three weeks before Don HERNANDO DE SPINOSA, treasurer general of Spain, a man of four-score thousand crowns a year income, and who had besides a vast sum in jewels, furniture, and ready money, at his coming out of the privy council was made prisoner, and by his fellow counsellors condemn'd to pay the king, before he was releas'd, two millions and six hundred thousand crowns, and not to come for ten years within ten leagues of the court, and to lose his post of treasurer. It was said, that he had already paid and given security for a million and a half, and would in six months discharge the rest; and yet, tho' he had been fleec'd, he would still be worth 500000 crowns, and 20000 a year rent.

The next letter of Mr. STANDEN was on the 14th of June, 1592^b, he having had nothing of consequence to write since his last of the 14th of April. He now acquaints Mr. BACON with the king of Spain's having begun his journey towards Arragon on the 4th of that month of June, in company of his son and the infanta, his daughter, of whose marriage with the emperor nothing was said for the present: nor would any fleet be set out that year. He recommends likewise a person, who had written to him, while he was at Bourdeaux, and whom he had possessed with so high an opinion of Mr. BACON, that he was resolv'd to abandon what he enjoyed in Spain, and return to England, and thro' that gentleman's means inform the lord treasurer of what he could not venture to write.

About this time Mr. BACON and his brother FRANCIS employ'd their interest in procuring letters from her majesty to CHRISTIERN IV. of Denmark, who had succeeded his father FREDERICK II. in 1588, at the age of thirteen, in favour of Mr. THOMAS JOHNSON, who with Mr. RAYMOND KING had lost their ships, being taken by the Danish general^c. Mr. DANIEL ROGERS^d, one of the clerks of the council, and son of Mr. JOHN ROGERS, who was burnt for religion in the reign of queen MARY, having been sent ambassador to Denmark to condole with the young king upon the death of his father, and to confirm the friendship between England and that kingdom, had particularly treated with the guardians of Denmark, that the English ships might not be seiz'd in the Sound, on account of the offences of private persons: that the fishing in Iceland, the liberty of which was to be renew'd every seven years, according to an ancient treaty, might not be interrupted by new pretences: that the toll should not be requir'd of the English, except in their return from the Baltic, and then only in the usual money of Denmark: that the owners of ships might not suffer for the frauds of the masters of them: that the covers of the cloths might be free from tax, and the *last-gelt* remitted to the English. But these propofals were referr'd to a future consideration, upon pretence of the king's minority; for the Danes were become

^b Vol. ii. fol. 117.

^c Ibid. fol. 149.

^d He was a man of eminent learning, and a good Latin poet. He died February 11. 1597.

unfavourable to the English, since they had chang'd their course to Russia, by passing round the coasts of Norway, Finland, Lapland, &c. instead of their former way thro' the Straits of Denmark*. That king therefore return'd the following answer to queen ELIZABETH, on the 21st of July 1592†.

“ Most excellent princefs, cousin, and dear sister,

“ We have brotherly understood by your highness's letters delivered unto us
 “ in one day, that your highness dealeth with us in the restitution of the ships
 “ of your subjects RAYMOND KING, and THOMAS JOHNSON, taken and carried
 “ by our general off the port of Westmony in our kingdom. All which things,
 “ altho' they are so lovingly often written by your highness's requests, yet
 “ we do take hold of that froward malice in your said subjects, that we
 “ judge them worthy neither of your highness's intreaty nor our license. For
 “ their fault and trespass is not so light, whatever they have reported it to your
 “ highness, that they should appoint the fishing in the open sea to be granted
 “ by the laws of all nations, who, a thing worthy to be marked, have wittingly
 “ done no such thing; whereas their perverse rashness and unbridled sawciness,
 “ not only committed contrary to agreements and leagues, contrary to princely
 “ edicts, but also contrary to their faith given, may be sufficiently shewn and
 “ declared by letters subscribed by their own hands. For besides that three years
 “ past they were warned by our general, by reason of his office, to abstain them-
 “ selves from those parts reserved to our uses, and they also by letters have suf-
 “ ficiently promis'd, that they would never return to those places without our
 “ license, and that they have heretofore done contrary to the edict, and answered,
 “ that they would submit themselves to us, and to the knowledge of right, as
 “ their letters obligatory, which remain with us, do witness: all which things
 “ before rehearsed, two years after by fishing, by exercising merchandise with our
 “ subjects, contrary to leagues, agreements, and edicts, by carrying away with
 “ them our wares appointed for our proper uses, to our great discommodity; and
 “ farther by casting anchors in roads to the great danger of our ships, they have
 “ so behaved themselves, that our general and subjects cannot sufficiently shew
 “ it. Therefore it may not seem marvellous to your highness, if at the length
 “ provoked with so many injuries, together with the great contempt of our
 “ princely name and authority, we ordain somewhat more severely. Neither do
 “ we doubt, that your highness, if you have respect to the contracts and leagues
 “ made in the year 1583 between our father of blessed memory and your high-
 “ ness, and to that answer given to your orator in the year 1588, will not be
 “ surpris'd, if we not only by no means allow of the unbridled liberty and malice
 “ of your subjects, in breaking all these things, but will rather with upright mind
 “ say, that such breakers ought to be punished with due punishment; and to the
 “ which they have bound themselves by their letters for the observance of the agree-
 “ ment and leagues; and lovingly and sisterly require, that we nothing at all
 “ depart with the equity of our rights, and that you will most severely give com-
 “ mandment to the rest of your good subjects, that hereafter they attempt not the

*CAMDENI ELIZ. p. 539.

† Vol. ii. fol. 150.

“ like,

“ like, nor stay in those places without our license. Which if your highness, as we hope, shall do, you shall indeed declare yourself both of the leagues and your friendship most observant; and we shall diligently endeavour, that we may never seem to decline from your highness’s expectations of us, and the office of a leagued prince. We heartily pray, that your highness may long flourish, and be in health. Given at Hafnia [Copenhagen] under our princely seal. Our senators deputed for the government of our kingdom. Subscribed the 21st of July, 1592.”

Mr. JOHNSON, who had left his ship, upon his return from Denmark, whither he had gone himself with the queen’s letter, to solicit the restitution of it, gave Mr. BACON an account of his reception in that kingdom, in a letter dated at London the 7th of September, 1592^a; in which he acquainted him, that his entertainment at the Danish court was but slender, nor could he obtain leave to speak with the king or any of his council, but was rail’d at by divers gentlemen of the court, who call’d him thief, and said, that our countrymen were a company of thieves, and had robb’d their ships, for which they could have neither law nor justice. He was oblig’d therefore to deliver her majesty’s letter to the clerk of the chancery, who brought him answer, that our countrymen were thieves, and had robb’d them at sea; with other speeches of the same kind; and that JOHN SCRUTTEN and JOHN WILKINSON, the master of the ship, had bound themselves, their ships, and goods, about three years before, never afterwards to fish in Westmony, within the king’s dominions: and that for doing the contrary, both their ships and goods were forfeited to the king. He was order’d therefore to depart, for no other answer would be given him; neither could he be admitted within the court gates to speak for himself. The letter from the king to her majesty above-mentioned, being afterwards delivered to him, he left the country, but found that letter to contain several false facts; and therefore upon his return to England requested Mr. BACON to intercede with the lord treasurer to mention his case to the Danish ambassador just come over, that his ship and goods might be restor’d to him.

Captain FRANCIS ALLEN being in garrison at the Brill, one of the cautionary towns in possession of the English, in his letter to Mr. BACON from thence on the 25th of July, 1592^b, observes, that the drawing out of the English troops from thence for the *pretended* Bretagne journey would endanger the throats of their countrymen, if the cautionary towns were not reinforc’d with extraordinary companies; for one of the states themselves did not stick to say, that if it were lawful for her majesty of England to break her contract, she did but open a gap for them to do the like.

The queen being expected in August, 1592, at Bisham in Berkshire, the seat of the family of the HOBY’s, Mr. THOMAS POSTNUMUS HOBY, younger brother of Sir EDWARD, wrote to Mr. BACON on the 29th of July^c, that lady HOBY was desirous of his and his brother FRANCIS’s company there, where they might

^a Vol. ii. fol. 149.

^b Ibid. fol. 131.

^c Ibid. fol. 124.

have an opportunity of waiting upon her majesty: and he wrote again to him on the 14th of August^k, that her majesty had appointed to be there on that day fortnight, where, if his health would permit, he might with most conveniency attend upon her. But he was prevented by his indisposition, or journey to Gorhambury on a visit to his mother, with whom he resided for several months.

Before he left London, Sir EDWARD STAFFORD, with whom he became particularly acquainted, while that gentleman was ambassador to France, in a letter from Drury-house on the 30th of July, 1592^l, acquainted him with the confinement of Sir WALTER RALEGH and Mrs. ELIZABETH THROCKMORTON, daughter of that able negotiator Sir NICOLAS THROCKMORTON, and one of her majesty's maids of honour, upon the discovery of Sir WALTER's having debauch'd that lady, whom he afterwards married^m. "If you have, *says Sir EDWARD*, any thing to do with Sir WALTER RALEGH, or any love to make to Mrs. THROCKMORTON, at the Tower to-morrow you may speak with them, if the countermand come not to-night, which some think will not be; and particularly he, that hath charge to send them thither."

Soon after Mr. BACON's removal to Gorhambury, his servant Mr. GEORGE JENKELL, whom he had left in his chambers at Greys Inn, wrote to him on the 15th of August, 1592ⁿ, informing him, that his brother FRANCIS was gone from thence of a sudden to Twickenham in company of his friends Mr. DUNCH, Mr. CECIL, Mr. GOSNOLD, and Mr. FIELD, who was probably the same with the learned author of the celebrated treatise *Of the church*, chosen in 1594 preacher of Lincoln's Inn, in 1604 made canon of Windsor, and at last in 1609 dean of Gloucester, in which post he died on the 21st of November, 1616, at the age of fifty-five^o. Dr. Andrews, afterwards bishop of Winchester, was likewise desir'd to accompany them, but was prevented by his attendance on his parish of St. Giles's Cripplegate. The reason of their retreat from London was upon a flying report, spread thro' the city, of a pestilential distemper breaking out, which had likewise occasion'd the law-reader at Grey's Inn to discontinue his office, and most of the gentlemen of that inn to retire into the country. Mr. JENKELL added, that some gentlemen of Furnival's Inn had been apprehended on the Friday before, upon the suspicion of being bad members of the state; but that he had not then heard of any other proceeding against them.

Mr. FAUNT happening likewise to be in London, tho' the court was in the country, in the end of August, wrote a letter to Mr. BACON from the house of Dr. GILES FLETCHER, the learned civilian, and author of the *Ruffs commonwealth*, on the 31st of that month^p, giving him an account of the richness of a great Portuguese carrack, which had been taken, but not then brought to our coast; and that Mr. FORTISCO had been that day at Guildhall about appointing commissioners on behalf of the queen and the city, to be sent down against the arrival

^k Vol. ii. fol. 13.

^l Ibid. fol. 123.

^m Life of Sir WALTER RALEGH, prefix'd to the first volume of his works, p. 26. edit. London,

1751. in 8vo.

ⁿ Vol. ii. fol. 134.

^o Wood, Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 420—413.

^p Vol. ii. fol. 139.

of the carrack. "Mr. CORDELL, one of the principal adventurers for the city, " *says Mr. FAUNT*, told me this day, that the vice-roy, his wife, and many other " of quality, are in the ship; and that it is thought, some others of that fleet " are likely to be found out, scattered by a storm. Howsoever this only ship " is prized very highly." This ship was the *Madre de Dios*, taken by Sir JOHN BURGH, on the third of August, and esteem'd the richest prize, that had ever been brought to England, being in burthen no less than 1600 ton, whereof 900 were merchandize¹. Mr. FAUNT added, with regard to foreign occurrences, that there was no news; except that the French king lay before Chateau-Thierry, and seem'd desirous to clear those frontiers, *being only able to deal with such small pieces*; and that in the Low Countries count Maurice had sustain'd some loss in an enterprise upon a castle near Steenwicke, where WILLIAM of Nassau, son of count LODOWICK, and other considerable persons, were kill'd²; "so as it falleth out, which " is antiently said, *Victoriam magni vendi*, even where great success hath been."

Mr. STANDEN supplied his want of frequent opportunities of writing to Mr. BACON by a very long letter, dated on the 8th of September, 1592³, and written most part in cypher. He begins it with observing, that for preparations by sea or land, there were none by all appearance other than for defence and safe conducting of the West Indian treasure: and as for the Portugal fleet, England had already had its share of it. "You need not, *says he*, to put us in mind to advertise you of ought, that may be intended against the person of her majesty; " for that is one of the principal matters we have an eye to.

"To advise you, what intelligence there may have been from your place, " is impossible; but thus much we deem, and not without reasonable surmise, " that Flemings, French, Italians, and Portugals, may be the instruments, and " not English.

"For Scottish intelligences, there wanteth none in the court of Spain, as Mr. " ROLSTON will tell you, who is the person I did mention in my last of the 14th " of June. He is on his way towards you. He can inform you of these matters fully, as one, that hath been practised withall here to be used for an instrument in them. Two hundred thousand crowns are promised to be sent them " into Scotland, when matters are ripe, and these ready to return to you again, " some to be distributed among the nobility, their king being discarded as a man " for nothing, and of whom the world maketh no account."

Mr. STANDEN then proceeds to the following representation of the state of the Spanish affairs: that between the king's son and daughter was perfect intelligence, or rather obedience, wherein the young prince seem'd without paragon, which was the cause of the tender affection of his father towards him: and that none had the ascendant or any extraordinary credit with them but two persons only, Don JUAN D'IDIAQUES and Don CHRISTOVAL DI MORO, the first a Biscayan, and the other

¹ Life of Sir WALTER RALEGH, ubi supra, p. 23, 24.

² METEREN, L. xvi. fol. 341. verso.
³ Vol. ii. fol. 145, 156.

a Portuguese, thro' both whose hands all matters of secrecy pass'd, much to the discontentment of the whole nobility of Spain.

With respect to the marriage of the Infanta¹, her father would fain marry her in his own family with one of the emperor's brothers: "But the duke of Guise," *adds he*, rather than any other of the house of Lorrain, is the desire of the French. What we shall attain out hereof, in time you shall be advised. True it is, that to assist at the election [of a king of France] the duke of Feria went from Rome to France the 16th of July.

"The duke of Parma and the Spanish nation are doubtless in deep dislike with each other. Contrary-wise the king of Spain and he have perfect intelligence: which argueth the absolute power the king of Spain hath in overruling his counsils, who have opined generally for the duke of Parma's unhorsing from the Flemish government.

"As for the pope [CLEMENT V. II.] his office being such as you know, he cannot miss to adhere to all such, as shall make head against the queen of England: and in effect he sent his order into France some time after his coronation to the duke of Monte Marciano, his predecessor's [INNOCENT IX's] nephew confirming him in his former place of general for the church, with promise of new succours of men and money.

"With all Italian princes the king of Spain hath no evil intelligence, except with Venice and Florence. Yet do they in outward shew make fair weather with Spain, and in very deed watch for occasions, as the nature of the Italian is to do."

In the kingdoms of Spain there were great miscontentments about the Alvallos or customs, which was a continual tenth penny. To this was added the nobility's extreme disgust, because they were not of the king's council, nor at all employ'd; so that a general tumult was doubted, and yet the realm of Castille had made him a donative of eight millions of crowns, to the collection of which they had set three reals of plate upon every sheep killed to be sold, and six upon each ox or cow. And the clergy maintained his ships and gallies, that lay in the Straits, where that summer they had taken many Turkish vessels, with several Flemish, and some English.

Cardinal ALAN remain'd still in Rome, in great esteem as a deep divine and singularly learned man, and of an irreprehensible life; the place, where he liv'd, being the touch-stone of men's abilities, especially of such as attain to dignities. The king of Spain undoubtedly favour'd him, and so did all that college. He had for master of his chamber one HESKET, a nephew, being son to his sister. His

¹ ISABELLA CLARA EUGENIA, born Aug. 22d 1566. She was eldest daughter of PHILIP II. by ELIZABETH daughter of HENRY II. of France, and was married April 18. 1599 to the archduke ALBERT. She died in 1633.

cup-bearer was **NICOLAS FITZ-HERBERT**, brother to **THOMAS FITZ-HERBERT** of Padley; his secretary **ROGER HAYNES**; and his steward one **GRIFFIN**. The rest of his family were scholars and students of divers sorts.

The Irish entertain'd in Spain were the viscount **Baltinglafs**, **THOMAS** and **JOHN LACIES**, **JOHN LUTTEREL**, and **STANIHURST**, who lately came out of Flanders. Sir **WILLIAM STANLEY**, and several gentlemen with him, had been sent for out of Flanders about three years before, to have conducted ten thousand men into Ireland: But he, with the advice of some others, utterly broke the neck of that design.

For the matters of Turkey, Mr. **STANDEN** could say nothing since his departure from Italy, during his whole residence in which country he had good correspondence with the emperor's secretary at Constantinople; and then a Neapolitan, call'd **MARTIN BUBALI**, was trafficking there for the king of Spain, and **ALFIER STEFANO**, a Milanese, at Ragugna, both well known to Mr. **STANDEN**.

All the drift in Spain at present was to clear Bretagne, from which place the tempest must come towards England; and men and money continually pass'd from Spain to that province; the chief traffic being then with Monsieur **SOURDIAC**, governor of Brest, who was said in Spain to have already taken fifty thousand crowns, with condition to continue in the government of the place, and the captains and foldiers to be nominated by the duke de Mercœur*: For which reason it was advisable to have a watchful eye upon the isles of Guernsey and Jersey.

The forces, which the king of Spain had then in readiness and pay within his realms, were these: In Arragon, under Don **ALONZO DE VARGAS**, twelve thousand men: Under the charge of Don **ALVARO DE BUSAN** general, thirty great ships, and 7000 soldiers: Under **SANCHO PARDO** eighteen sail and 4000 men: Under the Biscayan **JUAN DE VRYLE** 5000 men and 22 sail. These divided at sea into three squadrons, the last two under the charge of **BUSAN**; and these went to sea on the 8th of August, 1591, in order to wait for the treasure, which was to come from the West-Indies. The method of sending for it from the Havanna was practised the year before, when it came very safe; which was in this manner: They caused four vessels to be built there after the zabra fashion, but the keel long galley-wise, and therefore call'd Galley-zabras, made on purpose for swift sailing with oars. They carried 80 pieces of brass cannon, and 400 men each; and they sailed no longer in conjunction with the fleet of merchant-ships, but alone. In this manner they came the last year, and so they were look'd for then, it being reported, that the merchant-ships were commanded to stay that year.

At the haven of Passage near St. Sebastians's lay six new great ships, the least of them 700 tons, and the greatest 1200.

* **PHILIP EMANUEL** de Lorraine, son of **NICHOLAS** count de Vaudemont, by his second wife **JEANNE** de Savoy, and half brother to **LOUISA**, wife of **HENRY III.** who made him governor of Bretagne. He made his peace with **HENRY IV.** in 1598, by the marriage of his only daughter to **CÆSAR DE VENDOME**, natural son of that king; and in October the year following went to the wars in Hungary. He died at Nuremberg, in March 1602, at the age of 43.

Several

Several Ragugnians, captains at sea, were also in the king of Spain's pay, to furnish thirty sail, when they should be call'd for.

It was credibly reported, that near an island, call'd *Il Cuervo*, one of those of the Tercera, five galleons of the Portugal fleet come from the East-Indies had been met with by the English, who had burnt one, carried away two, and of the other two, one gone to Tercera, and the other arrived at Lisbon. There was not one of these ships, that was not valued at above a million and 200,000 crowns; and their cargo was pepper, spices, drugs, linnen-cloth of Calicut, and some pearl and precious stones.

SIR MARTIN FORBISHER having taken a prize of a ship of St. Sebastian's of 500 tons, the cargo of which was valued at above 30,000 crowns, gave the men a pinnace with four pieces of cannon, victuals, and some money, who safely arrived in Spain; which act of generosity of his was highly extoll'd there.

The king of Spain was said at Bayonne not to be yet arrived in Arragon, but lingering in his way thither, having been two months at Valladolid, where he had visited the English college, being attended by the prince and infanta, with many of the nobility and prelates; and they staid there two hours, being received by the English in ten several languages, to the admiration of the Spaniards.

Mr. STANDEN sends the names of all the English entertain'd by PHILIP II. upon which point Mr. ROLSTON would particularly discourse with Mr. BACON: "And believe me, *says he*, if you will not wilfully cast all at six and seven, you must relent the rein of your rigour against catholics, as he will inform you, this being a high point, and the chief cause of his hazardous voyage in this dangerous time, all to deal with you about this."

The king of Spain was now in the sixty-sixth year of his age*, and except the gout, which visited him twice a year, free from all other diseases. The prince† was in the fifteenth year of his age, and of a fair sanguine complexion, and very healthfull, wise, and towardly enough, addicted to music and riding. The infanta, in her twenty-seventh, a very lusty beautiful lady, highly commended for her understanding, especially in government and matters of state, "her chief past-time being the reading of history, and writing with her father, which is his common occupation, and thereby he dispatcheth more than any three secretaries; and in this manner with his pen and purse governeth the world."

It was strange to see what numbers of French and other strangers continually resorted to the court of Spain, especially French; "which, *says Mr. STANDEN*, doth give no small subject to the Spaniards to stand upon their tiptoes. These French, the Scots, Irish, and Spaniards, have divided the Englishman's coat;

* He was born at Valladolid, 21 May, 1527, of ISABELLA, daughter of EMANUEL, king of Portugal. was born, April 27, 1578, of ANNE of Austria, daughter of the emperor MAXIMILIAN, and fourth wife of Philip II.

† Afterwards PHILIP III. king of Spain. He

“ but it will prove the history of Monsieur d'ARGENTON's bear, the first, and the
 “ Scots, demanding only money, and the Irish 10,000 men, which they shall have.”

The duke of VILLAHERMOSA, and the count of ARANDA, the two principal men of the realm of Arragon, were taken in Saragossa, and had been prisoners in Castille more than ten months. ARANDA, soon after the taking of his examination, was dead in prison; and the duke, having been lately removed from the castle of Burgos, concluded that he should not live long.

The citadel of Shuta in Arragon, the frontier of France and Bearn, was already put into a state of defence, and 300 soldiers in it; and at Saragosa, the metropolis of that kingdom, they were building another citadel: so that Arragon might be saddled, whenever they pleas'd, being already bridled.

Monsieur MONTPELAT[†] had entered into Thoulouse with 4000 Castillians, and 100,000 crowns in money, to join with the duke of JOYEUSE[‡].

“ The speeches, adds Mr. STANDEN, of such, as come hither from you, are these;
 “ that since the death of the earl of Leicester and Sir FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM,
 “ all these rigours, now used in England, are attributed to my lord treasurer. And
 “ there is a report runneth in the court of Spain also of the pretended wedlock
 “ between his honour's little son and dame ARABELLA; which giveth content to
 “ my lord's enemies, for the reckoning they make thereby of the ruin of himself
 “ and of his house. And doubtless not only the English, but all the catholics
 “ of Christendom have their mind upon my lord treasurer, as now an open de-
 “ clared and professed enemy to their faith and religion, never having (as they
 “ term it) plucked off his mask till these latter years. Some wise, that be indif-
 “ ferent, judge this too headlong a course, and that it is a piece of work of far
 “ greater difficulty than the driving the French out of Scotland, and the conquest
 “ of the brazen shillings and groats. Pardon me, if I use the terms current in
 “ these parts.”

He then informs Mr. BACON, that there were come from Italy into Spain 10,000 Lanskenets, and 8000 Italians; at which the world stood in admiration where and how they were to be employed. But that he had only touched upon the particulars abovementioned, leaving them with others not mentioned to Mr. ROLSTON, to be delivered by mouth, whom Mr. BACON would find loyal and of great zeal to her majesty and England: “ And for this cause, says he, have we agreed, that
 “ he shall leave this place, and sue to serve in Flanders, where you shall have
 “ commodity to deal with him at Calais, by sending to him thither a personage,
 “ whom you may trust with a secret token. He will inlarge himself with him in
 “ the truth and substance of all, and so advise you from time to time what passeth
 “ in those parts. For Scottish and Flemish matters you have none like him; and

[†] HENRY DES PREZ, sieur de MONTPELAT. flight drowned in the river Tarn, in September, 1592. THUANUS, Vol. v. L. ciii. cap. xvii. &
[‡] SCIPIO DE JOYEUSE, grand prior of Toulouse, and governor of Languedoc. He was defeated before Villemur in that Province, and in his Memoires de MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNES, duc de Sully, mis en ordre, Tom. ii. p. 125—132.

“ we think his going over nothing to the purpose, but rather to hinder, doubting
 “ discovery. Howbeit, he is to do what you shall best like of. . . . This must
 “ also be remembered, that one BARNES, who, as ROLSTON tells me, is a great
 “ goer and comer between England and the Low Countries, be at no hand par-
 “ taker of the aim ROLSTON gives you, for causes he will tell you. The secret
 “ token for the confidant with ROLSTON for you must be this, *It is good to be merry*
 “ *and wise*. And above all things have a care of the consequence of her majesty’s
 “ service, and both our safety. And if I shall get any inkling either of peril to
 “ myself, or of any notable piece of service, I come strait the highway to the Her-
 “ mitage.

“ Divers occasions may be offered, that for better intelligence I should make
 “ sometimes a voyage to the court. Also three or four dozen of crowns for
 “ any occasion are to be cast as a bone in a dog’s mouth; and therefore needful
 “ I should have a couple of hundred crowns lying by me, which you may send
 “ to Cradock to Saint JOHN DE LUZ. If I had of mine so much lying by me, I
 “ would freely lay it down. But we expect no pay here, till the arrival of the
 “ Gall-zabras, who, as they say, besides other eight millions, which the West-
 “ Indies have likewise bestowed on the king of Spain, bring ten more.

“ By Mr. LAWSON I send you my travels of Turkey, Italy, and Spain, as
 “ dear to me as you may imagine; yet nothing of too high a price for you.
 “ Having taken a copy, I desire the original might be delivered to my brother;
 “ which I intreat you unto; as also having taken what you best like out of the
 “ Zibaldone, if you commit them both to my brother’s custody, he will have a
 “ care of them. For by my tossing to and fro in the manner I live, I might be
 “ deprived of such things, as at the time of my last trouble I left behind me in
 “ this town, and among others the discourse of the Spanish state, which, when I
 “ may by any means recover, you shall have.”

Mr. STANDEN then recommends his brother EDWARD as a sincere honest man,
 and desires Mr. BACON to introduce him to the lord treasurer. He then adds, that
 the advice, which had come thither to Bayonne of the prize of two East-Indian
 galleons was uncertain, since four days before he had received an account from
 the court of Spain, that nothing else had pass’d besides the burning of one galleon
 richly laden at the isle of Cuervo, where, after having discharg’d that which was
 most valuable, as jewels, money, and pearls, of which last they had great quantity,
 the owners themselves set fire to it; and thro’ favour of the night saved themselves
 in the island.

“ My friend Mr. ROLSTON, *continues he*, is in a perplexity about his going
 “ home, especially since he understood of the hard dealing with ANTHONY SKYN-
 “ NER, who, set his religion aside, if I be not much deceived, is as good a subject,
 “ and as honest an Englishman, as any I know. ANTHONY ROLSTON, THOMAS
 “ FITZ HERBERT of Kynerton, and S. STANDEN, met together this time three years
 “ at the court of Spain, and were dealt with first to have gone for Ireland, and
 “ then to have served upon the Armada; both which, because they knew to be di-
 “ rectly.

“ rectly against our queen and St. GEORGE’S Cross, they did agree in as cleanly
 “ manner as could, to shift themselves off, as with some dislike and difficulty they
 “ did. What alteration hath been in SKYNNER since that time I wote not; but
 “ then he was affected as we. The hard-dealing with him there doth much ap-
 “ pall my friend ROLSTON, and therefore neither dareth he, nor can I, advise him
 “ to look before he leap. Wherefore, upon notification to you of his arrival at
 “ Calais, you shall do well to deal with him like yourself, as I have assured him,
 “ that giving your word, he may build upon it. Whereunto he seemeth altogether
 “ to acquit himself, and rely thereon. Once again pardon me, if I end with ad-
 “ monishing you to procure the alteration of this strange course there presently
 “ run [of rigour against the catholics] as that, which is most dangerous; for it
 “ fortifieth your foes, increaseth your enemies more than you can suspect, and really
 “ and in effect is the greatness of the king of Spain.”

Among others of Mr. BACON’S correspondents at home was Mr. MORGAN COLMAN, who appears to have been in the service of Sir JOHN PUCKERING, lord keeper of the great seal. In his letter from London on the 8th of September, 1592^a, in which he thanks Mr. BACON for his invitation to Gorhambury, he informs him, of the state of the pestilence in London, which appeared from the bill to be abated, since there were seven less dead of it than the week before; and of the taking of a *mighty argosy* returning towards Spain from the Indies, laden with a viceroy, many ladies, and others of great account, with infinite substance, millions at least, being made a prize by the earl of Cumberland’s and Sir WALTER RALEGH’S ships; but it was not yet arriv’d, but daily expected, that earl being at Plymouth waiting for it. “ In France, *says he*, on all sides they seem to be asleep, and will not wake, till the harvest and vintage be ended, when having provided to fill the belly, the insatiable humour of dissension will be doing. On Wednesday night the unaccustomed lowness of our river made all men here to wonder; the strangeness whereof seemeth beyond the eldest remembrance. The sight myself thought also very rare, and went on dry ground, where to walk this day without a boat the great wealth of the expected booty could not hire me. The cause of this unwonted change, in my conceit, was, either by the mighty westerly winds, which, I presume, kept back the flood; or else it may be feared the sea hath, by some violent inundation, broken the banks of some Low Countries, which event the Dutchmen here fear greatly.”

Mr. COLMAN wrote again from London, on the 12th of September^b, giving an account of the arrival of the rich prize at Plymouth, and of the report of the death of Sir ROBERT SIDNEY, governor of Flushing, which now appeared to be false, since he was recovering from a dangerous sickness. He adds, that Sir JOHN NORREYS was gone for Bretagne, with 1000 men from England, and 700 from the Low Countries; and was to be met by the other English forces in France: and that Coevoerden Castle, so long besieged by Count MAURICE, was taken^c.

^a Vol. ii. fol. 143.

^b Fol. 141.

^c The siege of it began in August, and it was

surrendered on the 12th of September, N. S. M^r. TREN, fol. 342.

This letter of Mr. COLMAN was accompanied by another of the same date, from Stepney, of Mr. EDWARD JONES^a, one of the secretaries of the lord keeper, and afterwards one of those of the earl of Essex. This letter gave Mr. BACON the following account of occurrences, "There are advertisements of good success in Bretagne; also of the late landing of certain Spaniards. Sir JOHN NORREYS is lately departed hence with 1000 men for Bretagne. There is a carrick of great importance landed in England, whereof I send you the value here inclos'd. It was surpriz'd by Sir JOHN BROUGH, who was admiral for Sir WALTER RALEGH, and capt. CROSSE, that was for the earl of Cumberland. It is the greatest prize, that ever came into England. The queen is now going to Oxford^c, where her entertainment is like to be very great. I send you here likewise the gifts of her progress. The plague increaseth in London, which maketh speech of keeping the term either at Hertford or Reading. My lord [keeper] continueth at Stepney, being commanded to have care of the city; with whom there remain likewise about London my lord of Canterbury, my lord Buckhurst, my lord Cobham, and Mr. FORTESCUE to assist. These counsellors have now great business about jesuits and seminary priests, by some whereof there are matters of great weight discovered concerning the state, as a new practise or plot of invasion between Spain, Scotland, the Pope, and some other adherents, as Savoy, &c. I have but a taste of the matter, being a thing kept very close; and this little, which I advertise, came to me by the sight of a little paper of obscure notes of examination."

† Mr. BACON did not forget his friends abroad, and particularly the learned Monsieur DANEAU or DANÆUS, to whom he sent not only a letter, but likewise a present; for which that learned divine return'd him his acknowledgements in a letter in French, written at l'Escar, on the 17th of September, 1592^d, in which he express'd his frequent desires of having it in his power to live in England, that most happy country, the seat of peace and piety, thro' the divine favour, and the wise government of that phoenix of the world, the excellent queen ELIZABETH, the most compassionate mother of the poor French, and the *Hospitaliere* of all the children of God. He declar'd, that if he had the same call to England as he had where he now resided, he would most willingly obey it: and that in the mean time he intended to send thither his eldest son, who had made a great progress in his studies for his age, and whom he recommended to Mr. BACON and his family.

Mr. COLMAN, in his letter of the 23d of September, 1592^e, acquainted Mr. BACON with the numbers of those, who had died of the plague in the city for the

^a Fol. 151.

^b Her majesty went thither from Woodstock, on the 22d of September, and left the university on the 26th. Wood hist. & antiq. universit. Oxon. L. i. p. 305, 306.

^c CAMDEN, p. 614. tells us, that there died during the course of the year 1593, of the pestilence and other distempers, 17890 in the city of London and Suburbs. Mr. FRANCIS BACON in his Observations upon a Libel published this present year,

1592, refers to this plague, as the only one, which the people had felt since the beginning of the queen's reign, their universal health never having been before so good for so many years, notwithstanding the great peering of the inhabitants in houses, the great multitude of strangers, and the sundry voyages by seas; all which have been noted to be the causes of pestilence.

^d Fol. 154.

^e Fol. 142.

two preceding weeks, on account of which, and of a child of his own being infected, he had since his last letter remov'd his lodgings into a solitary place near London, situated in the midst of many gardens, far from neighbours, tho' not far from his former habitation. " Here, *adds he*, I am not idle, feeding myself with
 " my papers, which, I trust, will deliver fruit pleasing to yourself. Sir WALTER
 " RALEGH is discharged from the Tower, and shewed himself two days in London.
 " He is now gone westward to look after his partition in this great gotten wealth.
 " Reports from foreign parts are so cold, or at least kept so far from my solitary
 " corner, as now I leave them till they come more plentiful, or to such, as have
 " better means, or that are in fitter place than myself to meet them."

The friendship, which Mr. BACON had contracted at Bourdeaux with MICHAEL DE MONTAGNE, who was counsellor of the parliament of that city, and his esteem for the genius of that writer, made him desirous of cultivating a correspondence with him, after his own return to England. But the letter, which he wrote to MONTAGNE, was the last, which that gentleman received, who was prevented from answering it by his death, occasioned by a quinsy, on the 13th of September, 1592, in the 60th year of his age. Mr. BACON was informed of the loss of this eminent man by their common friend Monsieur DEBRACH, in a letter dated from La Motte Montassan near Bourdeaux, on the 10th of October, 1592¹, whither he had retir'd from that city upon the death of MONTAGNE, whom he regretted, not only as the most valuable of his friends, but likewise as the truest genius ever produced by France, and one, in whom the world lost a real example and mirror of pure and unaffected philosophy, which appeared as well at his death, as in his writings.

During the course of this month of October, 1592, captain FRANCIS GOAD wrote from London to Mr. BACON² an account of the absolute overthrow of the English troops in Bretagne, except some of the officers: " And now, *says he*, there
 " shall more go, some 2000 more, and this the general hath grant of her majesty,
 " as they say for certain, with all speed to be taken up. I would, that the number
 " might be so, that they may go to conquer, rather than to be conquered, as they
 " be daily. I do hear news from Normandy,, that our men be also removed from
 " the Pellord, where they lay by Dieppe, and that they be very weak, and are
 " marched up into the country toward St. Valery; so that if they do not look
 " well unto themselves, they are like to be cut off as the others were in Bretagne;
 " for in that they have no place to retire into for their relief, so weakly is it
 " handled, and so small care is made of our men."

Mr. LAWSON having been with Mr. STANDEN in the Pyrenees, was detain'd there for some time by a quartan ague; before his thorough recovery from which he began his journey, with a letter from Mr. STANDEN to Mr. BACON, dated the 22d of October³, in which he observes, that he had in his former referr'd to the relation of ROLSTON concerning all Scots matters, wherein ROLSTON was particularly well acquainted; " because, *says Mr. STANDEN*, he should have been used as

¹ Fol. 159.² Fol. 160.³ Fol. 116, & 118.

" known

“ known to that nobility about the distribution of the money ; also for the soliciting them against you. And this and more also he would have told you by mouth there. But because ANTHONY SKYNNER, who was so well affected, hath been so hardly dealt with, this hath forced him, ROLSTON, to change his resolution ; I mean of present going home, which he meaneth to defer untill he hear from you, and then to meet with your confident at Calais, or else at home, upon assurance from her majesty and the council, as in this point he hath by mouth dealt largely with LAWSON : which meeting being most necessary, so must it be carefully kept secret.”

Mr. STANDEN then proceeds to observe, that Sir WILLIAM SEMPLE^m was the agent for Scots affairs in the court of Spain, where he had a great entertainment, and was richly married, and one of the household ; and that it was he, who delivered up to them the town of Liereⁿ near Antwerp. And tho’ in a former letter he had mentioned, that the king of Scots was not privy to the negotiations of this agent, for the reason alledg’d in that letter, and on account of that king’s religion ; “ yet considering, *says he*, old quarrels, the vindictive nature of that nation, with the fresh feud and strong pretence, lastly the occasion, which makes the thief ; what he would then do, the same being offered, I leave to your judgment. And this for my experience of fifteen months being among them makes me stagger ; for they are a numerous and valiant people ; and generally (I except none of them) our mortal foes ; and he, that expecteth otherwise, I pray to God, that experience do not teach him the opposite with a perpetual regret. Wherefore, my dear Sir, consider deeply this point, and as roundly and boldly inculcate the same where you ought, without respect, for it toucheth the quick.”

It appears from the next paragraph of Mr. STANDEN’s letter, that Mr. BACON had written to him of the great marks of esteem, which he had received from the earl of Essex. “ To return, *says Mr. STANDEN*, to the noble earl you are so worthily esteemed of, it seems, that for the remedy of all, God hath reserved unto him the means, not only to serve his prince, and to do good unto his country, but also to bind unto him all the catholics of Christendom. I mean, if he would by your sound advice enter substantially into the matter of toleration for the catholics at home, which, for the reasons I have in my former alledged, is so needfull. All such priests, as should deal in matter of state, I would have them punished without mercy. Such as simply, and without ill intentions, went about catechising and ministry of the sacraments, should not any way be vexed ; of which sort are the most number, who depart the realm as soldiers either for France or Flanders ; and when they return home, it is a wonder to see, knowing their fare, with what chear, courage, and assurance, they run upon these pikes, and will do continually, be the watch over them never so vigilant. This their resolution and manner of their deaths being set out to the

^m See WINWOOD’s Memorials, vol. i. p. 7.

fol. 217. edix. de la Haye, 1618. See likewise

ⁿ It was betray’d to the prince of Parma, August 2, 1582. METEREN, *histoire des Pays bas*, l. xi.

STRADA de Bello Belgico Decad. ii. l. v.

“ world in print in sundry languages had bred such a hatred against the regiment of the realm in general, as most are scandalized therewith ; and how much it hath hindred the king of France, I think you cannot be ignorant ; besides the faculty given to the mighty enemy of great advantages. Wherefore look to it at any hand, and take this admonition as proceeding from a pair of true hearts, doleful to see the ruin you prepare to yourselves ; wherein we discover you lull yourselves asleep with chimeras, and have not that forecast is presumed ; protesting before God and his angels, we both pretend no interest of worldly wealth or promotion other than the necessary ; which in those cases of travelling and advertisements must needs be spent ; without which necessary things nothing can be done. Which I do speak more for ROLSTON, he having quite forsaken his provision here of forty crowns the month.” He concludes with mentioning the king of Spain’s recovery from a *fore lask and the gout*.

MR. EDWARD JONES, on the 8th of November, 1591*, wrote to MR. BACON from Hertford, whither several of the great men had retired on account of the plague in London, that there had been that day two consultations for adjourning the term, the one upon occasion of an error in the writ of adjournment, whereby all matters were brought out of course ; but upon better advice the difficulty was removed by an ancient precedent of the like error, with the remedy thereof. The other consultation was on account of the plague’s having possess’d Ware, where the last night there died one, and two that morning. But order being now taken in that behalf, it was thought, that the term would continue at Hertford. MR. JONES adds, that Sir JOHN PERROT was certainly dead ; and that the report was, that the queen would deal favourably with his son†. He sent MR. BACON, at the same time, a *seditious vile book*, which he desired might be kept from any but such as were affected, and knew how to use such things.

This book was probably that ascrib’d to the virulent but learned and ingenious father PARSONS, and printed in 12mo. under the title of *A Declaration of the true Causes of the great Troubles presupposed to be intended against the Realm of England. Wherein the indifferent Reader shall manifestly perceive by whom, and by what means, the Realm is brought into these pretended perils. Seen and allowed*. The malignity of this libel against the lord treasurer and his son Sir ROBERT CECIL, as well as against the queen and her government, oblig’d MR. FRANCIS BACON immediately to undertake their defence, in an excellent discourse, intitled, *Observations upon a Libel published this present year, 1592, &c.* In this piece he shews great zeal for the honour of his uncle, whose character he draws in a most amiable light ; and describes his cousin Sir ROBERT as a gentleman, who had one of the rarest and most excellent wits in England, with a singular delivery and application of the same, whether it was to use a continued speech, or negotiate, or touch in writing, or make report, or discretely to consider of the circumstances, and aptly to draw things to a point ; to all which were join’d a very good nature, and a great respect to all men, and a thorough experience of public business under his father.

* Vol. ii. fol. 172. † Sir THOMAS PERROT, married to the earl of Essex’s sister. The queen restor’d to him his father’s estate.

Mr. FAUNT wrote on the 11th of November¹ from London, concerning the accounts brought that day out of France, the state of which still declined. The substance of these accounts was, that the duke of Parma was enter'd into Picardy² with 2000 horse and 5000 foot, and pretended *a farther degast* shortly: that by the way he was very likely to have taken Cambray: that it was to be feared, the town of Pont de l'Arche would follow the fortune of the castle: that there was a general summons made for all the leaguers to meet forthwith at Soissons, where they purposed to nominate a new king: "the practice whereof," *says Mr. FAUNT*, I think rather to be colour to some intended treachery to the person of this king, than for any nullity of title, that is to be called in question; that so when their devilish plot shall take effect (as I hope the Lord will pre-serve him) then they may have one ready nominated to that seat.

"The king is said to be at Chartres to solemnize the marriage of Monsieur GIVRY³. A great shew is made by them of Paris to treat for peace, yea against the will of DU MAYENNE⁴, and commissioners appointed, who are said to respect chiefly the pitiful state of that country. But enough of these shews. Bretagne is thought to be in great danger, by reason that the Spaniard hath nested himself in this time of our negligence so fast, that he will hardly be removed thence. St. Valery is lately taken by those of the league; and generally, whatsoever bruits are here given out to the contrary, I fear those affairs go worse than I yet write of. There is one gone this day to the court, that came from thence; but what he bringeth, is not yet known."

Mr. JONES being still at Hertford wrote from thence to Mr. BACON on the 22d of November, 1592⁵, that the lord treasurer was just arriv'd there, having been at court, where he had dispatch'd the business of pricking the sheriffs, which had never been done before without the presence of the chancellor; "and they," *says he*, have had the reputation to be the principal furtherers of such, as were prefer'd. How it is taken, by outward appearance it is not perceived; but we here conceive it to be a dishonour and a great unkindness. For my part, I wish it may prove nothing." He adds a report there from a letter written to Mr. FORTESCU, that matters fell out ill in Bretagne; and that the English, who were to the number of 1600, were arriv'd there, and in some sort despised by the French, who expected from hence a far greater supply. There were ready 4000 in the Low Countries to depart towards Bretagne for the king's service there; and the night before they should have departed, the ships, that were pressed to convey them, stole away; and so the troops remain'd there, and were not like to be in Bretagne to help till it be too late.

¹ Vol. ii. fol. 178.

² METEEN, fol. 343. verso. & THUANUS, tom.

v. i. civ. cap. 3. p. 169.

³ ANNE D'ANGLURE Seigneur de GIVRY, governor of Brie, and colonel of the light-horse: he was kill'd at the siege of Laon in 1594.

⁴ CHARLES DE LORRAINE duke de MAYENNE, second son of FRANCIS duke de Guise, by ANNE

D'EST FERRARA. He was peer, admiral, and great chamberlain of France, and governor of Burgundy, and at the head of the league till he made terms with HENRY IV. He married HENRIETTE de Savoye marquise de Villars, July 23. 1576, and died Oct. 4. 1611.

⁵ Vol. ii. fol. 170.

Mr. FAUNT wrote the same day from London^a, whither he was that night return'd from court, being to go the next morning to the term at Hertford, and the day following into Suffolk, where he design'd to spend about ten days, and then to come back, and remain at court for some good time. "For now, *says he*, "there is no stirring at all; which appeareth sufficiently in that my lord treasurer went away on Friday to Theobalds towards the term, not staying yesterday for council-matters; so as thro' his absence, the lord keeper's, the lord chamberlain's, and others, there was the smallest appearance, that I have seen on that day. But I think all is reserved till the end of the term. Sir FRANCIS VERE being discharged out of the Low Countries with all his forces, which are daily expected in France, is thought shall follow shortly his fortune in that country. And Sir FRANCIS DRAKE is lately sent for to come to the court, about some sea-service; whereby, we suppose, there will be some new resolutions taken. God grant they may be the best and for the best. Sir EDWARD STAFFORD hath been lately sent for to the court, after some voluntary absence, as tho' a good turn were meant towards him: but I hear he maketh no other reckoning thereof than before. I was glad to hear, that her majesty did give such countenance to the earl of Huntingdon^b, as to send for him upon Thursday last, and to give him the sword on Friday^c, which he carried before her that day; which was now more solemnized than ever; and that thro' my lord of Essex's device, who, contrary to all the lords expectation, came in the morning to the presence, and so to her majesty's presence, in his collar of SS. a thing unwonted and so unlooked for, yet hereupon suddenly taken up, and used with great liking and contentment of her majesty."

Mr. BACON's ill health detain'd him in the country longer than he seems to have intended, Mr. FAUNT, in his letter to him from London, on the 8th of December, 1592^d, upon his return from Suffolk, expressing his concern on that account, and for his own disappointment in not meeting him, as he expected, at or near the court. However, in February, 1593^e, Mr. BACON return'd to his brother's chambers in Grey's Inn; whence he wrote a letter to Mr. STANDEN^f, the exact date of which does not appear, informing him of his having paid the bills for the money, which that gentleman had received of the merchants; and promising to do his best for Mr. ROLSTON, from whom he was surpris'd not to have heard from Calais, according to Mr. STANDEN's letters, considering, that Mr. ROLSTON might chuse whether he would come from thence, or expect one to be sent thither to him: "And yet, *says he*, if I write to him to come, he may well believe me, being no less carefull of his safety, than desirous of his intelligence." He then requests Mr. STANDEN to certify him by his next, whether there were any new preparations since his last, and what foreign forces were expected; when to come, and how and where to be employed; and how the British, Scottish, and Irish practises went forward. He acquaints him likewise, that there had come other

^a Vol. ii. fol. 176.

^b HENRY HASTINGS, earl of Huntingdon, installed knight of the garter in 1570. He married CATHARINE, daughter of JOHN duke of Northumberland, and died Decem. 14. 1595, without issue.

^c Novemb. 17. the day of the queen's accession to the crown.

^d Vol. ii. fol. 186.

^e Ibid. fol. 99.

advertisements of the said Scots practises; upon which the lord BURGH was sent embassador to the king of Scotland^a. He mentions likewise the sitting of the parliament, which met on Monday, Febr. 19. 1597, and of which he was chosen member for Wallingford in Berks^b, as his brother FRANCIS was for the county of Middlesex^c. He observes, that the parliament had already granted three subsidies to be paid to the queen in four years, which was more than had been given to her, or any of her predecessors. He adds, that the earl of Essex was lately sworn of the council, and that it was thought, that others of the nobility should follow him in that place: that Sir WILLIAM RUSSEL was to go over as deputy into Ireland^d: that the lord viscount MONTACUTE died a little before Christmas, not long after his eldest son; and that the lord BUCKHURST's daughter was married to their heir. "Sir WALTER RALEGH, *continues he*, having been
 " almost a year in disgrace for several occasions, as I think you have heard, is
 " yet hovering between fear and hope, notwithstanding his great share out of
 " the rich carrick. The Tyger, one of the chief ships, that made that prize,
 " being lately freighted with corn for Italy, was in great danger to be lost by a
 " tempest, and compelled to cast out her freight and ten pieces of ordnance into
 " the sea, and to return empty. Dr. LOPES^e, a physician, that was taken with
 " Don PEDRO (lately delivered by exchange for Mr. WINTER) is lodged in a fair
 " house in Holbourn, lately built by an old gentlewoman, called Mrs. ALLING-
 " TON, hard by Grey's Inn on the fields side, where he is well entertained and
 " used by her, for physic, as they say."

He wrote again to Mr. STANDEN on the 14th of March, 1597^f, acquainting him, that his own accustom'd indisposition, with the lord treasurer's and his brother FRANCIS's occupation in parliament affairs, would not suffer him to return his lordship's answer concerning Mr. STANDEN's letters, before the writing of his last to that gentlemen. "But since, *says he*, I have received his letters thereof,
 " containing, that the collections, which I sent him out of your said letters, were
 " wholly read to her majesty; and that the particularities of the intelligence might
 " have been more acceptable to her, if they had been more fresh, for that there
 " is almost nothing of moment in the same, that hath not been hither advertised
 " many months past. But for answer unto you her majesty would have me let
 " you know, that she liketh well of your advertisements, if they might come in
 " season; adding thereto, that an apple in time was better than an apple of gold
 " out of time. Wherein it seemeth, that my lord, by reason of his much other
 " business, did forget the cause thereof alledged to him by my brother, to wit,
 " the long stay and late return of the Bourdeaux fleet, wherein your letters were
 " brought unto me. Concerning Mr. ROLSTON, he taketh exception to that you
 " write, that he hath quit himself of his provision of forty crowns the month,
 " shewing no cause why he hath so done, and to the uncertainty of his coming

^a See HAYWOOD TOWNSEND's Historical Collections, p. 52. and SPOTSWOOD's church history, l. vi. p. 392.

^b Notitia parliam. by BROWN WILLIS, L. L. D. p. 127. edit. London, 1750.

^c Ibid. p. 131.

^d He was not appointed till May, 1594, succeeding Sir WILLIAM FITZ-WILLIAMS, who had held the post of lord deputy from February, 1587.

^e Who was executed in 1594, for a design against the queen's life.

^f Vol. ii. fol. 98.

“ to the Low Countries; or how it should be known to us, when he is there,
 “ being not well expressed in your letters: wherein it will be needfull you should
 “ certify me in your next more clearly of his determination, considering, that
 “ from Calais, according to your appointment in the former of your two letters, I
 “ have not heard from him.”

With regard to Mr. STANDEN's persuasion to relax the rigour against catholics in England, the lord treasurer observ'd, that this either favour'd of his own inclination that way, or else of ignorance of the manner of usage towards them, or else of too much credulity to the lying Jesuits and Spaniards: “ For in very
 “ truth, whereof I know not the contrary, *saith he*, there is no catholic persecuted
 “ to the danger of life here, but such, as profess themselves by obedience to the
 “ pope to be no subjects to the queen. And tho' their outward pretence be to
 “ be sent from the seminaries to convert people to their religion; yet without
 “ reconciling of them from their obedience to the queen, they never give them
 “ absolution. Such in our realm, as refuse to come to our churches, and yet do
 “ not discover their obedience to the queen, be taxed with fines, according to
 “ the law, without danger of their lives. And if Mr. STANDEN, *saith he*, were
 “ truly informed of this manner of proceeding, and would judge indifferently
 “ thereof, he might change his mind.”

Mr. BACON concludes his letter with remarking, that there had been a bill offered in this parliament to change the fine for recusancy (being equal to rich and poor, that had lands, whereof it was to be levied) to a certain rate and proportion of every man's living, whereby the rich should pay more, and the poor less; but that it had hitherto been stopp'd: “ And I think, *says he*, will hardly pass in the
 “ end without abating of other rigours contained in the same bill; which is of
 “ many misliked, namely of us brothers, who will do our best against them.” This bill, which was intitled, *An act for continuing her majesty's subjects in more due obedience*, was laid aside, and a new one brought into the house of commons, under the title of *An act for explanation of a branch of a statute made in the 23d year of her majesty's reign, intitled, An act to retain the queen's majesty's subjects in their due obedience*, which pass'd there on the seventh of April, 1593^e.

Mr. EDMUND PALMER, who us'd to write from St. John de Luz to the lord treasurer, and others of the privy council, intelligence of what pass'd in Spain, being desir'd by several letters from Mr. SAMUEL SALTONSTAL, a merchant in London, to send copies of his advertisements to Mr. BACON, he wrote to him from St. John de Luz on the 12th of April, 1593, N. S.^a that he was willing to gratify him in that point, if it might be done without offence to his noble correspondents, and inconvenience to himself; and in the mean time sent him an account of the occurrences of that part of the world, and particularly of the state of the fleets in Spain and Portugal, and the preparations there; adding, that the king of Spain

^a Sir SIMONDS DEWEES's journals of all the parliaments during the reign of queen ELIZABETH, p. 55—63, 70, 76.
^b Vol. iii. fol. 66.

p. 497, 500, 517, 519, 520. and TOWNSHEND's

had called all his nobles to the court at Madrid, and likewise those, who were in Portugal, together with his kinsman, who possess'd the cardinalship at Lisbon, with whom it was thought the king would marry his daughter. That about thirty days before came post from Rome to the court of Spain the pope's legate or nuncio, and with him an embassador from the signory of Venice, who were both received by all the nobles into Madrid with great joy and magnificence. That about ten days before Mr. ANTHONY STANDEN came from Madrid to Fontarabia, and was then at St. Sebastian's with the general; "and as I understand, *says he*, "he procured at the court to stay in Fontarabia; but he is appointed, as himself "says, to go for Flanders, and with the first doth mean to embark himself at "St. Sebastian's, or to go to Cardedo, where there are two ships or pinks of "Dunkirk. Those never come thither but for treasure for the pay in Flanders. "The Spaniards do rejoice much about certain matters of Scotland, whatsoever "it is. What villainy or treachery may be done for money, the Spaniard will "not spare to do it. At Fontarabia is an old Frenchman, who is one of LUSAN's captains, and thought to be LUSAN's brother. His abode there is no "goodness for the French king. And LANSAC is at Madrid, and the king hath "appointed him a guard, because he shall not depart the country." He concludes with complaining, that he had for six years past done what he could for adventures, and thereby lost all, that ever he had, and now was out of pocket above an hundred pounds, for which the lord treasurer dealt very hardly with him, he having never been allow'd one penny for all his service, and still having furnish'd all things at his own cost. But that if Sir FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM had liv'd, his pains had been long since consider'd. That therefore, since there was no remedy, he would return to England: which he accordingly did soon after; and going immediately to his friend Mr. SALTONSTAL, the merchant, procur'd a letter from him, on the 21st of May, 1593¹, to Mr. BACON, in favour of him and the application, which he intended to make to the lord treasurer.

Mr. BACON and his brother FRANCIS appear now to have been extremely press'd in their circumstances, labouring both of them under debts, which they were little able to discharge. Among the letters of the former are several to his friends for the borrowing of money, in the latter end of 1594, and especially in the year following, when failing in most of his applications of that kind, he offer'd to sell his manor of Barley for 4000l. to alderman SPENCER, afterwards Sir JOHN SPENCER, sheriff of London in 1583, and lord mayor in 1599; but he met with great difficulty in completing the sale, by the refusal of his eldest brother, Sir NICHOLAS BACON, to concur in it. He increas'd indeed his own debts by his generosity to his brother FRANCIS, for whom he not only advanc'd his own money, but even borrow'd sometimes that of others; the anxiety of the latter, on account of the perplexity of his circumstances, and the failure of his expectations of preferment, having had an ill effect upon his constitution of body naturally not firm, and weaken'd still more by the intemperance of his night studies. His mother having made some kind of promise of parting with her interest in an estate, in order to extricate him from the load of his debts, Mr. ANTHONY BACON wrote to her on

¹ Vol. iii. fol. 29.

the 16th of April, 1593^k, to remind her of it, out of tenderness, not only to the health of his brother, "which I know, *says he*, by my own experience to depend "not a little upon a free mind," but likewise to his credit; since he would otherwise be oblig'd to forfeit the reversion, which had been granted him, probably that of the regittership of the star-chamber, or to undersell it very much: "For the "avoiding of all which great inconveniences, *adds he*, I see no other remedy, than "your ladyship's surrender in time, the formal draught whereof I refer to my "brother himself, whom I have not any way as yet made acquainted with this "my motion, neither mean to do, till I hear from you: the ground whereof "being only a brotherly care and affection, I hope your ladyship will think and "accept of it accordingly, beseeching you to believe, that being so near and dear "unto me, as he is, it cannot but be a grief unto me to see a mind, that hath "given so sufficient proof of itself, in having brought forth many good thoughts "for the *general*, to be overburdened and cumbered with a care of clearing his "*particular estate*."

The same day having received a letter from his mother, he wrote her an answer^l, in which he inform'd her, of his cousin Sir EDWARD HOBY's being set at liberty before the last day of the parliament, which had been dissolved on the 9th of April, 1593; "but not, *says he*, without a notable public disgrace laid upon him by her "majesty's royal censure, delivered, amongst other things, by herself, after my "lord keeper's speech, which, some say, was much inferior to his first in the beginning. The effect of that, which her majesty uttered, your ladyship shall "receive here inclosed. Divers gentlemen, that were of the parliament, and "thought to have returned into the country after the end thereof, are stayed by "her majesty's commandment, for being privy, as it is thought, and consenting to "Mr. WENTWORTH's matter." This matter was a petition delivered on Saturday the 24th of February, 1593, by PETER WENTWORTH, esq; and Sir HENRY BROMLEY, to the lord keeper Sir JOHN PUCKERING, desiring the house of lords to be suppliant with the commons to her majesty for entailing the succession to the crown; of which a bill was ready drawn by those two gentlemen. The queen being highly displeased with this, as contrary to her express commandment, charg'd the council to call the offenders before them. Sir THOMAS HENEAGE, then vice-chamberlain, and chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaster, immediately sent for them, and after some speech with them, commanded them to forbear coming to parliament, and not to go out of their lodgings. The next day Mr. WENTWORTH, Sir HENRY BROMLEY, and some others, were called before the lord treasurer, the lord BUCKHURST, and Sir THOMAS HENEAGE, who treated them very favourably, and with good speeches, but at the same time acquainted them, that her majesty was so highly offended, that they must stand committed. Whereupon Mr. WENTWORTH was sent prisoner to the Tower, and Sir HENRY BROMLEY, with Mr. RICHARD STEVENS, to whom Sir HENRY had imparted the affair, and WILLIAM WALSH, esq; who serv'd with Sir HENRY for the county of Worcester, were sent to the Fleet^m.

^k Fol. 67. ^l Fol. 68.
DEWEES's journals, p. 470.

^m HAYWOOD TOWNSEND's historical collections, p. 54. and

Mr. BACON, in the same letter mentions, that the earl of Essex had been twice very earnest with her majesty concerning his brother FRANCIS; "whose speech," *says he*, being well grounded and directed to good ends, as it cannot be denied "but it was, I doubt not but God in his mercy will in time make it an occasion "of her majesty's better opinion and liking."

The speech of Mr. FRANCIS BACON referr'd to in this letter was one in the house of commons, on Wednesday the 7th of March, upon the three subsidies demanded of them, to which he assented, but not to the payments under six years, urging the necessities of the people, the danger of raising public discontentment, and the setting an *evil precedent against themselves and their posterity*". He was answer'd by Sir ROBERT CECIL, who observ'd, that if they were poor, yet at that time it was to be consider'd, that they were in great danger; and of two mischiefs, the less was to be chosen; and that with regard to the precedents, they had never been perpetual, but began and ended with the causes; and as the causes grew, so grew the precedent. "In her majesty's time, *says he*, it is "not to be feared, that this precedent will do us harm; for her majesty will "never accept any thing, that is given her unwillingly of her subjects: Nay in the "parliament, the 27th of her reign, she refused a benevolence offered her, because "she had no need of it, and would not charge her people. This being out of "fear, we have no reason to give prejudice to the best queen or king, that ever "was, for fear of a worse king than ever was. After her reign I never had so "much as one idea in my head what would be our estate then."

Mr. FRANCIS BACON finding soon after, by a conversation with the lord treasurer, that his speech had given offence, wrote a letter to his lordship*, in justification of it, that he had made it in discharge of his conscience and duty to God, her majesty, and his country; that the manner of it most evidently shew'd, that he had spoken simply, and only to satisfy his conscience, and not with any advantage or policy to sway the cause; and that his expressions carried all signification of duty and zeal towards her majesty and her service. He therefore desired the lord treasurer to continue him in his own good opinion, and then to draw her majesty to accept of the sincerity and simplicity of his heart, and to bear with the rest, and restore him to her favour.

During the course of this month of April, 1593, tho' the particular day does not appear, Mr. FRANCIS BACON wrote the following letter to the earl of Essex". "My lord, I did almost conjecture by your silence and countenance a distaste "in the course I imparted to your lordship, touching mine own fortune, the care "whereof in your lordship, as it is no news to me, so nevertheless the main effects "and demonstrations past are so far from dulling in me the sense of any new, as "contrary-wise every new refresheth the memory of many past. And for the "free and loving advice your lordship hath given me, I cannot correspond to the "same with greater duty, than by assuring your lordship, that I will not dispose

* SIMONDS DEWEES'S journals, p. 493.
 Vol. iii. fol. 74.

* See his Letters, printed among his works.

“ of myself without your allowance, not only because it is the best wisdom in
 “ any man in his own matters to rest in the wisdom of a friend (for who can
 “ by often looking in the glass discern and judge so well of his own favour, as
 “ another, with whom he converseth?) but also because my affection to your
 “ lordship hath made mine own contentment inseparable from your satisfaction.
 “ But notwithstanding I know it will be well pleasing to your good lordship, that
 “ I use my liberty of replying; and I do almost assure myself, that your lordship
 “ will rest persuaded by the answer of those reasons, which your lordship vouch-
 “ safed to open. They were two; the one, that I should include **.” The rest
 of the letter is wanting.

On the 30th of that month Mr. STANDEN, then at St. Sebastian, wrote to Mr. BACON in cypher^a an answer to two letters of that gentleman, one written in February, and the other in March, expressing his concern to find the long lingering of his own letters in their way towards him, which was no fault of his, but of those merchants, whose usage was first to do their own business, and then other mens, if they liked it. He informs him, that he was now discharged from that place, and remov'd to Flanders; notwithstanding he had done what lay in him with the favour of Don PEDRO DE MEDICIS, then in the Spanish court to remain in Spain: But that all would not avail, of which, and of Mr. ANTHONY ROLSTON's stay there, and all other matters, he intended, by taking England in his way, to make relation by mouth to her majesty, designing to embark within eight days at Bilboa, in a ship of St. Malo, and thence to the isle of Guernsey, or Dieppe, or some other port, as he might, and so for England in the *most quiet and dissimuled sort*, and purposing at his first landing on that side, to consign his person to the chief officer for her majesty thereabout, until he should receive order and answer from the lord treasurer and Mr. BACON, for his going forward, thinking it best to use his former name, and to term himself Mr. BACON's servant. “ You must, *says he*, be careful to provide a corner for
 “ the out of all ordinary haunts, which I remit to your best liking. My intent is
 “ not to remain in Flanders, for reasons, whereof I hope to yield her majesty
 “ capable; but to stay where I am sure by experience to do her majesty far better
 “ service than in either places of Spain or Flanders. Because I am eyed, I must
 “ walk warily; I mean for my often embarking and landing in divers parts, and
 “ stay on the way, before I shall come at you. I have enterprised this journey the
 “ rather with more commodity to inform her majesty of what passeth here, as to
 “ receive her royal commandments in the place I intend to make my residence.
 “ There departed this haven the 17th hereof twenty ships armed for war, with
 “ 2000 soldiers, great store of muskets and pikes, and other munitions, all for
 “ the succour of Monsieur de LUSSAN.”

This letter being received by Mr. BACON, on the 20th of May, 1593, he sent it the next day to the lord treasurer, with a letter of his own^b, in which he assured his lordship, that he did not doubt, but that upon Mr. STANDEN's arrival, his lordship would find, by infallible arguments of that gentleman's loyalty towards his sovereign and country, and of his particular devotion to his lordship, that the

^a Vol. iii. fol. 333

^b Fol. 89.

interest, which himself had got in Mr. STANDEN at Bourdeaux, was *no barren purchase*.

Capt. FRANCIS GOADE being at Dieppe, sent a letter from thence on the 1st of May, N. S. * to Mr. BACON, giving him an account of the king's lying at Mantes, and that nothing had been done by the English troops under Sir ROGER WILLIAMS, since their departure from Dieppe. That there was a piece of service expected by the king, but prevented by the discovery; and that this was judg'd to be the surprising of Paris. That the enemy was within four leagues of St. Esprit in Picardy. In the postscript he added, that at the sealing of his letter a person arrived from Paris, who said, that at his departure from that city, the cry was for peace with HENRY IV.

Captain FRANCIS ALLEN likewise wrote to Mr. BACON, on the 16th of that month, concerning the late attempt of the Spaniards with 6000 horse and foot to relieve Gertruydenberg, which was begun to be besieged by count MAURICE on the 18th of March, and taken by him on the 15th of June.

The earl of Essex, who was very solicitous to procure the best intelligence from all parts, had began soon after his acquaintance with Mr. BACON, to employ him in carrying on a very extensive correspondence for that purpose. Scotland was too nearly connected with England in its present interests, and by the claim of its king to the crown of the latter, not to engage his lordship's particular attention. One of his earliest, as well as most considerable intelligencers there was Dr. MORISON, with whose services the queen was highly satisfied, and who appears to have been well rewarded with money for them; but there are scarce any of his letters, which were generally written in French, remaining among the papers of Mr. BACON. In a fragment indeed of one to that gentleman, still extant, is a remarkable particularity relating to the death of ALEXANDER FARNESE, duke of Parma, which happen'd at Arras, on the 2d of December, 1592, N. S. The duke, according to this account, being in that city, and mounting his horse after dinner, was suddenly seized with an extreme pain, so that he fell from his horse, crying out, first, *Io sono ingannato*, and then *Portatemi l'acqua contra il Veneno*; which being brought him, it operated wonderfully well; but he never spoke again, and died immediately. Mr. ROBERT BOWES, the English ambassador in Scotland, who had been sent thither in December, 1589, in the room of WILLIAM ASHBY, esq; having been employed there likewise on other occasions before, was privy to Dr. MORISON's corresponding with the earl of Essex, and Mr. BACON, and frequently wrote himself to his lordship. In the first of his letters to the earl, dated at Edinburgh, May 28, 1593, he informs him, that by his late conference with the doctor, he perceiv'd, that he rather expected some letters from his lordship, or Mr. ANTHONY BACON, than was furnish'd with matters of importance. "And yet," *says Mr. BOWES*, this estate is so tossed with dangerous storms falling daily by

* Fol. 77.

* Fol. 84.

* METZERN, *Listoire des Pays Bas*, L. xvii.

fol. 345—347.

* Letter of the earl of Essex, vol. vii.

* Vol. iii. fol. 91.

“ the general division in all sorts of persons of quality or action, and by the
 “ common conceit possessing most men with fear, that the rebels and papists shall
 “ at length (rather shortly) find unseasonable favour, as every day yieldeth no-
 “ velties ; all which, I trust, are by him or others largely certified to your lordship,
 “ as before I have written, with offer to your lordship to be ready myself to give
 “ your lordship the best contentment I can in these, and all other services, and as
 “ it shall please you to employ me.”

Mr. STANDEN pursuing his resolution, with which he had acquainted Mr. BACON, of returning to England, embark'd on the 11th of May, 1593, and arrived at Calais, on the 23d of that month, from whence he wrote the same day to the lord treasurer and Mr. BACON, to acquaint them of his arrival. In his letter to the latter he tells him, that he should leave the discourse of his departure, and of the Spanish court and realm, till their meeting, which he much desired, intending to enter and return as a Frenchman : which point he also touch'd in his letter to the lord treasurer, as likewise about a retired lodging, while he staid ; “ I mean, *says he*, some quiet house, as near you as might be, of no common resort, and “ in effect where it shall best like her majesty, this purporting much her royal “ service for my return over again. I tarry here spending, and therefore pray you “ to procure my answer with the convenient speed may be ; which having re- “ ceived, I will presently embark ; and as I have beseeched his honour, so do I “ intreat you, that I may find one at Dover, with order from him to accompany “ me to London, which I could wish to be Mr. LAWSON, so he were returned “ his long voyage.”

Mr. FAUNT was accordingly dispatch'd to Dover, whence he wrote to Mr. BACON on Wednesday night, the 30th of May, that he had staid there ever since the Monday morning before, and yet heard nothing from the other side, tho' he had sent thither within four hours of his arrival. “ But indeed, *says he*, the winds “ have been contrary all this week hitherto ; and tho' some small shallops have “ come over, yet none since that time, that he might well provide himself of a “ sufficient boat, for otherwise I think he will not adventure in this stirring time, “ when there are some of Dunkirk, and others by reason of this descent towards “ Boulogne, that spare no sort of passengers. I sent by one of Calais, not with- “ out the advice of the lieutenant here, both letters and money, who came down “ from the castle to see the party, and to learn of what credit and trust he might be “ with those of this town, where the fellow is well known. So as I am persuaded “ all is safely delivered ; and I think, our friend stayeth only for a sure passage. I “ see no cause to write any thing to my lord treasurer ; but if he send to you, you “ may advertise his lordship what I write.” Mr. FAUNT added, that one of Sir EDWARD NORREYS's servants had pass'd that morning thro' Dover, who in great haste carried advice of the enemy's besieging Ostend ; and that he heard by the post of Colen, who arrived there that afternoon, that there were in those parts some levies of men to withstand the invasions of the Turk, the rather for that it was reported at Colen, that the emperor of Russia, and the king of Spain, by whom

that service had a long time been hindered. “ But this, *says he*, is Dover news; whereof store may be had any hour. Most true it is, that the count CHARLES MANSFIELD is retired from before Boulogne, with an intention as some think, to pass the Somme; but others fear, to gather more forces, and to return to the siege of Boulogne. Howsoever surely these frontier parts are at this present marvellously astonished. Monsieur de GOURDON feareth at Calais, and LA MORTE hath lately laid himself in water about Gravelin. St. Omer’s, and all that part of Picardy, is wasted already, and many come over hither at this time for their present security. Thus we may see, how the fire groweth near us; and if, as it is reported, there be a second fleet of Spaniards at hand, about twenty or thirty sail, they of this town have cause to doubt the more, because of the unfaithfulness of the French, even GOURDON himself, who giveth aim to both parties.”

Mr. STANDEN sent two letters to Mr. FAUNT, who wrote likewise as often to him, tho’ their letters miscarried; but Mr. FAUNT’s third letter, sent by a young man of Dover, mention’d in his letter to Mr. BACON, came to Mr. STANDEN’s hands. In answer to which the latter wrote to him from Calais, on Saturday the 12th of June, N. S. * acquainting him, that it was not the wind, which he waited for, but the departure from thence of certain Spaniards of his acquaintance for Spain, who were just arrived there, and expected a wind, which was then full against them; since, if he should depart before them, it would be too manifest a discovery, especially they having in company a couple of English, who never left him. That it would therefore be necessary to have patience for some eight days; but that he did not desire Mr. FAUNT’s stay at Dover, as it would be sufficient for him to leave word with the captain of the castle there, to whom Mr. STANDEN would address himself at landing: for tho’ it was now just twenty-eight years since his departure from England, yet he did not doubt but to find alone well enough the way to Gray’s Inn. He acknowledges likewise to have received on the Wednesday before the twenty pieces of gold sent him by Mr. FAUNT; who transmitted this letter to Mr. BACON immediately upon the receipt of it the very day of the date, with one of his own, dated at Dover at three in the afternoon of that day †; in which he observ’d, that he must make some stay there to take order with the lieutenant of the castle and the post-master, for Mr. STANDEN’s better address to Mr. BACON upon his arrival at Dover, and to procure him a convoy and permission of horse and a man to be his servant and guide. “ Touching his allegations for his stay, I can, *says he*, partly confirm the same, for that yesterday after I sent my messenger away, being desirous to discover somewhat by other circumstances, when I could receive no letters, I learned of one, that came lately over, who had conference with Mr. STANDEN, that indeed he is belayed by his company of Spaniards and English, so as until they be embarked, he may not stir or speak with any of this side. Which also appeared by the strangeness he used to the said party I sent expressly, tho’ he were taken there of others for a stranger. And therefore he will tell you, that it had been more danger to him (or his purpose at the least) if myself had gone over, as I was once minded: but partly casting this doubt before, and being also dehorted therefrom by Mr. lieutenant,

* Fol. 112.

† Fol. 110.

“ I thought

" I thought rather to attend his answer here, tho' with some tediousness, in respect
 " of the want of first answer to mine." He propos'd himself to stay the next day,
 being Sunday, at Canterbury, and the day following to hasten to London. In his
 postscript he speaks of the Golden Lyon and Bonaventure, two of the queen's ships,
 which were to go out with the earl of Cumberland, as being come that morning in-
 to that road from Boulogne, and that it was confirm'd, that the leaguers were gone
 thence, and marching towards the king, who was coming to *New Castel*. That
 that coast began to be troubled, so that none dar'd pass without convoy. That
 they heard that morning, that count MAURICE pres'd Gertruydenberg so near,
 that they within held only the market-place, and that as he had erected a place even
 with their cannon, it was not likely to hold out long, tho' they were desperate
 enough.

Mr. STANDEN was still retarded at Calais, whence he wrote to Mr. BACON, on
 Sunday the 1st of June, that the cause of his delay was the villainy of a Fleming,
 who at the time when he delivered the answer to the first packet sent him by Mr.
 FAUNT, had dog'd him to the sea-side, and when his back was turn'd, with a
 shallop pursued the mariner, to whom he had consign'd the letter, and having
 violently taken it from him, brought it back to Calais, translated it into French,
 and made certain Spaniards there, waiting for a passage into Spain, acquainted with
 the sense of it; so that thro' this discovery he had been forced to stay there, as well
 to look to his sure passage over, as to deal with Monsieur de GOURDON, about the
 search of the truth thereof. " Which in time having, *says he*, bolted out, I must
 " be forced to change my course, and yet no great matter therein, for I was re-
 " solved at my coming out of Spain, at no hand any longer to serve that king; all
 " my chief care consisting in the safety of poor Mr. ROLSTON, there left behind,
 " whom surely they will dismember with torment, if speedy remedies be not ap-
 " plied, by advising him of this accident, which must be by writing to him by
 " one JOSEPH JACKSON, a merchant resident at St. John de Luz, by whose
 " means he may be quickly advised, that presently he pass over to the French side,
 " and stay at Bayonne until her majesty's pleasure be farther known. And needful
 " it is also, that Monsieur de la HILLIERE, governor there, be advised to receive
 " him: All which may be signified thither by way of alderman BROOKE, who
 " hath traffic thither, or else by one RICHARD CRADOCKE, of London, who
 " doth write thither, to Rochelle, and to Bourdeaux. I would not omit any
 " diligence needful for his safety. Wherefore finding here none, I am bold to
 " commit the matter to you, especially knowing the love it liketh you to bear us
 " both. And herein I am bound in conscience to have the more care, for that I
 " embarked him in this action, knowing the service the queen's majesty is to re-
 " ceive by calling him home." He then observes, that the intercepting of his
 letter had, besides the grief of mind, been the cause of his longer abode at Calais,
 than it would otherwise have been, by ten days; but that, if the wind should
 prove favourable, he would embark on Tuesday the 12th. He concludes with
 his thanks for Mr. BACON's courteous and comfortable letter, which accompanied
 that of the lord treasurer, requesting him, that as he had been the motive and be-
 ginner of his good fortune, he would be the middle and ending, and confirm

the good work begun, with assurance on his own part of the correspondence by all gratitude possible. He inclosed likewise in his letter one to the lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby, from GEORGIO CRESSIS, an Albanois, who had commanded a company of light horse in the Low Countries, under the duke of Parma, requesting of his lordship a passport for Spain, whither he was going to pretend recompense from PHILIP II. and from thence to Italy, to serve the duke of Florence.

This last packet of Mr. STANDEN being brought to the lord treasurer, he sent it sealed, on the 13th of June, 1593, in the morning by a pursuivant to Mr. BACON, which he return'd open'd to his lordship, who, he knew, look'd for as much : " Otherwise, says he in a letter written the same day to the earl of Essex *, I would " have sent your lordship the originals in lieu of the copies here inclosed." He informs the earl, at the same time, that he had advertised the lord treasurer of a very fit opportunity to write to Monsieur de la HILLIERE, governor of Bayonne, and to warn Mr. ROLSTON at Fontarabia by a ship bound to Bayonne, of which he had been inform'd by an honest merchant, Mr. ARTHUR JACKSON, elder brother of him, who was mention'd in Mr. STANDEN's letter. " I know, says he, my very " good lord, what I wish, and that with just and dutiful reason, might be speedily " done for the advancement of her majesty's service, in satisfying STANDEN's rea- " sonable request in the behalf of his friend ROLSTON, and hope his lordship's re- " solution will not differ from the desire : which having understood, I will not fail " to signify unto your lordship." In the same letter he takes notice of his brother's having been most shrewdly handled by a tertian ague, which obliged him to leave Twickenham, and return thither to Gray's Inn.

The earl's answer to Mr. BACON was as follows :

" S I R,

" I am sorry for the mischance of the intercepting of STANDEN's letter ; and I " do wish, that my lord treasurer would satisfy his request for ROLSTON. If my " lord do it not, I will do what you will have me. I send you herewith a warrant " for a buck in charity, one in Hyde-Park, and another out of Waltham Forest. " I am infinitely grieved with your brother's sickness. I will see him as soon as I " can get from hence : but my lord chamberlain and Mr. vice-chamberlain are " both absent, and nobody here but myself. Commend me to him, I pray you ; and " so I commend you both to God's protection. In hast this Wednesday.

" Your most assured friend,

" E S S E X."

Mr. BACON transmitted to his brother on the 8th of June †, copies of Mr. FAUNT's and Mr. STANDEN's letters, the originals of which he had sent to the lord treasurer at Theobalds, who dispatch'd them strait to her majesty by Sir ROBERT CECIL. He desired his brother to return these copies, " which I am glad, says he, " I was so well advised as to take. The world stands and goes upon punctos.

* Vol. iii. fol. 314.

† Vol. vii. fol. 119.

‡ Vol. iii. fol. 119.

" The

“ The best is, my gout hath made me wakery, and my long living and conversing
 “ with the French hath taught me to look about me in such ticklish matters. I
 “ received yesterday a letter from the earl by his footman, with another from the
 “ Scots embassador to his lordship ^a, to whom I send my man this day with
 “ MORISON’s dispatch, who, tho’ I should do no other good, yet is he not alto-
 “ gether unprofitable, seeing it appears from Mr. BOWES’s own letters, how
 “ closely soever he carrieth it, that MORISON serves as a whetstone to his diligence,
 “ *en lui tenant toujours en cervelle.*

The earl of Essex being impatient for the arrival of Mr. STANDEN, wrote the following letter from court to Mr. BACON ^b.

“ S I R,

“ My absence from home, and business here, doth keep me from seeing and
 “ saluting you, when many times I have desire to do both. I send this bearer of
 “ purpose to you, by whom if you will write to Dr. MORISON, I will send your
 “ letter in my packet to Mr. BOWES. If you have any news of STANDEN, I pray
 “ you let me hear of them; and, if you think it not inconvenient, I will make
 “ a journey secretly of purpose to Gray’s Inn, to talk with him before you some
 “ evening late. But if you think it will breed offence either to yourself or to him
 “ from the *great man*, I will forget, that I did wish it: And so commending my
 “ love unto you, and you unto God’s protection, I rest

“ your most assured friend,

“ E S S E X.”

His lordship’s apprehension of giving offence to the lord treasurer by an application to Mr. STANDEN, appears likewise from another letter of his ^c, of an earlier date, written in answer to one from Mr. BACON, acquainting him of Mr. STANDEN’s being come to Calais.

“ S I R,

“ Your letter doth find me in bed with some indisposition, yet not such, as I
 “ think to keep the house for. I am glad of the arrival of STANDEN, both for the
 “ use, which her majesty shall have of his service, and for the honour and thanks
 “ you shall very worthily receive from her for managing this matter so well. I
 “ know not whether I should be glad or sorry, that he is light into my lord treasurer’s
 “ hands; for if he give him that encouragement, and do you that right, which he
 “ should, I do think the address is very happy; because his wisdom and his au-
 “ thority being greatest, he can best employ him. But if he deal in this great
 “ matter, as he doth with before intelligences, I could have wish’d STANDEN free
 “ from my lord. I cannot for a day or two come to London, but we may
 “ talk by our letters. I will have a man of mine to-morrow attend you, by
 “ whom if I may know your mind, I will, as in all things, so in this, give you
 “ all satisfaction I can. As for sending to STANDEN by Mr. FAUNT, since he

^a That of the 28th of May, cited above.

^b Vol. vii.

^c Ibid. fol. 131.

" is now engaged to my lord, I think it inconvenient. But as I would have done
 " any thing for him, if he were free from other men now, so will I, whensoever
 " he shall untie himself. But now I must either wrong my lord, or else be but the
 " rehearser of that, which my lord will bring the queen. I know my lord is
 " jealous, and I am as careful not to give him any offence. This is mine own
 " opinion, which yet I will reform to your discretion. And so wishing you
 " health and happiness,

" I rest your most assured friend,

" E S S E X.

" I pray you let this postscript commend me most kindly to your brother."

Mr. STANDEN arrived at London, on the 13th of June late in the night, and went directly to Mr. BACON, who had provided him a lodging in his brother's chambers, at Gray's Inn, and as Mr. STANDEN wrote thence the next day to the earl of Essex¹, " with his wonted courteous manner did not only restore my person, but my
 " mind also, by the glad tidings he delivered of your gracious inclinations to favour
 " me, as by the token or earnest penny he put about my neck in your honour's
 " behalf I was more than assured: For which not having words sufficient to yield
 " the thanks due, in a divine manner inclining myself with that humility and zeal
 " I may easilier imagine than expresse, I kiss your honour's hand, leaving the
 " rest until it shall be my great good hap to be admitted into your worthy pre-
 " sence, which shall be neither sooner nor later than your good lordship shall com-
 " mand." This early application of Mr. STANDEN to the earl was ascribed by Mr. BACON in a conference with his aunt lady RUSSEL, which he had in September 1596, and of which he wrote his lordship an account², to the lord treasurer's neglect of Mr. STANDEN, who " having certified his lordship, *says Mr. BACON*,
 " of his arrival at Calais, was left there *a l'abandon*, without receiving any com-
 " fort or warrant from his lordship, to his no small discouragement and my dis-
 " credit, upon whose mediation to my lord treasurer he wholly relied, I made no
 " scruple to address my self to the worthy earl, and to present the gentleman unto
 " him, who, first in respect of her majesty's service, and then for my sake, revived
 " his spirits utterly damped by my lord treasurer's carelessness and contempt of
 " of him, with a noble welcome of a chain of 100 marks."

Mr. BACON acquainted his mother, on the 15th of June³, with the arrival of Mr. STANDEN, " whom it pleased her majesty, *says he*, to command my lord
 " treasurer to direct to repair and remain here with me." He added, that the earl of Essex had the day before sent him the warrants for three bucks, and written to him, that he would not fail to be with him that evening to see him and his brother, and to speak with Mr. STANDEN, who was to go that morning in Mr. BACON's coach to the lord treasurer at Theobalds.

¹ Vol. iii. fol. 96.

² Vol. xiii. fol. 21.

³ Vol. iii. fol. 121.

In another letter to her of the 8th of that month^a, he mention'd, that Monsieur CASTOL, the minister of the French church in London, and the editor of a book, which BEZA had sent to her, probably that, which he had dedicated to her, had been lately with him, to know, if she would write to or had any commands for BEZA, who appear'd to *expect more than a letter from her*: "In consideration whereof, *says he*, as also to revive my antient acquaintance with the good old father, I was bold to send him, in your ladyship's name and mine own, a present, not of money, but otherwise employed, to the value of 20 marks, accompanied with a letter of mine own to himself, and two more to two other of my especial friends at Geneva."

Mr. BACON having written to the lord treasurer in favour of Mr. STANDEN, that he might have access to the queen, his lordship directed his secretary, Mr. HENRY MAYNARD^b, to return him an answer from Theobalds on the 19th of June, 1593^c, that he could not yet signify her majesty's pleasure concerning Mr. STANDEN, as Sir ROBERT CECIL, who was that day arriv'd at Theobalds, had not had any time before his coming from court to understand her majesty's pleasure: but that he was to return thither the next day, or the day following, at the farthest, when he would omit no opportunity both to speak to her majesty, and to send to the earl of Essex her answer; untill which time he desir'd, that Mr. STANDEN might remain where he was.

Mr. STANDEN wrote the same day from Gray's Inn to the earl of Essex^d, that living in some hope, that it might be her majesty's pleasure, at one time or other, to admit him to her royal presence, he had reserved some part to have related to her majesty himself. But since he was to attend herein her good pleasure, which might grow into length, and that length prejudice her service, he had thought it best to anticipate by signifying the same to his lordship, to whose judgment he remitted the following relation. In March preceding, an Irishman unseen by and unknown to him had been at the Pardo, where the king of Spain then lay; and had made an offer to him of the town of Galloway in Ireland. Whereupon there were speeches of rigging of ships, and sending forces thither; and Mr. STANDEN himself was dealt with in that affair by a third person afar off. He could not precisely say, who were the *maquignons* in it; but talking with one STANNIHURST, and ARCHER, a jesuit, both Irishmen, they seem'd to know of no such matter; and that if such design was concerted, it would be impracticable, since the king at that time had neither men nor money, tho' he expected the Gallibrazan from the Havanna a little after. About eight days before Mr. STANDEN left Madrid, the lord BALTINGLASS and JOHN of Desmond, with eight Irishmen more, were come thither from Lisbon: and it might be, that upon the arrival of the treasure this smother'd spark had been renewed. These he own'd to be

^a Vol. iii. fol. 120.

^b He was afterwards knighted by queen ELIZABETH, and serv'd in three several parliaments, in the 28th, 30th, and 30th years of her reign, for the borough of St. Albans; and in the 43d was elected one of the knights for the county of Essex,

of which he was high sheriff; as he was of Hertfordshire in the last year of her majesty. He died 11 May, 1610. His eldest son, WILLIAM, was created lord MAYNARD.

^c Fol. 116.

^d Fol. 25.

but

but presumptions; and that he had no other certainty of it; and that it might be embrac'd or rejected according to the motives of Spain, unknown to her majesty's foresight. But at that time the matter was fallen to the ground. The Irish were likewise erecting a college in Salamanca; the rector of which was ARCHER; and the king endow'd it with 600 crowns yearly for a beginning, and 2000 for *Ayuda de Costas* to buy them furniture and books. About October, 1592, one BUTLER and LUTTREL, both Irish, and some time servants, as they reported, to Sir WALTER RALEGH, being at sea in some ship of his, took occasion to go on shore on the coast of Portugal about the recovery of fresh water for the vessel; which having done, they went to Lisbon, presenting themselves to the cardinal for catholics, and offering their service. Whereupon they were immediately imprison'd, and after three months, no matter being found, were dismiss'd, and going thence to Madrid, were shut up again there, and ill treated on suspicion of being intelligence-givers. Mr. STANDEN adds, that three days before his departure, it had been constantly affirm'd in the Spanish court, that her majesty had appointed in the place of Sir WILLIAM FITZ-WILLIAMS, deputy of Ireland, Sir WILLIAM RUSSEL, and in that charge nothing acceptable to those ministers of Spain, terming him *muy buen soldado y hombre de chappo*, and rather wishing the other's stay than this gentleman's placing. Mr. STANDEN concludes with observing, that he was persuaded, that himself was forgotten by the lord treasurer, since he heard no more of his lordship; and that in the mean time he liv'd idle, and her majesty's service slept.

Lady BACON, who was strongly prepossess'd against Mr. STANDEN, on account of his religion, and the suspicions infus'd into her of his design to draw Mr. BACON over to it, while they were both at Bourdeaux, was not at all pleas'd now with the intimacy between them since Mr. STANDEN's return. She gave her son therefore, in her letter from Gorhambury of the 26th of June, 1593, some cautions with respect to him: "Be not, *says she*, too frank with that papist; such " have seducing spirits to snare the godly. Be not too open."

Mr. ANTHONY ROLSTON did not wait long after the departure of Mr. STANDEN before he wrote to Mr. BACON from Fontarabia, on the 29th of June, 1593; Mr. STANDEN having, as he observes, when he went from thence, left order with him to write such occurrents to Mr. BACON, as that place afforded. He begins with taking notice, that the treasure, which had come safe to the isles of St. Michael near that of the Tercera, the whole sum amounting to twelve millions in silver, was now said to be arriv'd intire at Seville: and that there was a report of a great fight between the fleet of England and that of Spain: and that the latter had lost 2000 of their men, but had taken ten of the English ships. That it was likewise said here, that Sir FRANCIS DRAKE was to set sail in August with fourteen ships of her majesty, besides others of particular persons: and that the Spaniards had made great preparations throughout all their coast for his coming at the haven of Passage, two leagues from Fontarabia; having in readiness six great galleons and twenty other ships, and daily expecting six gallies. "For what

* Vol. iii. fol. 106.

* Ibid. fol. 126.

“ effect, *says he*, we know not nor can imagine, unless they be for the river of Bourdeaux, when our country ships shall go for wine.

“ Here passed this way one WILLIAM OURDE, servant to the king of Scots, and his passage was the 15th of May last. He hath attained of the king of Spain license, that all Scots merchants may come and go with all sorts of merchandize for Lisbon, St. Sebastians, and Seville, so they bring passport from the Scots king. If otherwise, they are not without peril to lose all. They have other practises there, if I be not deceived, which are secret.”

Mr. STANDEN's connexions with the earl of Essex growing more close in proportion to the neglect shewn him by the lord treasurer, he soon enter'd absolutely into the service and confidence of the earl. On the 4th of July he wrote to his lordship from Gray's Inn, that he would not fail, according to his lordship's order, the next day to give the letter for Florence to CORSINI, and charge him with the safe and speedy delivery of it to the duke. He thank'd the earl for the joyfull news both of her majesty's recovery and of her gracious inclination to favour him: “ All which, *says he*, is your lordship's work and fashion, as I acknowledge my self to be in this new world. I am now entered into entertainment *fattura di V. S. illustrissima*. God give me grace to be grateful for it. I have, my lord, by this bearer, written to my lord treasurer about my former suit of access to her majesty, and expect his lordship's answer. Mr. BACON, by this change of the weather, is assaulted with his familiar infirmity, and his grief is the more, by how much he findeth himself unprofitable to himself and friends; for it seized his left elbow and hand, likewise the right thumb, in such sort, as he hath not been able to write to your lordship; and that, which is worse, and most altereth him, unapt to stir abroad to take his wonted exercises: all which he willed me to signify to your lordship, with offer of his service in all wonted manner of devotion.”

Mr. BACON having written, at the earl's desire, a letter to the lord treasurer, Mr. STANDEN sent a copy of it to the earl with the answer, which the lord treasurer had directed Mr. MAYNARD to return to it: “ which how cold and bare, *says he*, your lordship may likewise discern. Both I send unto your lordship to consider of, and to resolve of my person, which for ever I have vowed unto your service, what shall seem most suitable to the first, and then to my poor reputation and credit, which now seemeth to hang in balance.” He then mentions, that the earl's secretary, Mr. MASHAM, had been with him, and that he had instructed him in the best manner in his power, and accompanied him with a letter to the secretary BELISARIO VINTA, one of the chief men about the great duke, that he would favour him in his occurrences.

Mr. ROBERT BOWES, the English ambassador in Scotland, began now a more frequent correspondence with the earl of Essex, writing him on the 11th of July, 1593, a long letter from Edinburgh. In this he informs his lordship, that Dr.

* Vol. iii. fol. 129.

* Ibid. fol. 130.

* Ibid. fol. 137.

MORISON returning lately thither had let him know, that he had been in the north, and by accident fell into the company of the earl of Huntley, into whose credit he thought himself to have so deeply insinuated him, that now he seem'd not only to possess great interest in the earl and his solicitors employ'd for him in the court and Edinburgh, but also to be able to procure large overtures, with especial assurance, by sufficient hostages, or other means, to be made to Mr. Bowes for her majesty in the behalf of ANGUS, HUNTLEY, ERROL, and their friends. Dr. MORISON wish'd, that the matter might be carried by the earl of Essex's convoy. Mr. Bowes expected to have received the doctor's letters to the earl for his lordship's further information in that and all other occurrents in Scotland. The doctor likewise pretended, that PETLURGE, the solicitor of the earl of Huntley, should have been with Mr. Bowes before that time; but Mr. Bowes had not yet seen PETLURGE, nor received any letter from Dr. MORISON. PETLURGE and others had before solicited Mr. Bowes in favour of these three noblemen; of which he had advertis'd the lord treasurer from time to time, agreeably to her majesty's direction to him. "And nevertheless, *says he*, I have always borne my course from them, in regard their conspiracies with Spain were odious and deserving severe punishment; and that most of them had foully broke their promises for her majesty to me; and beyond the bounds of trust hereafter to be given them. Mine ear notwithstanding hath been open to all offers, that I might hear, and certify, and commend all to her majesty's pleasure and censure, finding hitherto cold disposition in her majesty to accept of their overtures after such loathsome defaults. And therefore I have chosen at this time rather to give your lordship some taste of this matter thus pretended to me, than rashly to embark your lordship or myself farther, than your lordship, upon advised deliberation, and with some feeling of your majesty's liking herein, shall find it expedient and standing with your lordship's pleasure. Upon knowledge of your pleasure mentioned, I shall be ready to employ myself and service, as you shall direct me."

The case of these three earls of Huntley, Angus and Errol, was, that about November, 1592, there were found upon Mr. GEORGE KER, brother of the lord NEWBOTTLE, who was attempting to go to Spain, several letters and blanks sign'd by these earls and by Sir PATRICK GORDON of Auchendown. Upon this discovery the earl of Angus, just return'd from the north, was committed by the provost of Edinburgh to the castle. Mr. KER upon his examination confess'd what he knew of the affair to this purpose, that upon a letter sent from WILLIAM CREICHTON a jesuit, then residing in Spain, and assurance given of the king of Spain's aid for the alteration of religion, JAMES GORDON and ROBERT ABERCROMBIE, two other jesuits, had devised to send one to Spain to certify the king of the concurrence of the Scots catholics in his service; and that for the greater secrecy the three earls should undertake for the rest, and by their letters testify the same. That this being propos'd to the noblemen, they readily consented, and accordingly set their hands to eight blanks, six whereof were to be filled, as missives from them to the king of Spain, and two others with precautions, one for

* SPOTSWOOD, History of the Church of Scotland, l. vi. p. 390, 391.

the messenger's credit, the other for the articles, that should be drawn up in Spain. That the filling of the blanks was intrusted to Mr. WILLIAM CREICHTON and Mr. JAMES TYRIE; and that Sir JAMES CHISHOLM, one of the king's masters of the household, was first chosen to be carrier of the blanks; but that he being prevented by some private business, they were delivered to himself, Mr. KER, subscribed in the month of October, 1592, he being then in Edinburgh. He farther declared, that by conference at the same time with the earls of Angus and Errol, he understood, that the king of Spain was to send an army of thirty thousand men into Scotland, of whom 15000 should remain in the country, and with the assistance of the catholics, either alter the present religion, or procure liberty to their own profession; and that the rest of the army should invade England, being conducted thither by the catholic lords, who were to meet the army at their landing, which was appointed to be either at Kirkcudbright in Galloway, or in the mouth of Cluyde. The earl of Angus affirmed the blanks and subscriptions to be counterfeited; but DAVID GRAHAM of Fintrie, who was apprehended upon suspicion at the same time, and beheaded on the 16th of February, 1593, declared, that Mr. ROBERT ABERCROMBIE had reveal'd the design to him, and shew'd, that the blanks were intrusted to Mr. KER. However, the earl of Angus on the 14th of February, 1593, escaped out of the castle of Edinburgh, and fled to the north, where he join'd the earls of Huntley and Errol.

Mr. BOWES in his letter gives likewise some account of the occurrences in Scotland at that time, referring the rest to another opportunity, and to the letter, which he expected Dr. MORISON would soon write to the earl of Essex. He observes, that the day before, the 10th of July, the king with some noblemen, and many commissioners for barons and boroughs of the parliament, were at the Tolbooth in Edinburgh, where they began the parliament, and fenced it until the Saturday following the 14th, purposing in the mean time to consult for the choice of the lords of the articles, and to prepare all matters for the affairs in the parliament; chiefly for the tryals and forfeitures of Angus, Huntley, Errol, and Auchendown, together with such as were present at the slaughter of the earl of Murray⁷; wherein the greatest difficulty would be, whether the evidence and proof of the crimes objected against those three earls were so sufficient in law, as the parliament might well proceed and forfeit the parties summoned: In which question, as well some of the king's learned council, as also others of the session and learned in the law, differed in opinion. And upon this, the parties to be arraigned took no little hold and comfort; yet the king appear'd to be earnest for the progress of the forfeitures; *which I leave,* says Mr. BOWES, *wholly to farther experience.* He adds, that the king had taken in the Tolbooth the public and solemn promises of the noblemen assembled in Edinburgh, to keep peace for themselves and their followers during this parliament: And the lords summoned to parliament would, as it was thought, stand upon the insufficiency of the probation of their summons or crimes objected against them; then excuse their defaults in experience, and thereupon offer liberally to the king, parliament, and ministers for their peace.

⁷ He was kill'd at Donybrissel on the 7th of February, 1593, by the friends of the earl of Huntley. SPOTSWOOD, p. 387.

The chancellor ^a offer'd his blank to the king, to assure to the queen for her dowry all such possessions in his hands, as she would demand, and in the manner, which she and the ambassadors for Denmark should appoint. For the ambassadors fought to have the conveyances made in the form used in Denmark. From this it was expected, that the chancellor should be restored to the queen's favour. And thereupon the king had both given order to Blantyre ^b, Linclowden ^c, and North-Berwick, to hasten the reconciliation between the chancellor, the lord MAR, HUME, and master of GLAMIS; and purposed to call the chancellor to be present at this parliament. His majesty had assign'd a council for the queen, to serve only to see, that the assurances for her dowry be sufficiently provided. Several infamous libels had been lately published, but suppress'd, agreeable to the proclamation for that purpose.

FRANCIS STUART, who had been created by the king of Scots earl of Bothwell, and constituted lord high admiral of Scotland, but charg'd in 1589 with designs against his majesty, which oblig'd him to fly, having on the 24th of July, 1593, return'd unexpectedly to court, and surpriz'd the king; upon the first news of it the earl of Essex wrote the following letter to Mr. BACON ^e.

"S I R,

"I send you here inclos'd a letter to Mr. STANDEN, which is an answer to one of his to me. I do wonder we hear not from Dr. MORISON, for the news of Scotland are great. Bothwell is come to court ^d, brought by the duke [of Lennox] Mar, and Athol. There is a general peace proclaim'd. This was certainly done against the king's will, for he knew not of Bothwell's coming till he came into the chamber. Sir JAMES STUART ^f is chancellor; and all those, that are not of this faction, shall be chased from the court. I wish to you as to myself, and rest

"Your assured friend,

"ESSEX."

But Bothwell did not long keep his station at court, the convention of estates at Stirling, on the 7th of September, declaring the conditions granted him by the king, thro' the mediation of the English ambassador, to be dishonourable; and he not appearing before the council at Edinburgh, upon the king's going thither, was again denounc'd rebel ^g.

Dr. MORISON's letters, giving an account of these events, are not to be found among the papers of Mr. BACON, who chiefly carried on the correspondence be-

^a Sir JOHN MAITLAND, of Thirlstane, created chancellor in 1587. He was grandfather of JOHN duke of Lauderdale.

^b WALTER STUART, prior of Blantyre, afterwards lord privy seal, and at last lord treasurer of Scotland. He was created lord Blantyre, July 10, 1610, and died in 1616.

^c ROBERT DOUGLAS of Linclowden.

^d Vol. vii. fol. 164.

^e SPOTSWOOD, p. 394. and ROB. JOHNSTON's *histor. rerum Britannicarum*. L. vi. p. 178.

^f Commonly call'd captain JAMES, known formerly by the title of earl of Arran.

^g MAITLAND the chancellor had absented himself from court all that year, upon a discontent of the queen of Scots conceived against him.

^h SPOTSWOOD, p. 395, 396.

tween him and the earl of Essex. One of his lordship's to Mr. BACON of an uncertain date was as follows ^a.

“ S I R,

“ I am by the queen commanded to make a dispatch to Dr. MORISON, in answer
 “ to his last, wherein I must use your hand. I pray you to make a letter be
 “ written to this effect, and send it unto me, to let him know, that the king hath
 “ written a letter to the queen, wherein he tells the queen, that the earl of Huntley
 “ and that party do make offers unto him of submission, and the same conditions
 “ in effect, that were offered to the queen. Whereupon the queen doubteth,
 “ whether it be fit for both their majesties to compound with him at once; or
 “ whether one should do it for both: And since he doth offer the king to give
 “ assurance in his composition, that he will be sure not only to the king, but to
 “ the queen, she thinks it fit to see what conclusion that may have, before she
 “ proceeds farther with the earl. If the earl doth think, that this dispatch doth
 “ cross the last, the occasion, saith the queen, is given by himself, in that he did
 “ not let her know what had passed between the king and him. But to clear all
 “ doubts, let the doctor write plainly what the earl hath done, or means to do,
 “ with the king; and then he shall soon know the queen's resolution. I wish to
 “ you as to myself, and rest

“ Your assured friend,

“ E S S E X.”

Mr. BACON was with his brother at Twickenham on the 18th of July, 1593, when he wrote ¹ to Mr. THOMAS SMITH, then secretary to his lordship. This gentleman was a native of Abington in Berkshire, and educated in the free-school there founded in 1563, by JOHN ROYSE, citizen and mercer of London. Thence he was translated to the university of Oxford, where he became a student of Christ Church in 1570, and took the degrees in arts, that of master being completed in 1578, and six years after was elected one of the proctors of the university. About that time he was taken into the service of the earl of Essex ², and was almost the only person advanc'd from it into higher posts, being made clerk of the council, and register of the parliament ³, and afterwards secretary of the Latin tongue, and one of the masters of the requests. He was knighted in 1603, and died at his house on Parsons Green near Fulham, on the 28th of November, 1609, leaving one son, ROBERT, by his wife FRANCES, daughter of WILLIAM lord Chandos, afterwards remarried to THOMAS earl of Exeter ⁴. Mr. BACON in his letter to him returns his thanks to the earl of Essex for his *most honourable and bountiful liberality* towards the bearer of that letter, “ which I know, *says he*, he will be no less ready
 “ than he is bound to acknowledge and deserve by the willing employment of
 “ his life at all times, and wherein soever it shall please my lord to command his
 “ service.” He acknowledges likewise in very strong terms Mr. SMITH's many friendly offices towards himself and Mr. STANDEN.

^a Vol. vii. fol. 162.

¹ Vol. iii. fol. 135.

² Wood, Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. fol. 352.

³ Sir HENRY WOTTON's Remains, p. 176.

⁴ Wood, ubi supra.

The same day he wrote likewise to his mother^a, assuring her, with regard to Mr. STANDEN, as he had before, that his company neither had, nor should, prejudice him in mind or body; "and therefore, *says he*, I judge it no wise convenient, that your ladyship should shew by letter or otherwise any discontentment of his abode here, so long as it shall please her majesty to like thereof. Neither have I need, I thank God, to trouble my lord treasurer in demanding his lordship's help by loan of any sum to satisfy my debts; the effects of whose good will towards me, according to his lordship's often protestations, and not altogether without my deserving, I would either request to some good purpose, or not at all; especially considering the more free I keep myself, the more bold I may be with his lordship in my brother's behalf, whose benefit and advancement I have and shall always esteem as mine own." He then adds, that their most honourable and kind friend the earl of Essex had been there at Twickenham the day before three hours, and most friendly and freely promised to set up his whole rest of favour and credit for Mr. FRANCIS BACON's preferment before Mr. EDWARD COKE, whenever the attorney-general, EGERTON, whom Mr. COKE had succeeded as solicitor in June 1592^b, should be removed to the mastership of the Rolls. "His lordship told me likewise, *says Mr. BACON*, that he had already moved the queen for my brother; and that she took no exception to him, but said, that she must first dispatch the French and Scots ambassadors, and her business abroad, before she thinketh of home matters."

Captain GOAD being still at Dieppe, wrote from thence to Mr. BACON, on the 20th of July, 1593^c, that an account had been brought thither that day, that the duke of MAYENNE was with the Spanish ambassador in Paris, and would be proclaimed there king of France; but that the people were averse to it, and would allow of no other king than HENRY IV. so that the city was divided, the duke being supported by the clergy, and others of the Papists, with 1500 soldiers; and the citizens having no others to support them. The captain adds, that the castle of Dreux^d was taken, and the king in good hope to get Paris; "but not, *says the captain*, in my opinion, I do doubt two things, either the king must dissemble and go to mass, or otherwise yield to them of force. Otherwise he must be, as he now is, a poor king."

Three days after, on the 23d of July^e, Mr. BACON sent his mother from Twickenham an account of the news at court, that Sir THOMAS WYLKES, the French knight, having been dubbed by the French king at his last being in France, was now dispatch'd to him again by her majesty: That 1500 soldiers should be sent over immediately: that the French king either was already, or should be very shortly crown'd, and, as they term it *sacred, but at a mass*.^f But Sir THOMAS WYLKES was too late to divert HENRY IV. from his resolution of reconciling himself to the Roman catholic religion, which he executed before Sir THOMAS's arrival, at St. Dennis, on Sunday the 25th of July, N. S.

^a Vol. iii. fol. 145.

^b DUGDALE's Chronica Series, p. 99.

^c Fol. 132.

^d L'ETOILE, journal du regne d'HENRI IV. tom.

^e p. 373.

^f Fol. 144.

Sir THOMAS WYLKES had his education at All Souls College in Oxford, and his first employment was that of secretary to Dr. VALENTINE DALE^{*}, ambassador from queen ELIZABETH to HENRY III. of FRANCE, in 1574. While Mr. WYLKES continued in France, he comforted the king of Navarre, and the duke of Alencon, afterwards of Anjou, in the name of queen ELIZABETH, when they were in custody by order of the queen mother, for concerting measures to remove her from the government. Upon which he was obliged to withdraw into England, whither queen CATHARINE DE MEDICIS pursued him with letters of complaints; to pacify whom he was sent back into France, and there humbly implor'd her pardon. In 1577, he was sent ambassador into Spain, and the year following to Don JOHN of Austria; and afterwards, to ERNEST archduke of Austria; and in February 1597 into France with Sir ROBERT CECIL, and Mr. Secretary HERBERT, to dissuade the French king from making peace with Spain at Vervins; but died at Roan on the 2d of March, soon after he landed.

Mr. BACON having requested the earl of Essex to recommend a brother of Mr. STANDEN to the favour of the lord keeper of Puckering, that he might be restor'd to the commission of peace, the earl return'd him on the 23d of July this answer[†].

“ S I R,

“ I have had great speech with my lord keeper in the cause, which you commend-
 “ ed to me. I have made my lord know, that I did wish both out of my affection
 “ and my judgment, that Mr. STANDEN's brother should be put again in the
 “ commission. I found my lord well disposed to the gentleman; but the cross
 “ comes from others; wherein my lord hath sought to persuade, but cannot.
 “ The man, that is most against him, is my lord treasurer; the cause pretended
 “ is his and his wife's backwardness in religion; I mean their not conforming to
 “ the law in that point. But besides this, my lord hath said, that both he and his
 “ wife were dangerous persons, and would by no means have him in. What else
 “ is in my lord's heart, I know not. I do desire to know, what answer Mr.
 “ STANDEN himself hath of my lord for his access. I have spoken twice to the
 “ queen, and had no other objections but delay, and that grounded upon this
 “ present intricate business both of France and Scotland. I hope to find a time to
 “ bring him very shortly to her, or to drive my lord treasurer from his underhand
 “ dealing to avow his unwillingness in that point. I wish to you as to myself,
 “ and so in great haste commend you to God's best protection.

“ Your most assured friend,

“ The court this 23d of July.

“ E S S E X.

“ Let this commend me to your brother, and my haste excuse me for not writ-
 “ ing to him: commend me, I pray you, also to Mr. STANDEN.”

^{*} He was a Civilian of All Souls College, incorporated in the degree of Doctor in that faculty, in November 1552. He was afterwards one of the masters of requests, and dean of Wells. He died Nov. 17. 1589.

[†] Vol. vii. fol. 130.

In another letter to Mr. BACON¹, his lordship complains in these terms of the lord treasurer's neglect of Mr. STANDEN.

" S I R,

" I am forry my lord's phyfic, or the multitude of his busineses, should make him not satisfy the party, from whom he might draw so much satisfaction to himself: but I hope his lordship, upon his coming, will give him better encouragement.

" The advertisement touching ROWLAND PARRY is the same, which I have from OTWELL SMITH (as I take it) but he went out with my passport, and doth in giving them cause of offence but follow his instructions, which is to get credit with the other side.

" I do exceedingly thank you for your address of this gentleman to me. I pray you make him know, that you have made me his friend. And so wishing to you as to myself, I rest,

" Your most assured friend,

" ESSEX.

Mr. STANDEN's letter to the lord treasurer requesting access to the queen being shew'd to her majesty by his lordship, she consented to give him leave. Upon which his lordship sent Mr. MICHAEL HICKS², his secretary, on Thursday the 26th of July to Twickenham, where Mr. STANDEN then was with his friends, Mr. ANTHONY and Mr. FRANCIS BACON, with a letter to the former, appointing Mr. STANDEN to come to court upon his lordship's return thither within four days. Mr. STANDEN wrote an account of this the day following, July 27th³, to the earl of Essex, and his intention to be at court on the Monday following. He sent likewise a day or two after another letter to the Earl⁴, to inform him of his design to wait upon his lordship some time of that Monday at court, and to receive his directions and commands. The earl in his answer⁵ told Mr. STANDEN, that the news contain'd in his letter was *very pleasing*. " I see, *says he*, my lord is wise enough, when he sees a thing will come to pass, to have the thanks of it himself. " It were folly in me to give you any direction. For your good, I cannot; for I know your sufficiency and mine own weakness: For mine, I need not, for I know you are of yourself careful of your friends. Only this caution I will send, that your affection to me breed not too much jealousy in the other parties, or offence against you. I hope this first access will make so good an impression, as they, that shall labour to effect any thing for your good with the queen afterwards, shall find the mark easy."

Mr. STANDEN left Twickenham immediately after, in order, as it seems, to avoid the resentment of lady BACON, who was extremely uneasy at his continuance with

¹ Ibid. Fol. 129.

² Afterwards knighted by king JAMES I.

³ Vol. iii. fol. 133.

⁴ Fol. 327.

⁵ Fol. 327.

her sons. For he wrote from Kingston upon Thames, on the 30th of July*, to Mr. BACON, that if her ladyship knew how much he honoured her person, first for her merit, and then for having brought into this world a pair of such sons, he should have had no such cause to have fled with his good friend Mr. LAWSON, the latter to London, and himself to Kingston, where having met at the Crane a French post just come out of France, and going to Molfey, he had din'd there in order to sift him of what news he had brought; "which was, says Mr. STANDEN, that "yesterday fifteen days the king sung his first mass at St. Dennis, accompanied "with a multitude of nobility: After which was a solemn procession and invocation to the virgin, apostles and saints, to pray for him and them. The next day "the king went to St. Germain en Laye, and there met with GUISE and "MAYENNE, and between them great entertainment, Paris gates open, and a "truce to talk of the rest; whereunto I can say no more, but with Dr. MORISON "*Vos videritis*. And so coupling these and the matters of his country together, I "let you to judge of the blazing-stars' effects."

In the beginning of August, 1593, Mr. BACON thought proper to encourage Dr. MORISON to continue his intelligence from Scotland, by remitting to him thirty pounds, by the means of one JOSSIE, a Scots merchant, known to and recommended by Mr. HICKES, the lord treasurer's secretary; to whom Mr. BACON sent the money, with a letter dated at Twickenham-lodge, the 2d of that month, desiring him to deliver that money to JOSSIE to be convey'd to Dr. MORISON.

Mr. STANDEN being arrived at court was introduced on Wednesday the 1st of August, 1593, by Sir ROBERT CECIL to her majesty*, who commanded him to draw up an account of himself during his residence abroad. This he immediately undertook at his return to Twickenham, whence he wrote to the lord treasurer on the 6th of August*, that he was busied about it, and that it would cost him the more labour, as he must call to mind all his actions from 1565 to the present year 1593. "I will do it, says he, sincerely, because her majesty so willeth, to whose "care and clemency I still leave myself, and appeal from the malice of my foes, "if their intentions were as sinisterly hereby to intrap me, as they have willingly "inculcated on her majesty to lay this commandment on me; wherein your lordship's wonted care and watchfulness in beating aside those pricks, which may "annoy me, is humbly required, for, as the Tuscan proverb says, *Vale da al basto "chi non puo dar al asino*." He informs his lordship likewise, that the gout had so seized Mr. BACON's right hand, that it was impossible for him to write; and therefore he had charg'd him to let his lordship know, that the day before he had receiv'd the inclos'd advices from Mr. ROLSTON from Fontarabia, which were indeed somewhat antient, because there was little commodity or order for him to send by other

* Fol. 139.

* The comet, which appeared first on the 10th of July, 1593, and continued till the 21st of August. Appendix to the English translation of MANILIUS, by EDWARD SHERBURNE, esq; p. 208. edit.

London 1675. fol.

* Fol. 182.

* Letter of EDWARD STANDEN to his brother ANTHONY, Aug. 4. 1593. fol. 183.

* Fol. 148.

ways, than by merchants ships, which departed thence seldom, and with more peril than formerly, by reason of the strength of the enemy on that coast. He wrote another letter to the same purpose to Sir ROBERT CECIL the same day ¹.

After Mr. STANDEN had kiss'd the queen's hand, and was receiv'd into favour, being desirous to see his friends, the earl of Essex wrote a letter to Mr. RICHARD WESTON ², to signify her majesty's *good opinion of and favour towards Mr. STANDEN*, whom, says he, *but that it is needless, I would desire you to love more for my sake.* This Mr. WESTON was probably the same, who was afterwards ambassador to the archduke at Brussels, and to the diet in Germany, to treat of the restitution of the Palatinate, chancellor of the Exchequer, and at last earl of Portland, and lord high treasurer of England.

Mr. BACON having received on the 10th of August from the earl of Essex a packet from Dr. MORISON, containing two letters, one to himself, and another addressed to his lordship, he decypher'd them, and sent them inclosed in a letter to his Brother FRANCIS, who was then at court, dated the same day at Twickenham ³; "the whole contents whereof, *says he*, having perused the same, I think you will judge needless to communicate to my lord, as well in regard of his humorous style, as of the particular clause, that concerns myself; and yet I refer it to your discretion."

As soon as Mr. STANDEN had finished the account, which the queen had commanded him to draw up, of himself, he return'd with it to the court at Windsor, whence he wrote to BACON on the 15th of August, 1583⁴, that he had shewn it the night before to the earl of Essex, who well approved of it, excepting one clause, and promised to move the queen, that Mr. STANDEN might deliver it himself to her majesty. He added, that after dinner he intended to visit the lord treasurer, and Sir ROBERT CECIL.

The same day, August the 15th, Mr. BACON, in a letter to his mother from Twickenham Park ⁵, inform'd her, that his brother FRANCIS was still at court in reasonable good health; and that the dangerous and unlooked-for changes in France and Scotland troubled much and possessed her majesty's mind, "who, *says he*, in worldly discourse seemeth to have as much need now, as ever, of God's mighty and merciful protection by Christian, sincere and timely counsel."

Mr. STANDEN had scarce reach'd Windsor before he was seiz'd with an agüe, as he wrote to Mr. BACON on the 18th of August⁶, adding, that he had a mistrust of it more than a month past, thro' the large diet twice a day at his table: And in his letter of the ⁷th, he mentions, that Mr. FRANCIS BACON had just written to him, that, on account of his indisposition, he should commit to him the negotiation of his paper, which he inform'd Mr. STANDEN was the concurrent opinion of his brother and himself. And as he was not likely for some time to

¹ Fol. 119.

² Fol. 149.

³ Fol. 12.

⁴ Fol. 119.

⁵ Fol. 172 verso.

⁶ Fol. 157.

⁷ Fol. 158.

deliver that paper to her majesty, he now sent it to Mr. FRANCIS BACON, who might in the interval digest the substance of it.

BEZA having received the present sent to him by Mr. BACON in his mother's name, return'd him a letter of thanks dated at Geneva, the 20th of August, 1593^a. He mentions in it his intention of printing the sequel of his sermons on the history of the ascension, and the descent of the Holy Ghost, if providence should still preserve that city, as it had miraculously done, from the destruction, with which it was threatened; God having supported their resolution, notwithstanding what had so strangely and unexpectedly happen'd in France; by which BEZA evidently means HENRY IV's reconciliation to the church of Rome. He rejoices in Mr. BACON's return to England, wishing him in a situation there as useful to his queen and country, as his virtues and abilities deserv'd.

Monsieur de LECT^o, another considerable man at Geneva, and eminent for his learning as well as rank, being professor of law, and counsellor, and afterwards syndic of that city, wrote likewise from thence to Mr. BACON, on the 26th of August, 1593^b, that affairs there were still in an unhappy train, heightened by the deplorable change lately happened in France. He touch'd also upon the happiness of England, which had enjoyed so long a tranquillity, if it knew its own happiness, and could make the proper use of it.

Mr. EDWARD JONES, who was a common friend of Mr. ANTHONY and Mr. FRANCIS BACON, being at this time in France, probably attending Sir THOMAS WYLKES, wrote to the latter a letter intended for both brothers, and dated at Melun, on the 16th of August, 1593^c, containing the occurrences of that kingdom. He begins with remarking, that the king's going to mass, and his truce with the leaguers, had produced such a quietness there, that they travelled from place to place unarmed, and without fear, as in England, and had daily recourse to the leaguers towns, and on the contrary, with passports, according to the articles of the truce. The reasons of this truce were to have time to gather in the harvest, and to treat of a peace; which treaty was then on foot, the commissioners of it on both sides being men of negotiation, but not otherwise of any great quality. Those for the king were SCHOMBERG, SANCY, BELLIEVRE, REVOL^d, counsellors, and some others of meaner quality. Those for the league, the bishop of Senlis, Villeroy, Bassompierre, and others. But it was doubted, that this treaty would come to nothing, in respect of the unreasonable demands of those of the league, of which some, tho' the articles were yet still kept secret, Mr. JONES understood to be these: That the king should allow and put in execution the decrees of the Council of Trent, and that he should turn his war upon those of the religion. And

^a Fol. 151.

^b He is better known to the learned under the name of JACOBUS LECTIUS. He published several learned works, and was an intimate friend of ISAAC CASAUBON, several of their letters to each other being published among those of the latter in AL-MELORETT's edition at Rotterdam, in 1709. fol. He died in August 1611.

^c Fol. 156.

^d L'ETOILE, journal du regne d'HENRY IV. tom. i. p. 395.

^e LEWIS REVOL, made secretary of state in 1588, before the death of HENRY III. succeeding NICOLAS DE NEUVILLE de Villeroy, in that post, and enjoying it under HENRY IV. He died Sept. 24, 1594.

the duke of MAYENNE demanded for his entertainment the dutchy of Burgundy absolute, without acknowledging subjection to the crown of France. The duke of GUISE required Champagne; and the duke of MERCOEUR Bretagne. This was all that Mr. JONES could learn, but it was enough to shew the difficulty of the peace; which, if it should be made, would be owing to the sweetness, that the people found in the truce, which the Spaniards in the treaty thereof sought to impeach, fearing such an event. The king's change of religion, tho' it was much furthered by persuation, yet appear'd to be principally forc'd upon him by the necessity of his affairs. The bishop of Bourges^{*} was the principal instrument, that counselled him to this change, and was very vehement therein. The baits, which he laid before his majesty, were the settling of a good conscience; the strengthening of his weak estate; and the purchase of the friendship of foreign princes, as Florence and Venice, who promised great matters, if they might have colour; which otherwise they durst not do, lest the pope by excommunication should give the people heart to rebel. These reasons, and none other, either of rendering assurance of any towns, or winning any parties of the league, transform'd the king. The pope had not then been dealt with at all, for the duke of Nevers[†] was sent to Rome after his majesty's conversion. The *sacring* of him was deferr'd till that duke's return; but the place appointed was Chartres. They made no difficulty to dispense with the antient ceremonies belonging to it, but were resolved to proceed as they could otherwise devise. The king's revolt had satisfied the people much; and those of the reformed religion were well comforted by him, so that they did not withdraw themselves, or seem discontented, but continued in favour, and kept their places about him, without any heart-burning of the papists. Besides, they held themselves so secure, that they neglected to plot or take any course of association for their protection.

The report, which had been spread some time before, of an *Anti-roy* was untrue, but founded upon these circumstances, that the offer was made to the duke of Guise[‡], who refus'd it; and being saluted by one of Paris by the title of *Sire*, he struck him in the face. The duke of Feria likewise, in a solemn oration to the people of Paris, would have drawn them to make the king of Spain their king, promising in his master's name three millions to be paid in two years. But this was oppos'd by the bishop of Senlis[§], tho' always noted before for a seditious ill tongued person against the king; and that prelate ask'd the people, how they

^{*}RENAUD DE BEAUNE, archbishop of Bourges, born at Tours in 1527. He had been counsellor and president des enquêtes in the parliament of Paris, master of the requests, and chancellor to FRANCIS duke of Anjou, and was afterwards bishop of Mande, then archbishop of Bourges, and at last of Sens, and grand almoner of France. He died at Paris in 1606 at the age of 79.

[†]LEWIS DE GONZAGA, prince of Mantua, duke of Nevers, and governor of Champagne. He died at Nessel in Picardy on the 23d of October, 1595. N. S. His papers were collected and publish'd by Monsieur DE GOMBERVILLE, under the title of Les

Memoires de Monsieur le Duc de Nevers, at Paris, 1665, in two volumes fol.

[‡]CHARLES DE LOHRANNE, son of HENRY duke of Guise kill'd at Blois in December 1588, and of CATHARINE DE CLEVES. He was born in 1571; and being confin'd after the death of his father in the castle of Tours, made his escape from thence in August, 1591, and made peace with HENRY IV. in January, 1594.

[§]WILLIAM ROZE, a furious leaguer, his violence and extravagance of zeal being heighten'd sometimes by fits of madness, to which he was subject.

could

could endure such an arrogant speech of a proud Spaniard, as if the question were of the sale of the kingdom.

The Spaniards were now in doubt of losing their hold in Paris, so that, to continue the little, which they had, they labour'd, not only with persuasion, but also with some force, as very lately they had attempted insolently to take the keys of the gates into their hands; which had bred such a mutiny, as there was like to follow some outrage in the city.

The king of Spain was then reported to be dangerously sick. The duke of Montpensier*, it was thought, should now at last have the French king's sister, notwithstanding her former promise to the count de Soissons†. That king was cheerfully dispos'd, and given to his pleasures.

Lady BACON having written to the lord treasurer, her brother-in-law, and express'd some concern for her two sons, his lordship return'd her an answer from his house at Theobalds on the 29th of August, 1593‡, in which he told her, that he thought her care for them was no less than they both deserv'd, "being
" so qualified, *says he*, in learning and virtue, as, if they had a supply of more
" health, they wanted nothing. But none are, or very few, *ab omni parte beati*.
" For such are not elect, but subject to temptations, from the high-way to heaven. For my good-will to them, tho' I am of less power to do my friends
" good than the world thinketh, yet they shall not want the intention to do them
" good."

It was probably about this time, that the earl of Essex had a conference with the queen in favour of Mr. FRANCIS BACON, who appears to be still under her majesty's displeasure for his opposition to the three subsidies in the last parliament. The account of this conference was given by his lordship in a letter to that gentleman§, in which he inform'd him, that he had spoken the day before with the queen, who had cut him off short on the Wednesday, she being then newly come home, and making haste to her supper. "Yesterday I had, *says his lordship*, a full audience,
" but with little better success than before. The points I press'd were an absolute
" *Αμνηστία*, and an access, as in former times. Against the first she pleaded,
" that you were in more fault than any of the rest in parliament; and when she
" did forgive it, and manifest her receiving of them into favour, that offended
" her then, she will do it to many, that were less in fault, as well as to yourself.
" Your access, she saith, is as much as you can look for. If it had been in the
" king her father's time, a less offence than that would have made a man be ba-

* HENRY DE BOURBON-MONTPENSIER, born May 12. 1573. He was prince of the blood, and only son of duke FRANCIS by RENEE' d' ANJOU. He had been depriv'd of the government of Bretagne by HENRY III, who gave it to the duke DE MERCOEUR, of which that king had afterwards great reason to repent. He died February 28. 1607.

† CHARLES DE BOURBON, fourth son of LEWIS

I. prince of Condé kill'd at the battle of Jarnac, and brother of HENRY I. prince of Condé, FRANCIS prince of Conti, and the younger cardinal CHARLES DE BOURBON, but by another mother, FRANÇOISE D'ORLEANS DE LONGUEVILLE. He was born in 1566, and died in October, 1612.

‡ Vol. iii fol. 180.

§ Ibid. fol. 168.

“ nished his preſence for ever. But you did come to the court, when you would
 “ yourſelf; and ſhe ſhould precipitate too much from being highly diſpleaſed with
 “ you, to give you near acceſs, ſuch as ſhe ſhews only to thoſe, that ſhe favours
 “ extraordinarily. I told her, what I ſought for you was not ſo much for your
 “ good, tho’ it were a thing I would ſeek extremely, and pleaſe myſelf in obtain-
 “ ing, as for her own honour, that thoſe excellent tranſlations of hers might be
 “ known to them, who could beſt judge of them. Beſides, my deſire was, that
 “ you ſhould neither be ſtranger to her perſon nor to her ſervice; the one for
 “ your own ſatisfaction, the other for her majeſty’s own ſake, who, if ſhe did
 “ not employ you, ſhould loſe the uſe of the ableſt gentleman to do her ſervice
 “ of any of your quality whatſoever. Her humour is yet to delay. I am now
 “ going to her again; and what I cannot effect at once, I will look to do *ſepe*
 “ *cadendo*. Excuse my ill writing. I write in haſt, and have my chamber full
 “ of company, that break my head with talking. I commend myſelf to your bro-
 “ ther and to yourſelf.”

Mr. FRANCIS BACON was at court, when his brother wrote to him from Twickenham-park on the 11th of September, 1593^b, that his ſervant EDWARD YATES having loſt his letters, it was impoſſible for him to recover his cypher that night, having at eight of the clock received the earl of Eſſex’s packet, containing two letters from Dr. MORISON, the one to Mr. BACON himſelf, and the other without ſuperſcription in cypher to his lordſhip, the length of which, being almoſt a whole ſheet of paper, he hop’d would ſerve for a ſufficient excuſe, that he could not ſend it to his lordſhip decypher’d till the next day, without alledging his ſervant’s fault. “ I was very glad, *ſays he*, to perceive by Mr. SMITH’s letter, which I ſend you
 “ here incloſed, that my lord hath heard either from the embaſſador, or ſome
 “ other, the credit Dr. MORISON hath won here, and his dutiful and affectionate
 “ carriage of himſelf towards his lordſhip, which I take to be the cauſe, that my
 “ lord is now reſolved to gratify him with an hundred pounds more. God for-
 “ bid, but that Dr. MORISON’s ſerviceable diligence and fidelity ſhould be correſ-
 “ pondent to his lordſhip’s expectation and merit at his hands, whoſe ſufficiency
 “ being ſet out and upheld by his lordſhip’s moſt honourable and bountiful dealing
 “ with him, I doubt not but will bring forth fruits acceptable unto his lordſhip,
 “ and available for his majeſty’s ſervice; for the better performance whereof,
 “ and his greater credit, I would wiſh, that the preſent of 100 l. which my lord
 “ means unto him, might be conveyed ſo ſoon as can be, I myſelf having no
 “ means to do it by reaſon of my own abſence, and their’s from London, with
 “ whom I have heretofore dealt, as I have advertiſ’d Mr. SMITH.”

The ſame day Mr. BACON by letter aſſur’d his mother^c, then ſick at Gorham-bury, of his deſire to attend upon here there, if ſhe thought proper; tho’ it would be inconvenient for him to be abſent from Twickenham-park during the little time he ſhould ſtay before his intended journey to Bath, on account of the continual occaſions, which he had, either to ſend to, or hear from, the earl of Eſſex and his brother FRANCIS at court, who had come from thence to Twickenham the

^b Vol. iii. fol. 211.^c Ibid. fol. 208.

night before unlook'd for in his lordship's coach, and was return'd to court that morning. "I cannot, *adds he*, tell in what terms to acknowledge the desert of the earl's unspeakable kindness towards us both, but namely to him now at a pinch, which by God's help shortly will appear by good effects. Surely, Madam, I must needs confess (beseeching God to give us the grace and means to be thankfull therefore) the earl declareth himself more like a father than a friend unto him; and doubt not, but if that he^d, that should be first, do but second the earl, those gifts, which God hath bestowed on my brother, shall lie no longer fallow."

Mr. STANDEN had been oblig'd by his ague to return from the court at Windsor on the 23d of August to Twickenham-park^a, where he continued with Mr. BACON till the 10th of September, when he went to see his brother at Caversham in Berkshire; and on the 13th of that month Mr. BACON wrote to him^b, that the earl of Essex had given express charge to his brother FRANCIS, that Mr. STANDEN should take care for nothing but the recovery of his health, and leave the rest to his lordship.

The earl of Essex having order'd an hundred crowns to be sent to Dr. MORRISON, instead of an hundred pounds, which Mr. BACON expected, the latter wrote to his brother from Twickenham-park on the 18th of September, 1593^c, that he was surpris'd at this diminution of the sum first intended, and would be loth, that any sparing advice should restrain the effects of the earl of Essex's honourable disposition, especially in that most important action then depending. The same night he wrote again to his brother^d, in answer to a letter received by the earl's servant after supper betwixt 8 and 9 of the clock, before which time he had translated into French his lordship's instructions, containing her majesty's pleasure and resolution of what he was to answer to Dr. MORRISON, and out of French into cypher, and had finished likewise his own letter to the doctor; and was now unwilling to lose both his time and labour in changing the whole, as he must have done, if, according to the new directions sent him, he should have written it in his lordship's name to be sign'd by himself; "not doubting, *says he*, but that my lord will be no less carefull and able, whatsoever fall out about this negotiation, to make his warrant good in saving my dutifull affection and endeavour harmless, than I am ready to accept the same as authentical for his honour and service."

The earl a few days after having, as Mr. BACON calls it in a letter to Mr. STANDEN, of the 23d of September^e, *made a start* to the Isle of Wight, Mr. FRANCIS BACON left the court, and retir'd to Twickenham-park till his lordship's return.

Mr. STANDEN, in his answer^f to this letter the next day from the house of his brother EDMUND at Arberfield in the forest in Hampshire, mentions his having

^a The lord treasurer.
^b Ibid. fol. 188.

^c Vol. iii. fol. 170.
^d Ibid. fol. 202.

^e Ibid. fol. 204.
^f Ibid. fol. 196.

^g Ibid. fol. 189.

received a letter from a principal secretary of the duke of Florence, expressing great satisfaction in his return to England, but taking no notice of that gentleman's letter to the duke, nor of any particular point in it; "whereby, *says he*, "I may guess, that there is no great liking of my return thither. Wherefore at "my return to Twickenham, I intend to write to this secretary (which he seemeth "much to desire) and to urge him the answer of my first letter to the duke."

The earl of Essex, at his return to the court at Windsor, finding a letter from Mr. FRANCIS BACON, wrote this answer the day following^k: "When I came, I "found the queen so wayward, as I thought it no fit time to deal with her in any "suit, especially since her choler grew towards myself, which I have well satisfied "this day, and will take the first opportunity I can to move your suit: And if "you come hither, I pray you let me know still where you are. And so being "full of business, I must end, wishing you what you wish to yourself."

Mr. BACON having inclosed a letter to Mr. MORGAN COLMAN, to be delivered to the lord keeper PUCKERING, Mr. COLMAN wrote to him on the 27th of September, 1593, from Kew^l, that his lordship's answer was, that he should speak with Mr. FRANCIS BACON, at the return of that gentleman; adding, that the matter was thought upon the Sunday before concerning what he had written. "But whatsoever it is, *says Mr. COLMAN*, it seemeth no great comfortable "success for him, which I observed by the manner of his lordship's speeches, "as wishing him well."

The same day the lord treasurer himself wrote in the following terms to Mr. FRANCIS BACON^m, who had written to his lordship to promote his application to the queen.

"NEPHEW,

"I have no leisure to write much; but for answer, I have attempted to place "you: but her majesty hath required the lord keeper to give to her the names "of divers lawyers to be preferred; wherewith he made me acquainted, and "I did name you as a meet man, whom his lordship allowed in way of friendship "for your father's sake; but he made scruple to equal you with certain, whom "he named, as BROGRAVEⁿ and BRANTHWAYT, whom he specially commendeth. "But I will continue the remembrance of you to her majesty, and implore my "lord of Essex's help.

"Your loving uncle,

"W. BURGHLEY."

"27 Sept.

Sir ROBERT CECIL likewise wrote to him the same day^o.

^k Fol. 197. verso.

^l Fol. 195.

^m Fol. 197.

ⁿ JOHN BROGRAVE, then attorney of the Duchy of Lancaster, and afterwards knighted.

^o Fol. 197. verso.

" COUSIN,

" Assure yourself, that the solicitor's' coming gave no cause of speech, for it was concerning a book to be drawn concerning the bargain of wines. If there had been, you should have known, or when there shall. To satisfy your request of making my lord know, how recommended your desires are to me. I have spoken with his lordship, who assureth me he hath done, and will do his best. I think your absence longer than for my good aunt's comfort will do you no good; for, as I ever told you, it is not likely to find the queen apt to give an office, when the scruple is not removed of her forbearance to speak with you. This being yet not perfected may stop good, when the hour comes of conclusion, tho' it be but a trifle; and questionless would be strait dispatched, if it were luckily handled. But herein do I, out of my desire to satisfy you, use this my opinion, leaving you to your own better knowledge, what hath been done for you, or in what terms that matter standeth. And thus desirous to be recommended to my good aunt, to whom my wife heartily commends her, I leave you to the protection of almighty God. From the Court at Windsor, this 27th of Sept. 1593.

" Your loving cousin and friend,

" ROBERT CECIL.

" I have heard in these causes, *Facies hominis est. tanquam leonis.*"

Mr. BACON, after his brother's return to court, was impatient to know the success of his business there; for which purpose he wrote to him from Twickenham-park on the 8th of October, 1593^a; adding, that on the Saturday before the gout had seized the sole of his foot, and was advanced to his ankle; " which maketh me, *says he*, wish, that the occasion were not so instant, but that I might have some respite, to recover the use of my foot to stand or go without great pain. But in case the matter be pressed, I will stretch out my little remnant of strength so far as I can; and if I be not able to make it reach to the court, I will rest it at my old friend and pupil Dr. PAMAN's, in Eton, and there be bold to crave by letter the earl's audience for half an hour." But his intended journey was prevented by a long fit of the ague and stone, which, as he wrote to his brother on the 10th of October^b, to his unspeakable grief, would render it impossible to go to court the next day, unless he should obtain ease enough between that and the next morning to endure travel. " Otherwise, *says he*, we must both have patience, and commit our business to God's goodness and disposition. And yet if you will, and think it to purpose, I mean to venture an extraordinary letter to the earl, correspondent to the duty of a brother, and of a free, devoted servant to his lordship, which I will be so bold to beseech his lordship; having once read it, to burn in my man's sight, who shall deliver it to his own hands. This is the only present supply I can think on of this disastrous disappointment, which I know you will accept according to the merit of my brotherly affection,

^a Mr. EDWARD COKE.

^b Fol. 227.

^c Fol. 228.

Mr. BACON finding some relief from his indisposition, on the Saturday following, undertook a journey to the court, with a resolution to have paid his duty to the queen. But having pass'd three parts of the way between Colebrook and Eton, being of a sudden surpriz'd with a sharp fit of the stone, he was oblig'd to stop at Eton, and to desire the earl to represent his case, and make his excuse to her majesty, who very graciously accepted of it. And it was an additional comfort to him to understand from his aunt, the lady Russel, that her majesty about a week before openly in the Park, in the presence of several persons, vouchsafed of herself, without any other occasion, to make mention of him, and to express much concern for his indisposition, protesting with an oath, that if he had but half as much health as honesty, and other sufficiency, she knew not throughout her realm where to find a better servant, and more to her liking. In his return to Twickenham, he met the lord treasurer in his coach, whom having saluted out of his on foot in the highway, his lordship took that duty very kindly, and promised to join with the earl in the reporting to her majesty Mr. BACON's dutiful endeavours, and rendering her most humble thanks in his behalf for her gracious remembrance and good speeches of him. This is the account, which he gave his mother in a letter^{*}: and on the 14th of October[†] he wrote one to his brother from Twickenham, that he thought, that at all adventures, if it would do no good, it could do no harm, to take occasion from the incident of his meeting with the lord treasurer the day before, to supply by letter to his lordship what he had been afraid of troubling him by detaining him too long to hear, "how you, *says he*, have found the earl affected with my poor remonstrances; which springing immediately from truth and natural affection, and having her majesty's and my country's service, and his lordship's honour and establishment, for their principal ends, I doubt not but God in his mercy will bless with some success."

Some days after the earl of Essex had made Mr. BACON's excuses to the queen for not having waited on her, having been prevented by his indisposition on the road to Windsor, and had solicited her majesty again to appoint his brother FRANCIS attorney-general; his lordship gave an account of what he had done in a letter to the former[‡].

"Mr. BACON,

"I have broken promise by necessity, and not for negligence. I spake largely with the queen on Saturday in the evening, and forced myself to see her this morning, because the queen on Saturday told me, she would resolve this day. But e're I could get from the queen to my chamber, pain had so possessed my head and stomach, as I was sent to my bed, where I have remained ever since. On Saturday the queen kindly accepted your purpose to come to her, and, as she said herself, sorrowed for your sickness, which arrested you by the way. She said many words, that shewed her opinion of your worth, and desire to know you better. She was content to hear me plead at large for your brother, but condemned my judgment in thinking him fittest to be attorney, whom his own uncle did name but to a second place; and said, that the sole exception against

^{*} Fol. 230.

[†] Fol. 229.

[‡] Vol. vii. fol. 172.

"Mr.

“ Mr. COKE was stronger against your brother, which was youth. To the first I answered, it was rather the humour of my lord to have a man obnoxious to him : and to the second, that the comparison held not good ; for if they were both of one standing, yet herself knew there was such a difference in the worthiness of the persons, as if Mr. COKE’s head and beard were grown grey with age, it would not counterpoise his other disadvantages. And yet Mr. BACON was the antient in standing by three or four years. Your offers, and my mingling of arguments of merit with arguments of affection, moved somewhat ; but all had been too little, if I had not had a promise negative, and desired her, before she resolved upon any of them, to hear me again. So she referred me over till this day. To day I found her stiff in her opinion, that she would have her own way. Therefore I grew more earnest than ever I did before, in so much as she told me she would be advised by those, that had more judgment in these things than myself. I replied, so she might be, and yet it would be more for her service to hear me than to hear them ; for my speech had truth and zeal to her, without respect of private ends. If I failed in judgment to discern between the worth of one man and another, she would teach it me ; and it was not an ill rule for to hold him an honest and wise man, whom many wise and honest men hold in reputation. But those, whom she trusted, did leave out the wisest and worthiest, and did praise for affection. Whereupon she bad me name any man of worth, whom they had not named. I named Mr. MORRIS², and gave him his due. She acknowledged his gifts, but said, his speaking against her in such manner, as he had done, should be a bar against any preferment at her hands ; but seemed to marvel, that in their bill they had never thought of him. I told her, that I was a stranger to the law, and to almost all, that professed it : but I was persuaded there were many unspoken of more worthy than those, that were commended in the bill. To conclude this last stratagem hath *** their proceeding, which yet hath been as violently urged this day, as ever was any thing.

“ I am full of pain and can write no more. I wish to you as to my self, and am your most assured friend,

“ ESSEX.”

The continuance of her majesty’s displeasure against Mr. FRANCIS BACON, which had prevented him for a considerable time from the honour, formerly enjoyed by him, of access to her person and conversation, occasioned him to write to her majesty the following letter², the particular date of which does not appear, tho’ it relates to the year 1593.

“ MADAM,

“ Remembring, that your majesty had been gracious to me, both in countenancing me, and conferring upon me the reversion of a good place, and per-

¹ Or MORRICE, attorney of the court of Wards. He complained in the House of Commons on the 27th of February, 1593, of the severities practised by the bishops and ecclesiastical courts ; and pro-

posed two bills against them. DAWES’S Journals, p. 474. and TOWNSEND’S hist. collect. p. 60.
² Vol. iii. fol. 315.

“ ceiving,

“ceiving, that your majesty had taken some displeasure towards me, both these
 “were arguments to move me to offer unto your majesty my service; to the end
 “to have means to deserve your favour, and to repair my error. Upon this
 “ground I affected myself to no great matter, but only a place of my profession,
 “such as I do see divers younger in proceeding to myself, and men of no great
 “note, do without blame aspire unto. But if any of my friends do press this
 “matter, I do assure your majesty, my spirit is not with them.

“It sufficeth me, that I have let your majesty know, that I am ready to do
 “that for the service, which I never would do for mine own gain. And if your
 “majesty like others better, I shall, with the Lacedemonian, be glad, that there
 “is such choice of abler men than myself. Your majesty’s favour indeed, and
 “access to your royal person, I did ever, encouraged by your own speeches, seek
 “and desire; and I would be very glad to be reintegrate in that. But I will not
 “wrong mine own good mind so much, as to stand upon that now, when your
 “majesty may conceive I do it but to make my profit of it. But my mind turn-
 “eth upon other wheels than those of profit. The conclusion shall be, that I
 “wish your majesty served answerable to yourself. *Principis est virtus maxima*
 “*nosse suos*. Thus I most humbly crave pardon of my boldness and plainness.
 “God preserve your majesty.”

A report of his expected preferment to the post of attorney-general having
 reach’d his friend Mr. ROBERT KEMP, who wrote to him a congratulatory letter
 upon it, the former return’d this answer from Twickenham-park on the 4th of
 November, 1593.

“Good ROBIN,

“There is no news you can write to me, which I take more pleasure to hear,
 “than of your health, and of your loving remembrance of me: The form
 “whereof tho’ you mention not in your letter, yet I strait presumed well of it,
 “because your mention was so fresh to make such a flourish. And it was
 “afterwards accordingly confirmed by your man ROGER, who made me a particular
 “relation of the former, the negotiation between your ague and you. Of the latter,
 “tho’ you profess largely, yet I make more doubt, because your coming is turned
 “into a sending; which when I thought would have been repaired by some pro-
 “mise or intention of yourself, your man ROGER entered into a very subtle
 “distinction to this purpose, that you would not come, except you heard I were
 “attorney. But I ascribe that to your man’s invention, who had his reward in
 “laughing; for I hope you are not so stately, but that I shall be one to you *style*
 “*vetere, or style novo*. For my fortune (to speak court) it is very slow, if any
 “thing can be slow to him, that is secure of the event. In short nothing is done
 “in it. But I purpose to remain here at Twickenham till Michaelmas Term;
 “then to St. Alban’s, and after the term to court. Advise you, whether you

" will play the honest man or no. In the mean time I think long to see you,
 " and pray to be remembered to your father and mother.

" Yours in loving affection,

" Twickenham-park,
 " this 4th of Nov. 1593.

" FRANCIS BACON."

Mr. STANDEN about this time return'd to the court at Windsor, whence he wrote to Mr. BACON about the 6th of November *, that it was night before the earl came in, who, upon the delivery of the letters, read that of Mr. ROLSTON before Mr. STANDEN, whom he asked, whether he had any copy from the lord treasurer. Mr. STANDEN answering in the negative, the earl said, that he must then go strait to the queen; which he did, and then told Mr. STANDEN, that he would write the next day to Mr. BACON, concerning both Mr. ROLSTON and other matters. Mr. STANDEN went to the lord treasurer's lodgings to inquire of his welfare, but was refus'd entrance by the servant, who told him, that his lordship had rested better than the night before; " and even as I, *says Mr. STANDEN*, " was going down the stairs, was at my back the queen, who, unknown to me, " had been visiting my Lord. So I staid among the rest to see her majesty pass. " A little after, I met with Mr. W. COOKE, who told me, that true it was, that " my lord had somewhat rested the night past; but that this morning his lordship " had a very rigorous fit of pain, and dangerous."

Mr. BACON answered this letter on the 8th of November, from Twickenham-Park †, by a servant, whom he sent to court to know, whether the earl was desirous, that he should write any thing to Mr. ROLSTON, according to that, which it seem'd his lordship meant, upon Mr. STANDEN's delivery of the copy of Mr. ROLSTON's letter. He desired likewise Mr. STANDEN to write to him as often and as particularly, as his opportunities and leisure would permit, " to the end, " *says he*, by means thereof, I may either sympathise with you in your good success, which I wish as to myself; or be ready with all friendly endeavours to " remedy such difficulties, as may arise unlooked for, but in reason I may not " doubt can any way fall out."

There was now open'd a correspondence between Mr. JAMES HUDSON and Mr. BACON, to whom the former continued for several years after to communicate his intelligence from Scotland. Mr. HUDSON was then agent in England for the king of Scots, who after his succession to the crown of that kingdom rewarded his services with the mastership of the hospital of St. Cross near Winchester, vacant by the promotion of Dr. ROBERT BENNET, chaplain to the late lord treasurer BURGHLEY, and dean of Windsor, to the bishoprick of Hereford, to which he was consecrated on the 20th of February, 1607. This mastership had been designed by queen ELIZABETH for GEORGE BROOKE, brother to HENRY lord Cobham; and the disappointment of his expectations of it is supposed to have been the

* Fol. 328.

† Fol. 244.

motive of his engaging in that treasonable design, for which he soon after suffered death. Mr. HUDSON being a layman, and therefore not capable of enjoying that post, resign'd his own interest in it for a sum of money to Mr. ARTHUR LAKE, made dean of Worcester in 1608, and bishop of Bath and Wells in 1616, for whom it was procur'd by his brother Sir THOMAS LAKE, afterwards secretary of state.

Mr. HUDSON sent to Mr. BACON on the 8th of November, 1593⁴, a paper or letter, which had been in the queen's hands, and which himself had obtain'd from Sir ROBERT CECIL.

Mr. BACON having occasion, upon the receipt of a letter from Dr. MORISON, to write to the earl of Essex, took that opportunity of thanking his lordship for his kind usage of Mr. STANDEN, and acquainting his lordship, that not knowing how long any sudden fit of his usual pains might detain him at Gorhambury, whither he was going from Twickenham park, he should leave Mr. LAWSON to receive his lordship's commands and letters, and convey them to Gorhambury with all speed⁵.

The same day Mr. FRANCIS BACON wrote the following letter⁶ to the earl of Essex, with relation to some person, whose sincerity he suspected, and who was probably the lord keeper PUCKERING, as by the *Huddler* seems to be meant the solicitor-general COKE.

“ My Lord,

“ I thought it not amiss to inform your lordship of that, which I gather partly
 “ by conjecture, and partly by advertisement of the late recover'd man, that is
 “ so much at your devotion; of whom I have some cause to think, that he work-
 “ eth for the *Huddler* underhand. And altho' it may seem strange, considering,
 “ how much it importeth him to join strait with your lordship, in regard both
 “ of his enemies and of his ends; yet I do the less rest secure upon the conceit,
 “ because he is a man likely to trust so much to his art and finesse (as he, that
 “ is an excellent wherryman, who, you know, looketh towards the bridge, when
 “ he pulleth towards Westminster) that he will hope to serve his turn, and yet
 “ to preserve your lordship's good opinion. This I write to the end, that, if your
 “ lordship do see nothing to the contrary, you may assure him more, or trust
 “ him less; and chiefly that your lordship be pleas'd to sound again, whether
 “ they have not amongst them drawn out the nail, which your lordship had driven
 “ in for the negative of the *Huddler*; which if they have, it will be necessary for
 “ your lordship to iterate more forcibly your former reasons, whereof there is such
 “ *Copia*, as I think you may use all the places of logic against his placing. Thus
 “ with my humble thanks for your lordship's honourable usage of Mr. STAN-
 “ DEN, I wish you all honour.

“ Your lordship's in most faithfull duty.

⁴ Ibid. fol. 255.

⁵ Mr. ANTHONY BACON to Mr. ANTHONY

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STANDEN, 10. Novem. 1593. fol. 242.

⁶ Fol. 283.

" I pray, Sir, let not my jargon privilege my letter from burning, because it
" is not such, but the light sheweth through."

He sent this letter to Mr. STANDEN to be deliver'd to the earl, who, upon his return to Windsor on the 10th of November, read it, as Mr. STANDEN wrote to Mr. ANTHONY BACON the day following^a, with more length and attention than infinite others, which Mr. STANDEN had seen him read before him; after which his lordship immediately committed it to the candle. Mr. STANDEN added, that the opinion was at court, that Ostend was besieged^b, and that the lord treasurer was amended in health, tho' his sons denied it.

Mr. BACON went to Gorhambury on the 13th of November, 1593^c, from whence he wrote to his brother FRANCIS on the 15th^d, acquainting him, that Mr. LAWSON was just arriv'd there in post from the earl, who had sent for him expressly from Twickenham, with letters from Dr. MORISON, and a most earnest request to return them decyphered with all possible expedition.

Mr. STANDEN being at the court at Windsor, in a letter to Mr. BACON on the 17th of that month^e, inform'd him of the lord treasurer's recovery, so far as to fit up on his pallet, and write and sign letters; and that his lordship intended, as Mr. HICKES his secretary told Mr. STANDEN, to be at St. Albans before the term, if he were able. "I have saluted, *says he*, and twice accompanied in the night to her lodging my lady RUSSEL, in the company of her son Sir EDWARD^f. He and she have used me with honorable terms, and my lady, mindfull of my
" dutifull affection in times past, hath offered me her furtherance in what she
" may. Sir ROGER WILLIAMS, Sir FRANCIS ALLEN, and myself, are most com-
" monly together *de camerada*, where we discourse of all, and where I wish you
" sometimes to hear Sir ROGER in his satirical humour, which maygre your greatest
" pain would make you heartily to laugh.

" By the late decease of one Mr. CARLISLE, a gentleman sometime appertaining
" by blood or alliance to the late Sir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, who in his life-
" time had procured him a fine and profitable government in Ireland, worth
" more than 300 pounds yearly, Sir FRANCIS ALLEN hath been persuaded to
" pursue the same by suit, which the earl, according to his accustomed manner
" and forwardness to pleasure his friends, hath embraced. But there are so many,
" that desire the same, and that offer in the chamber and elsewhere such round
" sums for it, and withall my lord treasurer, according to his laudable custom,
" having an eye to her majesty's profit, procureth to extinguish the same, in such
" sort, as the gentleman, and we, that be spectators, do find great difficulties.
" Yet for all this the earl willeth Sir FRANCIS to be of good courage, and not to
" doubt; and the matter is so made public, that all the court knoweth it, in such
" sort, as, to tell you plain, the earl's reputation is as much engaged herein,
" as in the other you wet of.

^a Ibid. fol. 268.

^b This was not fact, tho' the town itself was ap-

prehensive of it. MEYEREN, l. xvii. fol. 353.

^c Fol. 248. ^d Fol. 273. ^e Fol. 267.

^f Hony.

* Must

“ Most of these ladies of the chamber of mine old familiar acquaintance have very courteously welcomed me home ; and thereby many, to whom I was unknown, do know me ; whereby a general opinion indifferent good, to God the glory ; but the blow, that must come from him, *sine quo factum est nihil*, is that I doubt, especially since the time, that Sir R.¹ told me, I must be packings, with whom I have no whit dealt by reason of this tilting, about which our earl hath all this week been occupied, and away at London and Greenwich.”

Mr.² STANDEN adds, that Scots matters were loudly and rashly rehearsed there at court, and speeches of the king's going to mafs, with such like stuff of distaste, the rather for that the lord HUME, a remarkable papist of that realm³, lay in that king's pallet. That the French king was likewise in the hands of the papists, by whom, as a groom of his chamber, who the day before departed for France, told Mr. STANDEN, that prince was so tyrannised and watched, that he could do nothing but think without them. That Sir HENRY UNTON was the day before upon the terrace presented by Sir JOHN WOLLEY, chancellor of the garter, to her majesty, who used him with very bitter speeches. But the cause of her majesty's displeasure against that gentleman, who had serv'd her as embassador in France, in 1591 and 1592, does not appear from this letter or any part of our history ; tho' it is probable, that it was only for his conduct in the last parliament, in which many other members had offended her, especially by his opposition to the three subsidies⁴.

In the postscript Mr. STANDEN sends four verses of THOMAS CHURCHYARD⁵, the poet, written by him to the queen, in resentment for being refused by the lord treasurer what her majesty had granted him. These verses are the same in substance with those, which have been hitherto ascribed to SPENSER, a poet of much greater merit than CHURCHYARD, or all his other contemporaries. They came to the queen's hands, and were as follow :

“ Madam,
 “ You bid your treasurer, on a time,
 “ To give me reason for my rhyme :
 “ But since that time and that season,
 “ He gave me neither rhyme nor reason.”

Among the few letters of Dr. MORISON to Mr. BACON extant is one in French, from Edinburgh, on the 17th of November, 1593⁶, in which he repeated what he had written formerly, that Mr. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS had been employed by the earl of Angus, in the name of the earls of Huntley and Errol, to apply himself to the lord treasurer BURGHLEY, and by his lordship's means to obtain leave to speak with queen ELIZABETH, before Dr. MORISON had any concern with the

¹ Sir ROBERT CECIL.

² SPOTSWOOD, p. 398.

³ DEWEES's Journals, p. 487, 490.

⁴ He was born at Shrewsbury, and was at first in the service of HENRY earl of Surrey, who was

beheaded in the end of the reign of HENRY VIII. and afterwards of ROBERT earl of Leicester. He spent some part of his life in travels and the wars, and died in necessitous circumstances. Wood, Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 319. ⁵ Vol. iii. fol. 269.

earl of Huntley, who mention'd this fact to the doctor, the first time he spoke to him. The king of Scots being informed of this, sent for Mr. RICHARD DOUGLAS, in order to know from him the whole affair; and that gentleman probably acquainted Mr. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS¹ of what pass'd between him and the king; upon which the other had, MACHIAVEL-like, made a merit of it by communicating it to queen ELIZABETH. Dr. MORISON acknowledg'd, that he was a stranger to the particulars of the conference between the king and Mr. RICHARD DOUGLAS; but assured himself, that it was not of much importance, since otherwise he should have known it. He observes, that as he had been almost intirely diverted from all correspondence with the earl of Huntley by Mr. BACON's directions, who afterwards desired him to resume it, he now requested his instructions what to do; and that his resolution might be fixed and unalterable; but not determined till after the receipt of the doctor's next letter, in which he would write what methods would be taken with respect to the earl of Huntley, and the rest, by the convention then assembled at Edinburgh², and the king's council. The chancellor had desired the ministers to consider what they should think proper for the king to do. The ministers assembled with a great number of gentlemen, and they gave the king their advice in writing concerning what they were desirous should be done by him, and what they wanted with regard to the earl of Huntley, and the rest. Dr. MORISON adds, that if Mr. BACON was inclin'd, that any other person besides himself should undertake the affair of that earl, he might engage in it Mr. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, who, he assured him, frequently spoke much beyond what he had any authority to do, and was an incurable babler. And that the earl himself ought not to be believed in what he said, since it was only to preserve his life, till he should be in arms, there being very credible intelligence just arrived, that the king of Spain was preparing vast armaments against the next spring. With respect to the king, the doctor observes, that his majesty had so strong a desire to revenge himself of the earl of Bothwell, who had made two attempts of seizing him, the first at Holyrood-House, in 1491, and the second at Falkland, the year following, and had succeeded in a third in July, 1593, that his majesty had no rest; but finding that all persons wish'd well to that earl, except the papists, the king was oblig'd to make use of the latter, who were extremely glad of the favour of his majesty's confidence in that point, and under that pretence pursued their own interest, and that of popery, provoking the ministers, and governing every thing according to their own pernicious views, and introducing disorder and confusion. The king neither could nor would suffer himself to be persuaded in this matter, so much was he influenced by the flattery of the papists, and his resentment against the earl of Bothwell. All the STUARTS were ill looked upon. The duke of Lenox being desired to go to the king, was refused without his friends, that is, without bringing with him such a number, as might remove the others, who were then in vogue at court. The

¹ Cousin to the earl of Morton, regent of Scotland, and by whom he was made senator of the college of justice. But upon the imprisonment of that earl in 1581, on a charge of being privy to the murder of the king's father, Mr. DOUGLAS being accused of having a share in that crime, fled

from Norham, where he then resided, into England; but in May 1586, being declar'd innocent of the crime, he obtain'd a commission to reside in England, as ambassador from the king.

² On the 12th of November. SPOTSWOOD, p. 399.

number of thirty two was reduced to twelve, who were to advise upon the means of redressing the ill state of affairs in the kingdom. Some of them were already arrived, as the earl of Arran, lord Hamilton, and others. Time would shew what could be done; but the world expected no good. One of the secret council of ministers assur'd Dr. MORISON, that without blows, they would no longer be baffled by the chancellor and the earl of Hume. A great body of partisans of the ministers were present to wait the issue, and taking the most artful measures for their purpose.

With regard to foreign news, Dr. MORISON writes, that it was said, that the archduke ERNEST, brother of the emperor RODOLPHUS, was to have Flanders as a dowry with the king of Spain's daughter, and to go thither to compose the disorders of that country, and to reside in it as lord of it; and that PHILIP II. being released from other affairs, would turn his thoughts towards England, and the papists of Scotland.

Mr. STANDEN's letter from Windsor on the 21st of November inform'd Mr. BACON, that the death of a page of lady SCROOP (so near the queen's person as of her bed-chamber) of the sickness the last night, and that in the keep within the castle, had caus'd a great alteration there, so that it was not to be doubted but that her majesty would remove within a day or two at the farthest, tho' it was not resolved whither, but the earl of Essex thought to Hampton-court. He then mentions, that his lordship had told him the day before, that after a solemn adjuration, which the queen us'd to him, not to reveal the affair to Mr. STANDEN, she said, that it had been reported to her, that he was so Scottish, and so affectionate to that party, that there was no trust to be repos'd in him. "Whereupon," *says he*, I intreated my lord to allow me some bread in some obscure corner, where, till occasion should serve for his lordship to use me, I might live and breath under his protection, for that mine enemies and enviers were for the present too puissant. He answered me, according to his manner, that he, altho' others should forsake me, would never do it. And this is my fare, and thus standeth my case; nor with God's help mean I to despair, altho' you know the dealing to be hard, and the example for the queen's service nothing available; so that I do not any more trouble Sir ROBERT. As soon as her majesty shall remove, I will do the like, not to the court, but to Twickenham." Mr. STANDEN observes, that it was constantly said there, that the peace between France and Spain was not only treated, but like to follow without any mention of England. Which, tho' not true then, prov'd so about five years after in the treaty of Vervins. He adds, that ANTONIO king of Portugal, ANTONIO PEREZ, and LA NOZ, were all going into France; "but to return *ad quid*," *says he*, I hear not." "I have had," *concludes he*, many and many speeches about you with personages of import of both sexes; and it should seem none of them have been thoroughly informed of your parts and quality, altho' they have heard something superficially. The earl hath been the author of the liking conceived, which to my power I have,

* He made his entrance into Brussels on the 30th of January, 1594. N. S. METEREN, l. xvii. fol. 353.

† Fol. 266.

" following

“ following his steps, confirmed to the great satisfaction of the wiser and discreter
 “ sort. I do begin truly to bless and commend your infirmity, which if you
 “ might receive without pain or torment, I would think you in the superlative
 “ degree beholding to it, as a cause to retain you from a place, from whence all
 “ charity is exiled, and all envy and treachery doth prevail, and where a prince
 “ of the most rare virtues and divine parts is afflicted with persons so infected with
 “ malice.”

He wrote again to Mr. BACON two days after, on the 23d of November, from Windsor², that since his last letter the lords and ladies, who were accommodated there so well to their likings, had persuaded the queen to suspend her removal from thence, till she should see some other effect; so that tho’ carts were warned to be ready for the Monday following, yet it was constantly believed, that her majesty would not remove till after Christmas. The day before, Mr. STANDEN had accompanied Mr. RICHARD CECIL³ to his grandfather the lord treasurer’s chamber, where on the morning of the day preceding the queen had been, before she went to walk. There Mr. STANDEN, meeting with Sir ROBERT CECIL in the outer chamber, and speaking to him about his business, was told by the latter, that he had dealt with the earl of Essex, and that they both had sounded her majesty’s mind, and found, that she saw not wherein he might serve her at home, but abroad. Mr. STANDEN answered, that so it might be in safety, he cared not where; and Sir ROBERT saying at Florence, he replied, that he was not sure of that duke’s protection, by reason of his coming home. Sir ROBERT rejoining, that Mr. STANDEN had told him, that his opinion was, that the duke would receive him, Mr. STANDEN said, that such was his opinion, the grounds of which he mention’d; and at last clos’d with Sir ROBERT, telling him, that he was not so unqualified, but that at home he might be found fit for somewhat; and that her majesty was not always to live in wars. To which Sir ROBERT said, that he had great reason, and that he might be proper for employment. Mr. STANDEN observes in his letter, that Mr. DYER⁴, who was much his friend, and speculative in those matters, was persuaded, that Sir ROBERT CECIL would in the end finish in the secretaryship. He adds, that there had arrived at court three days before a groom of the French king’s chamber, who, as soon as he came out of Spain, whither he had been sent by his master, was dispatch’d immediately to her majesty to declare what he had done and seen there. The last was believed, but not the first, and hereupon was much scanning and descanting.

On the 25th of November Mr. STANDEN, in another letter from Windsor⁵, inform’d Mr. BACON, that the day before Mr. LAWSON had brought the letters from Spain, and the others sent by Mr. BACON, “ which I received, says Mr. STANDEN, to deliver the earl, because he was absent these three days, and returned this morning about six of the clock: which starts of his in stealing manner much trouble his followers and well-willers. He came so late to town, as he

² Vol. iii. fol. 262.

³ Second son of Sir THOMAS CECIL, afterwards earl of Exeter. He was born in 1570, and at last knighted, and is ancestor to the present earl.

⁴ Mr. EDMUND DYER, eminent for his poeti-

cal talents. He was born in Somersetshire, and employed in several embassies, and in 1596, was made chancellor of the garter, on the death of Sir JOHN WOLLEY, and knighted.

⁵ Vol. iii. fol. 261.

“ will

" will be in bed untill noon, and so no speaking to him untill dinner-time, when
 " I will not fail to deliver all, as well as Mr. FRANCIS BACON's."

He continued his letter after he had been with the earl, who had sent for him about the Scots letters transmitted by Mr. LAWSON to Mr. BACON, whom Mr. STANDEN desired not to dispossess himself of the cypher, for the reasons, which he directed Mr. LAWSON to tell him, besides the occasion, which the earl, and even her majesty, would every fortnight have to remember him, yea, tho' they would not. Mr. STANDEN had press'd the earl to say something with relation to Mr. ROLSTON, on account of the departure of the ships; but his lordship's answer was, that it could not be so soon, because he had not spoken with her majesty. " I have here, says Mr. STANDEN, many friends, or such as at least seem to be, and those no small fools, in so much as if I were a wind-ball, I should not want swelling. The Spanish proverb, that saith, *Qui en festa te baze y no te suole bazar, o te quiere enganner o de te a menester*, maketh me stand upon my guard. And in effect, Sir, to speak plain English, I have learned more here in matter of malice and meschanteté, than in all those places on the other side. God soon deliver me, and hereafter all my friends. The proceedings of those parts, where the *Son of the Moor* [Dr. MORISON] is born, do vex, trouble, and disbials us extremely, and more than I can write you."

Monsieur CASTOL, minister of the French church in London, and considerable for his correspondences in foreign parts, as well as for his abilities in his own profession and other parts of learning, began now to offer Mr. BACON, with whom he was very intimate, the intelligence of such matters, as came to his knowledge. In his first letter, dated at London the 27th of November, 1593^a, he inclosed some, which he had received from abroad, particularly one from BEZA, who was very thankful for Mr. BACON's present to him, which was very seasonable in the present unhappy circumstances of the city of Geneva, being almost perpetually in danger from the duke of Savoy, and its apprehensions increas'd by HENRY IV's abandoning the protestant religion. Mr. CASTOL observes, that it was scarce credible, that so little a state should have advanc'd 400,000 crowns for France, the assurance of which money Monsieur Chevalier was then soliciting at the French court. And he adds, that the deputies of the reform'd churches were at Mantes^b, and endeavouring to procure the establishment of the churches. They had received about three weeks before an answer, that it was not then time, and that such demands would obstruct the treaty of peace and agreement with the league. But as they perceiv'd, that this was only a pretence, in order to procure a reconciliation at the expence of the honest party, and that the court would only wait for some oracle from Rome, to know, whether the pope would accept of the king's submission, and on what conditions grant him absolution, the deputies persisted in their remonstrances; and Mr. CASTOL was of opinion, that if Sir ROBERT SIDNEY could arrive soon in France, he would be of great use; and that tho' there were a disposition in the court to act well, yet there was no appearance, that

^a Fol. 245.

^b Hist. de la vie de Messire PHILIPPE de Mor-

say, p. 206. & Hist. d'edix de Nantes, tom. i. l. ii. p. 97. & l. iii. p. 103.

the society and alliance then pursued, could contribute to the preservation of the reformed churches. It was said, that the truce would not continue beyond the end of the year, and that the assembly held near Paris was beginning to break up. And if all these measures should produce no effect, the authors of the cessation of arms must have acted very imprudently, since during the course of it the cities of the league had an opportunity of furnishing themselves with provisions, which would only be a prolongation of the miseries of the kingdom. The pope had not made any step towards allowing the duke of Nevers, sent by the French king, to approach Rome. Monsieur CASTOL did not know what effect the threatnings of the Turk might have upon that see in making it more compliant with HENRY IV. for the grand signor having already conquered an extent of two hundred and sixty miles in Hungary, Croatia, and Carinthia, was making great preparations of war in Thrace, and deliberating, after the example of Attila, to pass Aquileia, ravage Italy, and lay siege to Rome itself. This occasioned the calling of a diet of the empire to meet at Ratisbon on the 5th of January following; and the Venetians to fortify Udena, situated in the passage, and called by them New Aquileia; and the princes of Italy to appoint their quotas for defending their country against so formidable an enemy, who was expected to invade it with 180,000 men.

Mr. BACON having desired Mr. STANDEN, by a letter from Gorhambury of the 26th of November to come to him thither, Mr. STANDEN, in his answer from Windsor the next day ^b, told him, that he should gladly have complied with his desire, if he had not the night before spoken with the *garde joyaux*, Mrs. MARY RADCLIFFE, who had most kindly that day brought him in question to the queen, of whom Mrs. RADCLIFFE received good speeches of him and his behaviour on the other side of the sea; and as she would procure him private speech with her majesty, and the time was unknown to him, he was obliged to give daily attendance; and when that hour should come, he would forget nothing that ought to be said for his friends. “Our man here ^c, *says he*, hath been extremely shaken up for his ranging abroad, who told me yesternight, that until Sir ROBERT SIDNEY were dispatched for France, her majesty would hear of no suit. This I speak for Sir FRANCIS ALLEN, whose I did yesternight propound to the earl. And as for Sir ROBERT, he told me, that on Thursday at the farthest he would depart ^d, whose errand I reserve untill meeting.”

The next day Mr. STANDEN wrote again to Mr. BACON ^e, that the earl had call'd for him the day before, and told him, that he had spoken about him to her majesty, who answer'd, that she would that day, November 28th, talk with the lord treasurer about somewhat for him. But she still stuck upon the point of his discovery, “which is that, *says he*, Sir ROBERT hath so potched in mine eyes to astonish me, as an occasion to be rid of me. I answered my lord, that I saw by the proceeding I should do nothing. He replied, that he hoped well, and willed me yet not to depart; so that I mean to give them yet eight days more, and then to go rest me.”

^b Fol. 260.

^c The earl of Essex.

^d His instructions were dated 20th November,

1593.

^e Vol. iii. fol. 258.

In his letter to Mr. BACON of the 30th of that month from Windsor^f, he acquainted him with his intention of going the Saturday following to London, and thence on the Wednesday after, to pay a visit to him at Gorhambury, and on the Friday to return to the court, where he had hitherto done nothing on account of the Scots business, and Sir ROBERT SIDNEY's departure, who that day was to take leave of the queen, and the next her majesty was to remove to Hampton-court.

Mr. ROBERT BOWES, ambassador in Scotland, wrote to the earl of Essex from Edinburgh, on the 4th of December, 1593^g, inclosing a letter received that day from Dr. MORISON, to be conveyed to his lordship; in which as Mr. BOWES presumed that the doctor had given an account of all the proceedings of the convention of the states lately assembled at Edinburgh, he forbore himself to report the same, but observ'd, that the act of edict to establish one religion in Scotland, and of abolition to cast out the treasons of the earls of Angus, Huntley, and Errol, and the laird of Auchindone and Sir JAMES CHISHOLME, for their conspiracies with Spain by the blanks, and for their apostasies and defections in matters of religion, were much spoken against by the ministers, who had been called before the lord chancellor, the earl of Mar, master of Glamis, and Sir ROBERT MELVIL, and yielded such reasons, evincing the errors in that act of edict and abolition, that those counsellors acknowledg'd, that the act was not penned as it was voted. It was not therefore known what should ensue in that matter, which at present inflam'd that state, and enrag'd the people with great contempt against the king, who favouring much the northern earls was angry with the ministers; while they still continued to exclaim against the act, which the earls, as the king said, would not regard: So that all estates and parties at present were extremely discontent: "And my lot, *says Mr. Bowes*, is right unfortunate, whilst I am compell'd to remain amongst them in such distressed case, as my service cannot profit her majesty; and nevertheless it shall hastily bring to myself and the house, whereof I am, utter ruin; a matter indeed not to be put in balance with her majesty's service, yet plainly seen to me to be so little pitied by others, and to bring such sudden destruction to me, as I shall be enforced to deliver my body to all pains and penalties for prevention of those manifold mischiefs, wherein I have by my letters to the lord treasurer made suit to be revoked, or licensed to have access to her majesty's presence, for the benefit only of her own service, or relieved with better order and instructions for her service, with some particular comforts in mine extremities. But I have done this so oft, and found so little regard given to it, as extreme necessity will compell me to linger no longer therein, but simply to render and present my body to all pains for the satisfaction of her majesty, and to avoid the blot of any disloyalty to be justly imputed to me. All which effects it may please your good lordship to consider and commend for me, as to your lordship shall seem expedient, and for the relief of a most unfortunate servant."

The earl received likewise a letter of THOMAS lord SCROOPE, governor of the castle of Carlisle, and warden of the west marches, dated at Carlisle, December the 7th,

1593^h, giving an account of the death of the lord MAXWELL of Scotland, kill'd the night before by the laird of JOHNSTON and his faction in the following mannerⁱ. The lord MAXWELL, in regard of many the like outrages and deadly extremities offered and done by the JOHNSTONS to him and his friends, had a purpose made to one MUNGO JOHNSTON, called LACKERBYS, son to the laird of JOHNSTON; and went thither with an intent to have spoiled and killed all, who should oppose their enterprise. The JOHNSTONS having notice of their coming, met together, and encountering with the MAXWELLS, slew both the lord himself and divers of his company, without receiving any great injury themselves.

Mr. STANDEN was in London on Tuesday the 11th of December, when he wrote to Mr. BACON^k, that he had intended to leave that city the day before, but going to visit Sir ROGER WILLIAMS, and deliver Mr. BACON's commendations to him, he had been engag'd to dine with him that day at the French ambassador's; where he understood, that the earl of Essex had departed from the court on Friday morning, and that at six of the clock the day before the date of this letter there was no news of him: "which long absence, *says Mr. STANDEN*, hath not been these years by past, and is a cause, why the court doth murmur of great disgust between both parties; for that the other, ever since the earl's going, hath been in great agitation, and none can guess about what. But my thought is, that Mr. F. [FRANCIS BACON] his matter may be the cause. This present instant I am going to break my fast with Sir FRANCIS ALLEN, and so forward this night to the court, from whence you shall hear more from me."

The earl was return'd before this to Hampton-court, from whence, in a letter of the 14th of December, he acquainted Mr. BACON^l, that upon the motion of Dr. MORISON to have more direction, he had the day before drawn up the inclosed instruction for him; "and being, *says he*, not well myself, I sent it to the queen inclosed in a letter. You shall read together with it the queen's censure of it, and addition to it. I pray you digest into a letter the substance of the whole, and send it to me, that I may send it by the post. This point only the queen will have added, that if the king will not hear reason, which her ministers shall tell him, she will make him know both her strength and his own." But this last sentence has a line drawn over it in the earl's original letter.

What were the particular instructions to Dr. MORISON, referr'd to by the earl of Essex in this letter, does not appear; but I find some without any date drawn up in French, to this purpose^m, that an account might be sent, how the king of Scots, who is called in them *le Chevalier*, continues, increases, or abates of his zeal for the reformed religion. How he behaves towards the ministers and professors of that religion, and with respect to their ecclesiastical discipline: What favour or disfavour he shews to the catholics, especially those of the nobility either publicly or privately; and how he bears the priests, jesuits, and dispensers of the papal or Spanish favours among his people: What intelligence or intrigue any of his subjects carry on with either of those two powers with or against his consent, and in what manner

ⁱ Fol. 291.^k See SPOTSWOOD, p. 401.^l Fol. 295.^m Fol. 303.ⁿ Fol. 344.
he

he looks upon such subjects. What intelligence there is between him and the French king, or any of the leaguers or others : and whether he has any with the princes of Germany or the states of the Low Countries. How he is pleas'd with or complains of the actions of her majesty ; and what intelligence he has with her subjects within or without her kingdoms. What practices he or any of his subjects, with or without his knowledge, carry on with the Irish : what faction there is among his subjects with relation to religion, the state, or private causes of contest : who are the chief heads or partisans, and who among them are most favour'd and discountenanc'd by him. Any other occurrence may be supplied by the same discretion, which is necessary to furnish the particulars abovemention'd.

Mr. STANDEN being return'd to court on Wednesday the 12th of December, wrote on the 18th^a from Kingston to Mr. BACON a long letter, intermixing many parts of it with cypher, of which I do not find any key ; so that the most curious circumstances must continue a secret. He mentions, that upon his arrival at court, he had immediately a grateful audience of the earl of Essex a little before his lordship went in to the queen, which was to good purpose, since he was sure, that the earl spake with her majesty about Mr. FRANCIS BACON, " who also, *says* Mr. STANDEN, had spoken to the earl before me, which gave me entry " with him to deliver what you had committed to me at Gorhambury touching " your desire of effectuating that you had so long expected, more wish'd by " you for my lordship's service and good, than for any interest or gain to your " brother. Wherein I had time to enlarge myself about the contentment you " should receive, and the credit or decay thereof to my lord, by missing the " mark he had so long eyed, chiefly being now so familiar to the world. To all " the earl gave me gratefull ear, and told me what he had done in despite of " contraries to stay the matter untill now, which maygre them he would yet " renew untill Easter term : which was in effect all the discourse I had about that " matter, saving that he wisheth you to be of good chear, and to attend to the " recovery of your strength. For the rest, he hopeth all shall go well, as we " here his followers have good cause to say, seeing the leud and false bruit raised " in his absence by his contraries this other day fell out to be a monstrous scandal ; " for they had reported he was seen at Dover, there to embark to have gone " over ; and thereupon was 6589^o greatly altered, and resolved to have sent after " him, if the same night he had not come as he did, at which time he was chear- " fully welcomed 1940252234, and immediately after he had talked with me, " he went to the queen, where Sir ROGER WILLIAMS and Mr. FULK GREVIL " 44113021223435194035183822183211403412142319153591235 changed in " such 3538123612481829143431153629113022234, as it was a content to be- " hold." Mr. STANDEN observes, that the Scottish matters gave more uneasiness than ever, tho' that king had lately written to her majesty the most humble and submissive letters, with greater assurances than he had ever sent before ; to which there was given no credit, because works did not answer, besides that the ambassador there highly charg'd him by his letters with sinister intentions ; " which kind " of people, *says* Mr. STANDEN, are instruments of good and evil, according

^a Fol. 294.^o The queen.

“ to their discretions and inclinations, as you well know. It is resolved the lord
 “ ZOUCH^p, lately come from the other side the seas, shall go thither ambassador,
 “ to my liking far unmeet therefore. Most certain it is, that the Scots queen is
 “ with child; as it is also (which makes me to doubt for the reasons you wot of)
 “ that as many 2812369123435183565281134212214233822929211235 hath
 “ written either hither or into France, have been surprized and read here, the
 “ man being shallow, and departed hence evil content, may easily be persuaded to
 “ take a contrary party. But, I hope in all these taken missives he hath written
 “ nothing to 100.” He mentions the death of HENRY RADCLIFFE, earl of
 Suffex^q, on the Saturday before, and that Sir CHARLES BLOUNT, afterwards earl
 of Devonshire, was gone to Portsmouth, to take possession of his new govern-
 ment, vacant by the decease of that earl; and that the young earl of Bedford was
 paying his addresses to Mrs. BRIDGES, the lord CHANDOS’s heir. He adds, that
 he had mov’d the earl of Essex the night before about Dr. MORISON, and urg’d
 the satisfaction, which the queen receiv’d by his service; upon which his lordship
 assur’d him, that it was exceedingly great, and that her majesty receiv’d all as com-
 ing by means of Mr. BACON, and from him, the letters being decypher’d and
 answered by him; and that the earl had the day before after council carried Sir
 ROGER WILLIAMS and himself to Sunbury, whither his lordship went to talk with
 ANTONIO PEREZ.

This is the first mention, which I meet with, among Mr. BACON’s papers, of that remarkable person’s being in England, tho’ it appears from a letter of Sir HENRY WOTTON to lord ZOUCH, dated at Florence, August 14, 1592 N. S.^r, that he was then gone to England, promising to give her majesty considerable information to the prejudice of the king of Spain, being in Sir HENRY’s opinion, *a knave for his labour*. He was son of GONZALO PEREZ, who had been forty years the sole secretary of state for Spain to the emperor CHARLES, and his son king PHILIP II. and whom he succeeded in that post, being appointed likewise secretary of war, and enjoying for many years the highest degree of the favour and confidence of his master^r. But he fell afterwards under the jealousy of PHILIP II. on account of his intimacy with the princess of Eboli, that king’s mistress; which is said to have been the real cause of his disgrace, tho’ the pretended one was a charge of having betrayed the secrets of his office, and added and suppress’d passages in the letters, which he decypher’d, and caus’d JOHN DE ESCOVEDO, secretary to Don JOHN of Austria, to be assassinated, in 1578, tho’ that was done by the king’s own order^r.

His imprisonment gave occasion to great troubles in the kingdom of Arragon, of which he was a native, the inhabitants resenting the proceedings against him as a violation of their privileges; and he escap’d into Bearn about November, 1591, where he was received into the protection of the princess CATHARINE, sister of HENRY IV. and afterwards went into France. He had not been there

^p EDWARD lord ZOUCH, to whom a considerable number of Sir HENRY WOTTON’s letters are addressed, printed first in 1685.

^q He left one son ROBERT, by HONORA, daughter of ANTHONY POUND. CAMDEN, p. 615.

^r P. 687.

Dr. GEDDES, vol. ii. p. 241, 242.

^r Memoires historiques, &c. par AMELOT DE LA HOUSSE, tom. i. p. 241, & 243. edit. Amster. 1722.

^r Miscellaneous Tracts, by

many weeks before a Spaniard was apprehended at Bourdeaux for a design to murder him, and would have been executed on that account, if ANTONIO PEREZ had not requested his life of the princess CATHARINE, and the marshal de MATIGNON^a. Several other attempts were likewise form'd against his life both in France and England; but without success. Queen ELIZABETH could not be brought to countenance a man, who offered to discover the secrets of his master; and her lord treasurer was with much difficulty prevail'd upon to admit him to a conference. But the earl of Essex supported him, while he was in England, entertaining him for some time in his own house, and consulting him as an oracle with regard to the affairs of Spain, of which ANTONIO's experience and sagacity had made him a thorough master^v.

During the negotiations of the peace at Vervins, the French king strongly insisted on ANTONIO's pardon; to which the Spaniards answer'd, that as he had fled from the inquisition, he could not be pardoned by their king, nor protected from that court, if he should return to Spain^a. PHILIP II. on his death-bed, ordered the wife and children of this unfortunate man to be released from prison, and suffer'd to retire into a cloyster; and he directed his son and successor PHILIP III. if he could make proper terms with ANTONIO, to employ him in Italy, or some other part, but not to permit him to come to Spain, or reside in the Low Countries^a. ANTONIO was often consulted by Mr. WINWOOD^a, while the latter resided in the French court from 1600 to 1602. In the beginning of the year 1602, when a peace was expected to be made between king JAMES I. and Spain, he had an intention to pass over to England; upon which occasion Monsieur de VILLEROY, secretary of state to HENRY IV. of France, wrote to CHRISTOPHER DE HARLAY, Count de BEAUMONT, the French ambassador in England, on the 18th of January, N. S.^b advising him to take care, lest ANTONIO by his usual insinuations and flatteries should work upon the minds of the courtiers and court-ladies, and by that means be enabled to do some service to the king of Spain important enough to merit his restoration to the estate and honours, which he had formerly enjoyed there. Monsieur de VILLEROY declares his opinion of him in that letter, in very frank terms, that he had never met with so much vanity and imprudence, accompanied with so much presumption, in any person, as had appeared in him during his residence in France; and therefore desires the ambassador to observe strictly what ANTONIO should say or do. Monsieur de BEAUMONT in his answer of the 3d of February, N. S.^c assur'd Monsieur de VILLEROY, that king JAMES had told him, that he had no desire to see ANTONIO, and that knowing how disagreeable his presence would be to the Spanish ambassador, who had a very ill opinion of him, he had sent word to him to return, ANTONIO being then at Boulogne, impatient to pass the seas, which he would not be permitted to do, as the lord CECIL, secretary of state, declar'd to the French ambassador some days after^d. However,

^a GEDDES, p. 398.

^v CAMDENI ELIZABETH, p. 625.

^a GEDDES, p. 402.

^v He died Sept. 13, 1598.

^a METZGER, l. xxi. fol. 462.

^a Memorials, vol. i. p. 404, 405. See also

p. 366, and 406.

^b Depeches de Comte de BEAUMONT, MSS. vol.

v. fol. 6. in the possession of the honorable PHILIP

YORKE, esq;

^c Ibid. Fol. 130.

^d Fol. 158.

he pursued his first design, and came to England, notwithstanding what MONTJOY earl of Devonshire had written to him of the king's resolution not to give him leave, his majesty having a very ill opinion of him, and the lord CECIL both hating and despising him*. He came as far as Canterbury, whence he made use of all kinds of offers and intreaties to obtain an audience of the king, who would not be prevailed upon to admit him, falling into such a rage upon hearing of his landing in England, that he tore his beard, and protested, that he would leave England himself, suspecting, that his council had favour'd ANTONIO's coming. For his majesty had an unconquerable aversion to all rebels and refugees, and had given his promise to the Spanish ambassador not to receive ANTONIO, who took this journey upon the encouragement of Sir THOMAS PARRY, the English ambassador at Paris, to whom he had made some overtures for facilitating the peace between England and Spain; by which that ambassador was induc'd to persuade him to go over to England, and to recommend him to the lord CECIL, by a letter, as very capable of doing great services. This appear'd from a letter of ANTONIO's to the king, written from Canterbury, and another of that ambassador to ANTONIO, after the latter had left Paris, assuring him, that he would be well received at the court of England; which highly provok'd his majesty against his ambassador†.

The French king‡ was inform'd from Spain, that ANTONIO's design was, after he should have sound the disposition of king JAMES with regard to the conditions of peace, to go to the constable of Castille then in Flanders, in order to make a report of what he had observ'd, and render himself necessary on that occasion. But he was so far deceiv'd by the artifices of the court of Spain, as to resign the pension, which he had enjoy'd from that of France, upon an assurance given him by a gentleman belonging to the Spanish ambassador at Paris, confirm'd by a grandee, who pass'd thro' Paris towards Flanders, that if he would give up that pension, he should be restor'd within six months to his estate and honours in his own country§. His journey to England was evidently with a view to recommend himself to the favour of his own court; but he was soon oblig'd to leave that kingdom; and upon his return to France inform'd that court, that his ill treatment in England was owing to the instances of the Spanish ambassador there, whom, Mr. de VILLEROY¶ did not doubt, he went over to serve. He now requested the French king to restore his pension of 12000 livres, which he had resign'd before he went to England, but without success; for the French court had no better, or perhaps a worse, opinion of him, than the English. He imputed his ill reception from the latter to the lord CECIL, as well as to the Spanish ambassador, on account of the friendship, which had been between the earl of Essex and himself. His adversity, according to Monsieur de VILLEROY‡, had not made him more wise and discreet than he had been in his prosperity. After his return from England, he resided at St. Dennis, where the necessities, to which he was now reduc'd, oblig'd

* Monsieur de BEAUMONT's letter to Monsieur de VILLEROY, 23 Feb. 1604, N. S. Ibid. fol. 191, 192.

† Monsieur de BEAUMONT's letter of Feb. 29, N. S. fol. 207, 208.

‡ Letter of that king to Monsieur de BEAUMONT

of the 6th of March, 1604, N. S. fol. 235.

§ La continuation de Mercure François, p. 473, edit. Cologne, 1615.

¶ Letter to Monsieur BEAUMONT of the 9th of March, 1604, ubi supra, fol. 250.

‡ Ibid. fol. 251.

him,

him, notwithstanding his disappointment of the execution of the promises made to him by his countrymen, to use his utmost endeavours to recover the favour of the court of Spain. From St. Dennis he removed to St. Lazare, waiting the issue of that affair; and at last return'd to Paris, living for some time in the street *du Temple*, till his infirmities made him change his lodgings for the *Fauxbourg St. Victor*, where his sons Don GONZALES, and Don RAPHAEL came to visit him, but without being able to relieve him. The former went immediately to Rome, but the latter staid some time with him, and during that space Don PEDRO DE TOLEDO came in July, 1609, ambassador extraordinary to France, whom ANTONIO visited several times, and received from him only promises, without effect. He sent therefore his son Don RAPHAEL to Spain, with letters to the duke of LERMA, full of supplications, to which he had no other answer than delays. He was then advised from Spain to apply himself to the duke of FERIA, who was coming ambassador to France, after the murder of HENRY IV. and who, upon his arrival there in August 1510, told him, that he had no orders to speak to him. This convinc'd him, that he must end his days in that kingdom, which he did of a fever at his lodgings near St. Paul, on the 4th of November, 1611, N. S. and was interr'd in the convent of the Celestines¹, with a Latin epitaph to his memory. He is said to have left all his papers to Monsieur de VILLEROY, to whom he is supposed to have address'd those of his Spanish letters, inscrib'd, *A un sennor Amigo &c A un gran Privado*, Monsieur de VILLEROY being unwilling to be nam'd, for fear of losing a large pension, which he received from PHILIP II. and his son PHILIP III. of Spain². But after ANTONIO's death, all his papers were burnt out, of complaisance to Spain³. His *Obras & Relaciones* were printed at Paris in 1598, in 4to, and reprinted there in 8vo, and his letters to the constable de MONTMORENCY, from 1597 to 1608, are extant in manuscript in the French king's library⁴.

The intimacy, in which he liv'd with Mr. ANTHONY and Mr. FRANCIS BACON, gave extreme concern to their mother, who in one of her letters to the former, complains of PEREZ's familiarity with the latter in expressions of the utmost severity. "Tho' I pity your brother, *says she*, yet so long as he pities not himself, but keepeth that bloody PEREZ, yea, as a coach-companion and bed-companion, a proud, profane, costly fellow, whose being about him I verily fear the Lord God doth mislike, and doth less blest your brother in credit, and otherwise in his health, surely I am utterly discouraged, and make conscience farther to undo myself to maintain such wretches as he is, that never loved your brother but for his own credit, living upon him."

Mr. STANDEN wrote from Kingston on the 20th of December, to Mr. BACON⁵, then remov'd to his estate at Redburn in Hertfordshire, to inform him of a conversation, which had pass'd two nights before between the lord treasurer and his son Sir ROBERT CECIL, at a retired supper, at which no person was present, except

¹ Continuation de Mercure François, p. 473.

² AMELOT DE LA HOUSSE, *memoires historiques*, &c. tom. i. p. 250.

³ METEREN, l. xxxii. fol. 720.

⁴ Le Ling, *biblioth. historique de la France*, p. 655. No. 13072.

⁵ Vol. vii. fol. 175.

⁶ Vol. iii. fol. 296.

Mr. FRANCIS BACON. Mr. STANDEN being occasionally mentioned, his fidelity and abilities were brought in question, the first with regard to his coming immediately from Spain; and the second concerning his small power and credit at Florence; upon which Sir ROBERT descanted at will. Mr. FRANCIS BACON having related this to Mr. STANDEN, the latter acquainted the earl of Essex with it, when his lordship laughing at the matter, said, that he found no good was to be done with the queen, touching Mr. STANDEN's maintenance, and all by reason of these two hinderers of him, which he knew to proceed of malice for that gentleman's following his lordship. The earl therefore desired Mr. STANDEN to write immediately to Mr. BACON for a letter to the lord treasurer, to request of his lordship, that since by his, Mr. BACON's, means Mr. STANDEN had been proposed as a proper person for the queen's service, and that now he had waited six months at court to know her majesty's pleasure, his lordship would procure him some resolution from her majesty, whether presently or hereafter she would serve herself of him, and in the mean time allow him some support; or some such like request, as should seem best to Mr. BACON; by which the earl might find out the lord treasurer's intention; after which his lordship would determine what was to be done with respect to Mr. STANDEN. "I must now, *says Mr. STANDEN*, see an end to my business; which having obtained, I will presently wait on you at Redburn; which place for the distance my lord of Essex liketh nothing, as yesternight again he told me, but not his meaning wherefore. Himself hath been at London to prepare, as he told me, some six or eight chambers in Essex-house; and that he will often be there to confer with friends at times: for I see all matters of intelligence are wholly in his hands, wherein the queen receiveth great liking, as by her words to the father and son touching this point is known, and in part I touched to Mr. LAWSON to tell you, *unde illæ lacrymæ*. By the countenance of this court it should appear thro' the smallness thereof, that the Christmases will be very melancholly. The most, to avoid the charge of new apparel, and donations to officers, do shun the same, in which number I find myself."

Two days after, December 22d, Mr. STANDEN wrote again from Kingston to Mr. BACON, that he had the night before taken his leave of the earl of Essex for eight days of the Christmas holydays, at the end of which he intended to return: That the lord ZOUCH, lately come from his travels, was to go to Scotland immediately, drawn thither against his will: That it was not yet known, whether Sir ROBERT SIDNEY was departed. That a hoy laden with stuff and apparel of Mr. (afterwards Sir) ANTHONY SHIRLEY's, valued at a thousand pounds, had perished by a tempest at the Land's End, going to meet with him at Dover, whence he was to accompany Sir ROBERT SIDNEY to France: And that Sir THOMAS DANVERS, son and heir to Sir JOHN, lately return'd from his travels, was committed to the Marshalsea for having kissed the pope's toe. Mr. STANDEN incloses in this letter one from himself to Mr. ROLSTON, "wherein, *says he*, if you find ought of dislike, excuse me, for I may not betray who trusteth me. All shall fall out for

* Fol. 297.

* Sir JOHN DANVERS of Dauntsey, in Wiltshire, by ELIZABETH, daughter and coheir of JOHN NEVILL, lord Laumer. He was brother of Sir

CHARLES DAVERS or DANVERS, beheaded for the earl of Essex's insurrection, and of Sir HENRY DANVERS, created at first lord DANVERS, and then earl of Danby.

" the

"the best; and you may pass for such you are known to be, a frank loyal gentleman."

This letter of Mr. STANDEN to Mr. ROLSTON¹ was written from Hampton-court on the 22d of December, 1593², wherein he desired to know, whether the two packers, which he had sent him, the one of the 28th of September, the other of the 15th of November, N. S. were come to his hands. And since Mr. ROLSTON had written to Mr. BACON, on the 6th of November, that he was sent for to court, that gentleman, himself, and other higher powers, would be glad to learn what should become of him, whether he would be sent to Flanders or to Scotland, since he did not doubt but that he would be rooted out of Spain. "In Scotland, *says he*, by the speeches that run, we doubt, that Spain is tampering, yea, and that in earnest; for that HUNTLEY and HUME are all in all about that king. Advise from thence by all means possible what there you can pick out for the good of this state. Myself remain in the same terms I before wrote unto you, neither backward nor forward, besieged with malice, wherewith I find this court full farced; whereby others may produce me for a pattern in making their matches. HESKET³; that was sent by Sir WILLIAM STANLEY, and by Dr. WORTHINGTON⁴ to the earl of Derby⁵, to stir him to rebellion, hath been quartered at St. Alban's the last term⁶; a worthy piece of work suitable to the fetters on, who of the catholics here at home are accursed, and with great reason."

Mr. BACON's indisposition occasioned him, in his letter to Mr. STANDEN on Christmas-day 1593⁷, to excuse his not being yet able to write that requested of him to the lord treasurer, "not daring, *says he*, to present, in so weighty a case to so severe and rigid a censor, and so strict an observer of the least formalities, as my lord treasurer, any other hand than mine own." But a few days after he drew up his letter to the lord treasurer in the following terms⁸.

"My duty most humbly remembered: As it pleased God to make me, during my abode at Bourdeaux, a poor instrument, for want of a better, of saving Mr. STANDEN's life, and redeeming his liberty, and afterwards to effectuate his return hither, to the end he might employ them both (as he then most earnestly and faithfully vowed) in her majesty's service; and having not understood since his coming home (God be thanked) that his demeanor in court or elsewhere hath given any just occasion to call his loyalty or sufficiency in question; so am I thereby imboldened most humbly to request your good lordship, by a favourable and timely mention unto her majesty of the gentleman and his serviceable parts, to procure some speedy and fit employment for him in such sort, as her majesty's most excellent wisdom, seconded with your lordship's ad-

¹ Fol. i.

² RICHARD HESKET, CAMDEN, p. 614.

³ THOMAS WORTHINGTON, a native of Lancashire, educated first at Oxford, and afterwards at Doway, and at last president of the English college there. WOOD, Ath. Oxon. vol. i. fol. 506, 509.

⁴ FERDINAND, son of HENRY earl of Derby,

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whom he surviv'd but a short time, dying on the 16th of April 1594, leaving issue only three daughters.

⁵ Michaelmas term was held at St. Alban's, on account of the violence of the plague in London.

⁶ Fol. 286.

⁷ Fol. 38.

" vice, shall judge meetest. And so hoping your lordship will vouchsafe to accept
 " my dutiful remembrance, in respect of the principal motive thereof, which I
 " beseech your lordship give me leave to protest, with all loyal sincerity, to be
 " neither presumption in myself, nor any partial affection towards the gentleman,
 " but a most earnest desire, according to my bounden duty, to see, that the ex-
 " perience and gifts, which God hath bestowed upon one of her majesty's subjects,
 " may not lie any longer useles for her royal service, I most humbly take leave.

" Your lordship's most humble and obedient nephew,

" ANTHONY BACON."

Mr. BACON sent this letter on the 31st of December to Mr. STANDEN^b, who received it the next day, January 1st, 159¹/₂, at his brother's house at Caversham, whither he had retired about ten days before, for the recovery of his health, intending, as he wrote the same day to Mr. BACON^c, to return the day following to court, where he staid till the 7th of January, when he went back to his brother's, whence he wrote again to Mr. BACON the next day^d, observing that he had not yet done any thing with that gentleman's letter to the lord treasurer, because that ill season had brought his lordship a *pinch of the gout*. Mr. STANDEN was at the play and dancing on twelfth-night, which lasted till one after midnight, more by constraint than by choice, the earl of Essex having committed to him the placing and entertaining of certain Germans. The queen appeared there in a high throne, richly adorned, and " as beautiful, *says he*, to my old sight, as ever I saw her; " and next to her chair the earl, with whom she often devised in sweet and favourable manner." He added, that lord ZOUCH^e was gone towards the north, whose return was devoutly expected; untill which no resolution would be taken with relation to the matters of Scotland, and then, according to his answer, fire to be given to the cannon, or peace and amity. Sir ROBERT SIDNEY had such ill hap by contrariety of weather, that on the Sunday preceding he was still at Dover, which mov'd *certain humours* to tell the queen, that his voyage was now altogether useles, especially the business, for which he was sent, having been determined by the French king; and that therefore it was proper to recall Sir ROBERT: But the earl of Essex, " *qui*, says Mr. STANDEN, *se sont piqué*, beateth aside those " prinks, because he would be loth to receive affront." It was reported, that two priests, come out of Flanders, had been taken at York, and would be sent to London. The Spaniards, of whom Mr. ROLSTON wrote in his last letter, were arrived in Bretagne to the number of 2500; and the duke de Mercœur, and the states of that country had lent their oaths of vassalage to the Infanta of Spain, as next heir to her uncle HENRY III. Sir FRANCIS VERE and Sir EDWARD NORREYS were then both at court, the former to have men, and the other to speak with the queen and council about his charge, and was by them greatly hasten'd to return, since the archduke ERNESTUS was infallibly entered Brabant with

^b Fol. 257.

^c Vol. iv. fol. 18.

^d Vol. iii. fol. 6.

^e SPOTSWOOD, p. 402. is mistaken in saying,

that his lordship did not come ambassador from England to the king of Scots, till about the time of the queen of Scots being delivered of a son on the 19th of February, 159¹/₂.

3000 men, besides the two ensigns of Spaniards not yet join'd with him; and duke D'ESPERNON had left his citadel at Aix, taken from him by the fury of the whole country, now bent against him. The French king had Meaux upon Marne delivered to him by the governor; which was a shrewd bridle for Paris. "BEZE, concludes Mr. STANDEN, hath written against FRYGEVILLE, and FRYGEVILLE is coming upon him again, as well to the matter, as by invectives against his woman, displaying all his lewd life."

Mr. STANDEN was at London on Tuesday the 22d of January, 159¹, on the morning of which day he wrote to Mr. BACON², that the lord keeper PUCKERING, having overnight understood of the queen, that the next day she would proceed to the providing and making of officers, had sent word of this to Mr. FRANCIS BACON, that he might not be behind hand in solliciting the earl of Essex; for which purpose that gentleman went to court, on Friday the 18th of January. When he came thither, he found no other but the nomination of a judge for the Common Pleas, and a baron of the Exchequer; and was told by the earl of Essex, that he might retire at his pleasure, for that till Easter-term nothing else should be done; and on Monday the 21st he returned to London, where he related this to Mr. STANDEN.

Mr. STANDEN wrote again to Mr. BACON in the night of the same 22d of January³, that he had the day before gone to the lord treasurer, with an intention to have spoken to him before the delivery of Mr. BACON's favourable letter; but was told, that he was indisposed, and could not be spoken with for eight days to come; for which reason he desired Mr. HICKES to deliver to him that letter, which he promised to do within a day or two at the farthest. Mr. STANDEN mentioned likewise the earl of Essex's having been at his house in London all the afternoon of the day before, and that day till twelve a clock; the report being, that his lordship had been sitting there in commission with the lord BUCKHURST and Sir ROBERT CECIL.

Two days after Mr. STANDEN, in a letter from London to Mr. BACON⁴, informed him, that, according to his order, he had immediately upon his arrival there, mov'd Mr. FRANCIS BACON for the cypher, who answered, that within a few days might be offered some occasion by hearing from Dr. MORISON; for which reason he thought it not so well to send it till then; but that he would the next day write his mind to his brother. Mr. STANDEN mentioned the affair to him again the night before the date of this letter, when he desir'd, that his brother would write to him, and require the cypher to be sent to him; alledging, that it might seem a lightness in him to part with it, the earl of Essex being acquainted with the custody of it committed to him; but that the shewing Mr. BACON's letter might be his warrant in respect to his lordship. Mr. STANDEN added, that the next day was to be pleaded a cause of the heir of the late lord CHENEY against the purchasers of his land; which heir was said to be Sir THOMAS PERROT, brother-in-

¹ Probably the second wife of BEZA, married by him in 1588, when he was sixty-nine years of age. MALCHIOR. ADAMI. vit. theolog. exterorum, p. 230. edit. Francof. 1618.

² Vol. iv. fol. 20.

³ Vol. iv. fol. 19.

⁴ Ib. fol. 16.

law to the earl of Essex^{*}. In this cause Mr. FRANCIS BACON was to make his first pleading in the behalf of the heir.

Soon after the lord ZOUCH went on his embassy to Scotland, which was towards the end of December 1593, the earl of Essex wrote the following letter to Mr. BACON¹.

“ S I R,

“ I wish you all happiness, and myself better and oftner occasions to shew you my love, and how worthily I think it is placed. I pray you write a letter to Dr. MORISON, to tell him, that I see in all his letters no doubt, that by ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS's means HUNTLEY should be reconciled to the queen. I have once assured him, that HUNTLEY hath no cause to brag of any favour he hath from hence. I see all that is received or sent, and know, that tho' the queen will be content to hear, yet she will never trust HUNTLEY. I do long to hear how the king and state there is affected for my lord ZOUCH's coming, and do desire to hear soon and often from him. Let him take no alarm of RICHARD DOUGLAS's coming, for he shall return without obtaining any thing. I wish you all happiness, and rest

“ Your most assured and affectionate friend,

“ E S S E X.”

Monsieur CASTOL, the French minister, having been invited by Mr. BACON to his house in the country, return'd him his thanks on the 28th of January, 1594², excusing himself from the acceptance of his invitation, on account of his engagements; adding at the same time some accounts of occurrences, which he had received from abroad: That the Dutch had lost in shipping and merchandize coming from Italy, Spain, &c. above seven millions, with three thousand sailers, in the late great storm, which had happened about three weeks before³. That the duke of NEVERS was at last received by the pope, after some protestations, which he had drawn up against the apostolical see, on account of the refusal to receive him: which change had given occasion to many to think, that either the pope's consistory was in some fear, or that there was deep collusion between him and the king of Spain. That Monsieur de la CHASTRE⁴ had submitted to the king, with Berry and Orleans, upon the assurance of the rank of marshal of France to himself and his son, and two governments during their lives. That the duke d'ELBOEUF⁵ had taken the same step with regard to the city of Poitiers. That Lyons, Vernueil, and other considerable places, were inclining to follow this ex-

^{*} Sir THOMAS PERROT married DOROTHY, eldest sister to the earl, afterwards remarried to HENRY earl of Northumberland.

¹ Vol. vii. fol. 115.

² Vol. iii. fol. 2.

³ METEREN, l. xvii. fol. 353.

⁴ CLAUDE DE LA CHASTRE, made knight of the king's orders by HENRY III. in 1588.

⁵ CHARLES DE LORRAINE, son of RENE' DE LORRAINE, Marquis d'Elbeuf, who was fifth son of CLAUDE first duke of Guise. He was created duke in 1581, and for his adherence to his family, was seiz'd at Blois, in 1588, but released in 1591. He was grand veneur of France, and died in 1603.

ample.

ample. That Pontoise was in that same way ; on which account 400,000 francs were already granted to Monsieur DE VILLEROY¹, and to his son² the government of that city. That Paris and Roan had sent deputies towards HENRY IV. and that it was believed, that Peronne, Montdidier, and Roye, had submitted with their governors and garrisons. In short, that all things seemed to smile on that king.

Monsieur CASTOL could not but be under some apprehensions for the event, considering, the oaths and practices which had pass'd between Spain and the leaguers, and the edicts of the king himself, disgracing and condemning the religion, which he had before profess'd. He subjoins, in the postscript, that the king was to be *sacred* at Chartres on the 10th of February³, and had appointed Sir ROBERT SIDNEY to follow him thither.

Mr. STANDEN returning to Hampton-court on the 24th of January, wrote from Kingston on the 30th to Mr. BACON⁴, that, upon his arrival at court, he found the earl of Essex shut up in the cabinet in council with the lord admiral and Sir ROBERT CECIL, upon the affair of Dr. LOPEZ⁵, the Portuguese, who had been detected of a design to poison the queen, to whom he was physician. Mr. STANDEN therefore could not speak with the earl till the evening, and that in haste, as his lordship was going to her majesty, when Mr. STANDEN delivered to him Mr. BACON's letters. But having no opportunity of speaking then with his lordship, he return'd the next day about ten in the morning, when being seiz'd with a fit of an ague, he was oblig'd to lie down till four in the afternoon, when the violence of his disease being past, he went to his lordship's chamber, and staid there a long while for him. At last his lordship came in, and in a great fury cast open the door before him, and shut himself his own chamber-door, without seeing Mr. STANDEN, and so went into his cabinet with the like rage, and there kept himself shut in for an hour. He at last opened the cabinet-door, and ask'd who was there. Upon this a groom, who with Mr. STANDEN were the only persons in the chamber, went in to his lordship, who call'd for that gentleman, and soon perceiv'd by his countenance, that he was ill to such a degree, that, as he told the earl, had it not been for some speeches, which he had to deliver to his lordship from Mr. BACON, he would rather have been in his bed than there. Upon this, the earl caus'd him to sit down, and ordered his coach to be made ready to carry him to Kingston, giving a grateful audience to him in what he had to say from Mr. BACON, about whose health he particularly inquired. Mr. STANDEN told him, that the most part of that consisted in contentment, which by some good news of

¹ NICOLAS DE VILLEROY, seigneur de VILLEROY d'Alincour, de Magoy, &c. counsellor and secretary of state, in which post he succeeded his father-in-law, Monsieur de l'AUBESPINE, in October 1567, and discharged it under four kings, CHARLES IX. HENRY III. HENRY IV. and LEWIS XIII. After the death of HENRY III. he engaged in the party of the league, and was one of the fourteen added by the duke DE MAYENNE to the council of forty. He immediately join'd HENRY IV. after that king had declared himself a Roman catholic.

He died on the 2d of December, 1617, at the age of seventy-four.

² CHARLES DE NEUVILLE, secretary and minister of state, governor of Lyons, &c. and ambassador from HENRY IV. to Rome.

³ He was *sacred* in the church of Notre Dame, on Sunday the 27th of that month, N. S.

⁴ Vol. iv. fol. 17.

⁵ Mr. FRANCIS BACON's true report of the detestable treason intended by Dr. LOPEZ ; and CAMDEN, p. 623.

his brother's matters in court might be improv'd. The earl took all that he said well, and promis'd infallibly that night, which was Saturday, to move her majesty again. The earl perform'd his promise; and when Mr. STANDEN went to him again on Monday the 28th of January. (his ague preventing him on the Sunday) his lordship took him from the company into a corner, and laying his arm on the other's shoulder, told him, that he had mov'd the queen the day before; but that she was still upon the wonted terms, the youth and small experience of Mr. FRANCIS BACON. The earl returning upon her the great insufficiency of his competitor, she could not well answer it, but silently confessing his lordship's reasons good, said, that she would think on it; and that there was time enough for all between that and the next term; and that either the one or other place (if in the mean time there fell out no other matter to remove her) she might bestow on BACON. Upon the whole the earl desired Mr. STANDEN to write to Mr. ANTHONY BACON, that he found her majesty very inconstant about the matter; for sometimes she would, and at other times she would not; and that all came from his lordship's *mighty enemies*. But his lordship swore, that if they should carry it away, they should know how they had it; and that in despite of them he would entertain it in the manner, in which he had heretofore done. The reason of the earl's anger, when he shut himself up in his chamber, as describ'd above by Mr. STANDEN, was this; that his lordship was then newly come from London about the examination of Dr. LOPEZ, who had been examined in the lord treasurer's house, before his lordship, the earl, and Sir ROBERT CECIL, who were all three appointed for that purpose by the queen. The matter against LOPEZ had been of a long time sifted out by the earl, who was oppos'd in his prosecution of the inquiry by the other two; for after the first hearing Sir ROBERT CECIL posted to London before the earl, and related to the queen, that there was no matter of malice, for in the poor man's house were found no kind of writings of intelligences, of which he was accused, or otherwise, that hold might be taken of him. In the mean time he was committed by those three to the custody of GILLY MERICKE, the earl's steward, at Essex-house. Hereupon grew the canker, that so vexed his lordship; for upon his coming to the queen from London, he found, that his friends had prepossessioned her majesty, who took him up, calling him *raff and temerarious youth*, to enter into a matter against the poor man, which he could not prove, and whose innocence she knew well enough; but malice against him, and no other, hatch'd all this matter, which displeas'd her much, and the more, for that, she said, her honor was interest'd herein. This was the cause of the earl's retirement into his chamber, which he did not leave in two days, nor open'd it to any but the lord admiral, who pass'd to and fro "about attonement, *says Mr. STANDEN*, which at last was made, and my lord admiral made a fourth about this matter of LOPEZ, "whereabouts the earl and he went yesterday to London; so that e're night we "shall hear further. About my matter, *adds he*, I never move him, except he "voluntarily enter into it, touching which he said then, that having received of "my lord treasurer her majesty's mind touching me, that is to say, either to serve "himself of me, or else to set me free, he would then resolve of me himself; and "to have procured my lord treasurer's full answer herein, would have carried me "to London with him yesterday. But I told his lordship, that it was impossible "for me, being the day of mine ague."

With

With regard to news Mr. STANDEN writes, that it was reported, that the duke of Nevers was still at Rome, and not come away, as had been said before: that Sir ROBERT SIDNEY having received a passport from the league, procur'd by the French king, was on his way towards Chartres: that Don ANTONIO king of Portugal was stay'd at Dieppe, because the league would grant him no passport: and that an embassador^a was arriv'd at court from BATTORI, vaywode of Transylvania, brother to the late STEPHEN BATTORI, king of Poland, to represent to her majesty, that the great Turk, to whom he was tributary, had commanded him to be in readines that spring to accompany him with ten thousand horse in an invasion intended by him against Germany; and as the vaywode, being a christian, was unwilling to appear with such forces in the field for such a purpose, and so irritate the princes of Germany, he desir'd her majesty to write in his favour to the grand signor, to lessen the number demanded, and to be contented with a far smaller.

The next day after the date of this letter, Mr. FAUNT, in a letter from London to Mr. BACON^b, condol'd with him on account of a new fit of the stone, which had seiz'd him after a very severe one of the gout; giving him some account of the present occurrences, which himself had receiv'd from the best hands: that with respect to the late conspiracy, it was most true, that Dr. LOPEZ was deeply touch'd in the particular working of the queen's destruction, and discover'd to have been the king of Spain's pensioner for seven years past: that it was verily thought, that Don ANTONIO disclos'd the ground of this treason before his going over from England to France: that it was said, that there was one, a pensioner in court, whose name Mr. FAUNT had not yet heard of, who was likewise of this knot: that her majesty had forbidden all access to her, except only of four persons, besides counsellors and the ladies of nearest attendance; by which it appear'd, that all were not yet discover'd: that it was look'd for, that upon the Saturday following, or soon after, Sir HENRY LEE^c would be made vice-chamberlain, and the vice-chamberlain^d comptroller, a place of more profit to him: "Of other choice of counsellors, *says he*, here is a bruit, but nothing assured. Sir WALTER RALEGH looketh for a place amongst them; and it is now feared of all honest men, that he shall presently come to the court, and is thereto wrought to serve a turn. And yet it is well withstood. God grant him some farther resistance, and that place he better deserveth, if he had his right. I marvelled to hear, that Monsieur LA FONTAINE, the French minister, is gone over with commission in these causes, that so little concern his calling. He is wise, and yet may be over-reached in our court. VILLIERS's example should have warned him."

The earl of Essex himself, notwithstanding his fatigue in unravelling the plot of Dr. LOPEZ, took the first opportunity to inform Mr. BACON of it in the following letter^e.

^aCAMDEN, p. 609.

^bVol. iv. fol. 34.

He died in 1611, at the age of eighty.

^cMade knight of the garter by queen ELIZABETH: he was born in Kent, and was son of Sir ANTHONY LEE, by MARGARET daughter of Sir HENRY WIAT, and sister of Sir THOMAS WIAT.

^dSir THOMAS HENEAGE, who was also chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaster. He died in 1595.

^eVol. vii. fol. 171.

"SIR,

" SIR,

" I do fend you two letters from Dr. MORISON, both mistaken by him in the superscribing, and by that error open'd by me. I will take present order to furnish him with money. I have kept both these two days together in my **, having been so tir'd with examinations, as I had scarce leisure to eat. I have discovered a most dangerous and desperate treason. The point of conspiracy was her majesty's death. The executioner should have been Dr. LOPEZ; the manner poison. This I have so followed, as I will make it appear as clear as the noon-day. I wish to you all health and happiness, and will ever be

" Your most assured and affectionate friend,

" In hast this Monday."

" ESSEX."

Mr. BACON, who was still at Redburne, sent his mother at Gorhambury, on the 1st of February, 1593¹, some account of the commitment of Dr. LOPEZ, and that the French king's affairs succeeded of late very well, of which he had that day had a particular advertisement from Monsieur CASTOL, the principal French minister in the absence of Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE, who was gone as assistant to Sir ROBERT SIDNEY, sent by her majesty to France.

Two days after, Mr. STANDEN, in a letter from London to Mr. BACON², inform'd him, that at his being at court on the Thursday before, the earl of Essex order'd him to attend his lordship at eleven at night, when he told him, that Mr. FRANCIS BACON had argued some cause of importance in the king's bench much to his commendation, which was not unknown to her majesty; and the earl shew'd great satisfaction in speaking of it. His lordship then proceeded to acquaint Mr. STANDEN, that even at that instant coming from the queen, she had told him, that she had been straitly urg'd to the nomination of COKE to be her attorney-general, and of Sir ROBERT CECIL and Sir EDWARD STAFFORD to be her secretaries, and of two other officers in her household; and all these to be plac'd on Candlemas-day, or the Sunday following at the farthest; for which purpose the lord keeper and many others were gone to court, " to be, *says Mr. STANDEN*, " the news-bringers hither: and this is here so full, as all stand gaping for it with open mouth: yea, so far forth, that the old man and the son do believe the same. *Mais nostre bon pullet chante de tout autre façon, et s'en est rie & gausse avec moy a pleine gorge*, as you shall understand farther by the event; for none of all these shall be, to the end a couple thrust not in, whom he nothing liketh, and saith the honest gentleman, no less noise shall we likewise hear at Shrovetide: *ma allora come prima tanto di naso*." Mr. STANDEN then observes, that on Tuesday at noon Dr. LOPEZ, for all the favourers he had, was committed to the Tower, and on the Wednesday following, at seven in the morning, was examin'd before the earl of Essex and Sir ROBERT CECIL, and confess'd more than enough. These two returning back in a coach together, Sir ROBERT began of himself, saying, " My lord, the queen has resolved, e'er five days pass, without any farther delay to make an attorney-general. I pray your lordship to let

¹ Vol. iii. fol. 30.

² Vol. iv. fol. 50.

" me

“ me know whom you will favour.” The earl answer’d, that he wonder’d, that Sir ROBERT should ask him that question, seeing it could not be unknown to him, that resolutely against all whosoever he stood for FRANCIS BACON. “ Good Lord! *reply’d Sir ROBERT*, I wonder your lordship should go about to spend “ your strength in so unlikely or impossible a matter;” desiring his lordship to alledge to him but one only precedent of so raw a youth to that place of such moment. The earl very cunningly working upon him said, that for the attorneyship, which was but an ordinary office other than the prince’s favour, he could produce no pattern, because he had not made any search for that purpose; but that a younger than FRANCIS BACON, of less learning, and of no greater experience, was suing and shoving with all force for an office of far greater importance, greater charge, and greater weight, than the attorneyship. Such an one, the earl said, he could name to him. Sir ROBERT’s answer was, that he well knew, that his lordship meant him; and that admitting, that both his years and experience were small, yet weighing the school, which he studied in, and the great wisdom and learning of his schoolmaster, and the pains and observations he daily pass’d in that school, he thought his forces and wisdom to be sufficient to sway that machine; alledging withall his father’s deserts in these his long and painfull travels of so long an administration to merit a mark of gratitude from her majesty in the person of his son. And with regard to the affair of Mr. FRANCIS BACON, he desir’d his lordship to consider of it. “ If at least, *said he*, your lordship had spoken of the solicitorship, that might be of easier digestion to her majesty.” The earl upon this answer’d, “ Digest me no digestions; for the attorneyship for FRANCIS is that I must have; and in that will I spend all my power, might, authority, and amity, and with tooth and nail defend and procure the same for him against whomsoever; and that whosoever getteth this office out of my hands for any other, before he have it, it shall cost him the coming by. And this be you assured of, Sir ROBERT; for now do I fully declare myself. And for your own part, Sir ROBERT, I think strange both of my lord treasurer and you, that can have the mind to seek the preference of a stranger before so near a kinsman. For if you weigh in a balance the parts every way of his competitor and him, only excepting five poor years of admitting to a house of court before FRANCIS, you shall find in all other respects whatsoever no comparison between them.”

When the earl told Mr. STANDEN all this, the latter desir’d his lordship’s leave to write to Mr. BACON of it; to which his lordship readily consented, saying, that it was better for Mr. STANDEN to do it, as himself was to go the next morning to the Star-chamber to accompany Mr. FRANCIS BACON thither, taking that occasion to visit him. Mr. STANDEN promis’d him to write after dinner, and desiring leave to stay in London for a day, the earl directed him to go to Gray’s Inn, and wait for him there, and to tell Mr. FRANCIS BACON, that he would come thither himself after an hour, which he spent with the lord treasurer, and so came to Gray’s Inn, where he was a long half-hour with Mr. FRANCIS BACON, leaving him extremely joyfull and comforted, that his lordship had so stoutly stuck to him, and so far declar’d himself for him against Monsieur *de Bossu*, as Mr. STANDEN calls Sir ROBERT CECIL on account of his figure. After the earl was gone Mr.

FRANCIS BACON told Mr. STANDEN, that he found his heart much eased, and greatly satisfied with his lordship and his noble dealing, and how much both himself and his brother ANTHONY were bound to honour and serve his lordship.

“ And truly, *says Mr. STANDEN*, it is so; and no other fault hath the earl, but he must continually be pulled by the ear, as a boy, that learneth, *Ut, re, me, fa*.

“ This so far declaration of Sir ROBERT (which in my conceit was superfluous) hath made your brother to resolve to take knowledge thereof, and to deal with Sir ROBERT; wherewith the earl seemeth contented, and for this envy is only behoveful, in that it cannot long keep in the flame. Mr. FRANCIS hath intention to argue another case either Saturday or Monday; and the earl hath given his word to be at the hearing; to all which I will lug him, for it will be of great importance in this time, and a choke-pear to praters, who say he never yet entered into the place of battle. . . . Now to feely STANDEN, who should seem no less noisome to my lord's [treasurer's] old and cold stomach than BACON; my lord our patron being with him moved him for me. *Who*, quoth the old fellow, *Mr. STANDEN, is he alive? I remember such an one came to me at his first coming over, and thrice came at me. Nevertheless I hear he hath been continually in court, where not having had to get ought, cum nemini obtrudi potest, itur* ad me: With such like girds and taunts, and all in the presence of the earl of Rutland and Sir JOHN FORTESCUE. My lord replied, that by reason of his lordship's sickness so painfull and long, there was no such easy access for me; and that my suit was very easy, either that the queen's majesty would declare her will to serve herself of me; or else to set me at my liberty; for that I was not able to support the charge of so long a court-waiting. My lord treasurer then said, that in as much as I had in painfull and dangerous passages served her majesty, and that I had lost such a pension, he would speak to the queen to help me. *Mais autant pour le brodeur, je m'en vais avec telles gens tout belle-ment en matiere de foy*. But this hath comforted my afflicted spirits, and consequently driven away mine ague (which once again hath left me) that my lord saith he will never abandon me; and that he hath rather the queen should pretend nothing in me than otherwise. And thus much told he also to your brother touching me; so that he left us all merry and comforted with his sweet words and countenances. The queen will be on Tuesday next at Richmond, and I at Twickenhām-lodge, where your brother, I thank him, hath granted me a resting-place for the night, and after the term will be there himself.”

Mr. BACON upon receiving this letter sent his mother the substance of it on the 5th of February, 1593¹; and the day following Mr. STANDEN wrote to him again from Kingston² by captain GOADE, then going to Mr. BACON, to whom he sent likewise by the captain Mr. LAWSON's patent of annuity completed, and a declaration of HENRY IV's lately publish'd concerning the causes of his returning to arms, the beginning of which was very satisfactory to the English court. “ Of Sir ROBERT SIDNEY, *says Mr. STANDEN*, we hear little, and less of lord ZOUCH. “ The remove from this place [Hampton-court] is quite dasht, conformable to the speech of the carter, that three times had been at Windsor with his cart to

¹ Vol. iii. fol. 31.

² Vol. iv. fol. 49.

“ carry away, upon summons of a remove, some part of the stuff of her majesty’s
 “ wardrobe; and when he had repaired thither once, twice, and the third time,
 “ and that they of the ward-robe had told him the third time, that the remove
 “ held not, clapping his hand on his thigh, said these words, *Now I see*, quoth
 “ the carter, *that the queen is a woman as well as my wife*. Which words being
 “ overheard by her majesty, who then stood at the window, she said, *What a vil-*
 “ *lain is this?* and so sent him three angels to stop his mouth. BRYAN ANNES-
 “ LEY, FRANCIS HARVEY, JAMES CROFTS, and JOHN PARKER, all four gentle-
 “ men-pensioners, three days ago were robbed, and in their absences at six of
 “ the clock at night their chamber-door, which is in one of the five towers of
 “ the tilt-yard, was broke open, and all their trunks likewise, out of all which
 “ the thieves took and carried away of jewels and ready money from these four
 “ to the value of 400l. and no news heard of them since. And surely I do not
 “ marvel at this, weighing the number of poor suitors, soldiers, and others my
 “ likes, that cannot obtain a bit of bread to put in their mouths. Sir ROBERT
 “ goeth and cometh very often between London and the court, so that he comes
 “ out with his hands full of papers, and head full of matter, and so occupied
 “ passeth thro’ the presence like a blind man, not looking upon any. The earl is
 “ this morning past to London about the Star-chamber, and will be here again
 “ to night. This court is so void of noblemen and counsellors, they all being
 “ absent, as seven or eight persons do accompany the state; and in fine here is
 “ elbow-room enough.”

Two or three days after the conference between the earl of Essex and Sir ROBERT CECIL with relation to Mr. FRANCIS BACON’s being attorney-general, the lord treasurer sent Mr. HICKES to Gray’s Inn with a very honourable compliment to his nephew, to assure him, that with much joy and contentment he congratulated him upon the first effects of his public practice, and to request him to send to his lordship his case, and the chief points of his pleading, in order that his lordship might make report of it where it might do him most good. Mr. ANTHONY BACON sent an account of this message to his mother from Redburne on the 8th of February^c, and in his letter mention’d likewise, that his brother was to plead the next day in a most famous cause in the exchequer, where the lord keeper, and the lord treasurer, if he should be able, the two lord chief justices, with two other judges of each bench, the lord chief baron, and the rest of the barons, were to sit.

Mr. FAUNT being detain’d by business in London from going to the court, wrote on the 11th of February to Mr. BACON^d, that in a visit to Mr. WAAD, clerk of the council, having express’d to him his intention of sending their common friend Mr. BACON some account of the situation of things there, Mr. WAAD communicated to him for that purpose what he protested was yet a secret to most of the greatest men, and would have been so for a long time to himself, if he had not been particularly employ’d in it by order of her majesty, *with whom*, says Mr. FAUNT, *I perceive, he is at this time (as in truth his sufficiency may yield the occasion) espe-*

^c Vol. iii. fol. 29.^d Vol. iv. fol. 67.

cially in credit, and trusted in these services of weight; the particulars relating to the design of Dr. LOPEZ, in which was discover'd a most dangerous and desperate practice, concerted with great art, and coming directly from the king of Spain, the Conde DI FUENTES having been for a long time a principal instrument of it. The parties then taken were one stranger and two Irishmen, sent by the choice of Sir WILLIAM STANLEY; and two others not yet found. One of the Irishmen apprehended had been twice near the queen, as she went to the chapel. The stranger and the rest had undertaken the destruction of her majesty, having received letters from the Conde DI FUENTES to Dr. LOPEZ for his assistance, which could not yet be wrested from them, tho' otherwise discover'd. The stranger was forc'd to confess, that indeed he came to kill ANTONIO PEREZ, but another circumstance reach'd farther; that indeed this should be done also, but the other, that was principally intended, in no case left undone; and so it was likely to follow in proof. This stranger had by direction carried his matters with great subtilty, for not long before he was at court, drawn over to do service, conferr'd with, his scheme allow'd, and let go with hope to do good; and he was suffer'd on the other side to act this part, that he might the more securely return to England to execute the more secretly intended purpose. The inquiry was still very strict into the proceedings of Dr. LOPEZ, who us'd great arts to elude it, and swore and forswore himself for that purpose. However, he had already confess'd, that many letters had been sent to him from the king of Spain's ministers with large offers; but declar'd, that he had always forbore to make answer, and enter'd not into practice. Yet one letter was found, in which he offer'd all service to that king, saying, that he only stay'd in England to do him some acceptable service; which being done, he should think himself happy, if he could retire himself, so as he might die in Antwerp, or any of his majesty's dominions; whereby enough is known, if the rest were not. A great colour of these practices was pretended, that they went about to discover a plot laid in secretary WALSINGHAM's time, of which Mr. FAUNT remember'd somewhat; and which related to the gaining of one of the creatures of Don IDIAQUES the Spanish secretary for the service of England. "But that shift, *says Mr. FAUNT*, will not serve. To be short, this will prove the most resolute attempt, and most deeply advised of in the court of Spain, if LOPEZ be well sifted, who is a most vile person, and void of all shame in common humanity. Thus much in great secret from him, who wisheth us both well. . . Only I may not forget his singular commendation of the earl's great sufficiency, both in the searching out of this secret plot, and in all other public services, calling him the hope of our age, and professing to be opposite to all, that shall not honour his lordship." Mr. STANDEN mentions in this letter, that he had din'd the other day with ANTONIO PEREZ, "by reason, *says he*, that he is lodged in my kinsman's house, the school-master of Paul's*, whither I was invited, and by whose means it being made known to him, under whom I was brought

* JOHN HARRISON, educated in King's College Cambridge, and eminent for his knowledge in history and antiquity. He was made master of St. Paul's school in 1581, and held it till his death in 1596. ANTONIO PEREZ, in the 29th of his Latin letters, which is address'd to Mr. THOMAS

SMITH, secretary to the earl of Essex, mentions his *hospes ludimagister*. See ANT. PEREZII ad comitem ESSEXIVM, &c. epistoliarum centuria una, fol. 20. verso.

† Secretary WALSINGHAM.

" up,

“ up, I had some good large conference with him, and for the first rencontre
 “ found him open enough, yet in such sort, as I might perceive his purpose was
 “ to shun all ordinary occasions of such discourses, were it not, that he still seemed
 “ transported with the name of WALSINGHAM, of whom he would often make
 “ very honourable mention. At some time I shall call the particulars to mind, and
 “ having made this entrance, at my return I doubt not to grow farther acquainted
 “ with him. Surely he is, as we say, an odd man, and hath his full sight every
 “ where. The day before he was visited by Sir EDWARD WOTTON², whom he highly
 “ commendeth; but of the earl [of Essex] (as, I hear, he hath particular occasion)
 “ he speaketh without all exception for his years. Howsoever it is, it seemeth
 “ he will not long stay here. But what should I write of him, whom you know
 “ so well, and I never scarce heard of before? and yet, I know not how, I be-
 “ gin to admire him already.” He then mentions the success of Mr. FRANCIS
 BACON’s late pleading in the exchequer, the applause of which he observes to be
 general. “ I hope, *says he*, his Saturday’s work (tho’ half holy-day) shall weigh
 “ more than the whole week’s travel employed by some. Howsoever, in my
 “ poor opinion, it cannot be but well in the end, that is generally of all sorts so
 “ well taken.” He concludes, that he was inform’d by one lately come from Sir
 JOHN NORREYS in Bretagne, that he had 1400 men well trained, and such, as
 wanted nothing but a good opportunity to serve upon the enemy: but that the
 Spaniards kept in, and busied themselves in fortifying. That Sir JOHN had lately
 received treasure, and look’d for more men; and that those, whom he had, were
 well disciplin’d and well provided with victuals, of which the country was full.

Among other correspondents of the earl of Essex abroad was signior GUICCI-
 ARDIN, who gave him intelligence from Italy, and on the 11th of February, 1591³
 wrote to him from Pisa, where he was just arriv’d, that the long stay of the
 Spanish Indian fleet, which it was thought for certain could not arrive before Sep-
 tember following, and the default of their monthly provision of 260,000 crowns
 since October preceding, which should have provided for the Low Countries by
 ANTONIO SPINOLA till July following, had driven the king of Spain to great
 difficulties, being altogether unfurnish’d of money, and without means to supply
 his present wants; his revenues almost all engag’d, and the assignment of the
 money of the fleet, which was expected, already in the hands of his creditors, his
 yearly expences amounting to ten millions. In this extremity he was resolv’d to
 send presently to the fleet for a million and half with what secrecy he could, lest
 it should be met with by the English ships, determining in the mean time to take
 the benefit of a million and half of gold left by the archbishop of Toledo, tho’
 to other uses, at his death, pawning sufficient revenues for the repayment of the
 same.

Mr. STANDEN returning from the court to London on the 16th of February,
 1591⁴, wrote from thence the same day⁵ to Mr. BACON, that Sir ROGER WIL-

² Comptroller of the house to queen ELIZA- by the title of lord WOTTON baron of Merley in
 BETH, and employ’d by her in several embassies, Kent.
 and advanc’d by king JAMES I. to the peerage. ³ Vol. iv. fol. 37. ⁴ Ibid. fol. 48.

LIAMS, who had intended to visit him at Redburne, was prevented by a message for him to come to the court; and that Sir GRIFFIN MARKHAM, *a very discreet and wise young gentleman*, being desirous to be known to Mr. BACON, design'd to call upon him in his way to his own country, and to put him in mind of the consanguinity between their two houses. "The man, *says Mr. STANDEN*, I am sure you will like and love, as, I assure you, myself doth as well and more than any other " I have known in this court." This Sir GRIFFIN MARKHAM was afterwards condemn'd for the plot, for which Sir WALTER RALEGH likewise received sentence of death in the beginning of king JAMES I.'s reign; but Sir GRIFFIN had a respite sent him while he was on the scaffold at Winchester, and being afterwards pardon'd retir'd into the Low Countries, where he made several discoveries to Sir THOMAS EDMONDES, then ambassador at Brussels, concerning the persons concern'd in the gunpowder-plot^k. Mr. STANDEN added in his letter, that nothing was then said of Mr. FRANCIS BACON's business: that himself was waiting for the lord treasurer's return to court, which would not be yet these ten days, but that he neither hop'd nor look'd for any thing that way: that the earl of Essex had fresh letters from Sir ROBERT SIDNEY, dated at Chartres, which said, that the French king should be anointed within eight days, for which purpose there were assembled above 2000 nobles to accompany him: that ALFONSO CORSE^l was in Lyons, and had taken possession of it for that king; which example was follow'd by Orleans; and many other towns were expected to do the like; "for which " good news, *says Mr. STANDEN*, many gulls here do rejoice, drawing it in their " gullish sense as a happiness to our state, which the penetrativer sort cannot allow " of, as, to my seeming, they have reason. For Scottish matters, you are better acquainted with them than myself, and so I say the less; but sure all is not " current, the lord ZOUCH being returned to Berwick discontent."

The earl of Essex on the 24th of February 159¹/₂ sent Mr. BACON from Hampton-court a letter of Dr. MORISON to that gentleman, and another to his lordship, who in his letter^m inform'd Mr. BACON, that he would write to Dr. MORISON after the arraignment of Dr. LOPEZ was past: "But for the present, *says the earl*, the queen hath laid such a burthen upon me, as I cannot mind any thing " else."

The next day, February the 25th, Mr. FAUNT wrote likewise to Mr. BACON from Londonⁿ, that there had been that day a great consultation at the lord treasurer's about the persons apprehended for Dr. LOPEZ's plot; and that Mr. WAAD, whom he met at his lordship's, inform'd him, that now all appear'd manifest, as well by the confessions of those taken, as by the letters found of the others beyond the seas; whereby it was evident, that the practice had continued long, and that LOPEZ was no new traitor. Great expedition was making to bring the affair before the public; but Mr. WAAD said, that this could not be done so soon as the

^k Historical View of the negotiations between the courts of England, France, and Brussels, p. 252, 255.

^l His name was ORNANO; and he was born in the island of Corsica, and made marshal of France in

September, 1597, after having shewn the utmost fidelity to HENRY IV. and his predecessor. He died January 21. 160²/₂, at the age of sixty-two.

^m Vol. iv. fol. 57.

ⁿ Ibid. fol. 66.

court was desirous it should, since the indictment must have many branches, and there were a great many Spanish and other foreign letters, which must be translated and abstracted. And if the Irishman, who had almost kill'd himself in the prison, was in danger, it was thought he would be brought forth on the Friday following; but the other not so soon. / Mr. FAUNT mentions the current and certain news of the king of Scots having a son born on the 19th of that month*, who was afterwards that HENRY prince of Wales, of whom the English nation form'd so high and just an expectation, which was disappointed by his untimely death. " You hear, *continues* Mr. FAUNT, of the French king's success. Good I dare not term it, for I fear the issue more, than I like the manner of proceeding. " Orleans is rendered, but with far unequal conditions for any king but of their own making. LA CHASTRE must be marshal, and I know not what. Lyons hath shewed both more courage and loyalty, for they have not capitulated much. " They have taken prisoners the duke DE NEMOURS, the archbishop of Lyons, &c. for the service of the king†. Bourges and Orleans have one master and one attorney. Roüen standeth yet in some stout terms: amongst other things they demand the utter raising of Quilleboeuf. At the anointing of the king, there arose a great contention, who should perform it. The archbishop of Bourges challenged it as a prince of France; but the bishop of Chartres‡ being the diocesan carried it away. Du FRESNES§ is coming hither. What he brings is diversely scanned; but I hear not of the return of ours."

Dr. LOPEZ being brought to his tryal on the 28th of February, 159†, at Guildhall, captain GOADE wrote the same day an account of it to Mr. BACON, from London, mentioning, that LOPEZ was found guilty of all, that was laid against him, there being produced two Portugueses, as witnesses, as well as other proofs, that he was to have had for the reward of his villainy 50,000 crowns, promis'd by the king of Spain, and to be paid in Antwerp; and that there had been sent him by that king a ring of 100 pounds sterling value, as was confessed by those two Portugueses, who went between the king and him in those matters, because he would not have his own hand in any letter to condemn him.

Mr. FAUNT wrote also the same day from London to Mr. BACON*, that there was a strict charge for restraining suspected persons from approaching the court, which was since notified by proclamation: That the queen, it was thought, would shortly take occasion to visit the lord treasurer by coming first to Chelsea to the lord admiral's house, and that Cecil-house was fitted up for the reception of her majesty. " What other expectancy, *says he*, may be, is but a may be. *Tante molis erit Romanam condere gentem.* This day's work [the tryal of LOPEZ] breedeth much discourse, whereof you shall hear more particularly by your brother" and.

* SPOTSWOOD, p. 402.

† L'Etoile, Journal du regne d' HENRY IV. tom. i. p. 465.

‡ NICHOLAS DE THOU.

§ L'Etoile, p. 473.

¶ PHILIP DE CANAYE, sieur du Fresnes.

* Vol. iv. fol. 44.

¶ Ibid. fol. 61.

¶ Mr. FRANCIS BACON drew up, as was observed above, A true report of the detestable treason intended by Dr. RODRIGO LOPEZ, which is printed among his works.

" others

“ others, who were present. What I have is by tradition. On Wednesday next shall be another arraignment of the two accusers, with others, as I hear. I pray God, we may be wise at the length; for I fear this hydra hath the other heads but pulled in a while, as shrinking a little at this stroke. I heard, that the Irishman, that so hurt himself, should this morning be dead; but I cannot affirm it. . . I hear that my lord CHANDOS^v is lately deceased, which will greatly advance my lord of Bedford in the match.”

Mr. STANDEN returning on the 2d of March, 159³/₄, from the court to London, wrote the next day to Mr. BACON^x, that the earl of Essex had been more than ten days sequestred from all business, except the important one of LOPEZ, “ wherein,” *says he*, he hath won the spurs and saddle also, if right be done him. Now he is return’d to the court, I will (according to his commandment) renew my suits. . . My good lord treasurer went yesterday to the court immediately after he had, by the mediation of Mr. ROGER MANNERS^y, concluded the alliance between Sir WILLIAM HATTON and his grand-daughter^z by Sir THOMAS CECIL.” Mr. STANDEN then remarks, that it was generally wished by Mr. BACON’s friends, that he would have a retiring place in or nearer to London. “ And doubtless, *says he*, I confess it to be so; for I am assured, if you had been so placed, the earl would doubtless have seen you as often as he had come hither, and communicated unto you matters, that at this time imported much. Yet, thanks be to God, his carriage hath been such now, as her majesty hath found the rareness of his parts, and all with such mildness and affability, contrary to our Topcliffian^a customs, as he hath won with words more than others could ever do with racks.”

The earl of Essex growing impatient of the long absence and distance of Mr. BACON, wrote to him on the 6th of March, 159³/₄, from Hampton-court^b, expressing his concern on that account. “ If I could, *says he*, with two or three hours journey visit you, I would impart unto you some things, which to paper I dare not commit. Before I do make a dispatch to Dr. MORISON, I will confer with you. If you think not good for you to remove to London, I will, when the court’s great businesses do permit, visit you where you are.”

Mr. BACON’s anxiety, on account of his not having waited on the queen since his return from abroad, having been represented by him to the earl in a letter, his lordship return’d him the following answer^c.

“ S I R,

“ Your letter to myself is exceeding welcome. Your excuse for not seeing her majesty all this while, and your grief for want of doing that duty, shall be

^v GILES lord CHANDOS, who died 21st of February, 159³/₄.

^x Vol. iv. fol. 81.

^y Third son of THOMAS earl of Rutland. He was one of the esquires of the body to queen ELIZABETH.

^z ELIZABETH. Her second husband was Sir

EDWARD COKE, afterwards lord chief justice of the King’s Bench.

^a Mr. TOPCLIFFE was at that time a diligent discoverer and violent persecutor of papists. STRYPE’s life of archbishop WHITGIFT, p. 314.

^b Vol. iv. fol. 83.

^c Vol. vii. p. 56.

“ known

“ known unto her, as soon as I speak with her. Yesterday my health did not
 “ permit me to go to her; but this day I will not fail to impart unto her
 “ the effect of the first part of your letter. As for the other I shall have con-
 “ ference with your brother within these three or four days. I pray you believe,
 “ that I shall please myself exceedingly to have any thing in my power,
 “ which may give Mr. ANTHONY BACON the least satisfaction, as a gentleman,
 “ whose virtue I reverence, and love his person, and one, whom I will strive
 “ to persuade, that I am,

“ Your very assured friend,

“ E S S E X.”

In another letter his lordship regrets the disorder, which so frequently affected Mr. BACON in the use of his limbs^a.

“ S I R,

“ MEDEA had not more sympathy of those, which felt the same evil, which
 “ herself did, than I have of my friend, that is lame. My mischance hath
 “ made me be grave in going with a staff before my time. I would you were
 “ sure to be as soon rid of your infirmity, as I am in hope to be so free from
 “ this kind of gravity. I shall have not only body to serve my country
 “ withal, but should be unprofitable, if my limbs were taken from me. But
 “ when the indisposition of the body is matched with an ability and strength of
 “ all parts and powers of the mind, the public use, for which we are all born, is
 “ not taken away. Therefore, tho’ I would be without legs to serve my country
 “ with Mr. ANTHONY BACON’s sufficiency, yet do I not envy the advantage you
 “ have of me in the better part, but wish I could lend you strength, and borrow
 “ pain of you to free you from this ill companion, which keeps you from all your
 “ friends, but those, that are able to go to you. I wish you ease, strength, health,
 “ and happiness, and will ever be,

“ Your most assured friend,

“ E S S E X.”

Mr. JAMES HUDSON, agent in England for the king of Scotland, being engag’d to communicate his intelligence from that kingdom to the earl of Essex and Mr. BACON, of which the latter generally took copies, he sent them a letter to himself from Sir WILLIAM KEITH, who styles him brother, dated at Holyrood-house, the 13th of March, 159 $\frac{1}{2}$, in which Sir WILLIAM observ’d, that he had read to the king such of the contents of Mr. HUDSON’s three last letters, as were proper; and that he might assure himself, that LOOSE^b had no commission from either his majesty or his queen, as he had learn’d from both their mouths. “ His majesty, *says he*, thinketh well, that you write he be careful of his own estate and safety; and faith, he remembers

^a Ibid. Fol. 114.

^b Vol. iv. fol. 70.

^c JOHN WREMEs the younger, of Logie, gentleman of the chamber to the king of Scots, had been committed in 1592, for his practices with the earl of Bothwell, but escap’d. SPOTSWOOD, p. 389.

“ well what conference he had with you going to Leith. But indeed he thinketh
 “ himself hardly used by the queen, at least her council, and feareth it neither
 “ lieth in Mr. BACON’s hands, nor yours to help it. We hear Mr. BOWES’s credit
 “ is not so great, as I believe he would shew good offices, if he might. The king
 “ prayeth you, and bad me bid you be careful from time to time of his estate,
 “ as, since he spake with you last, his trust was in you. . . . I see not but the more
 “ his majesty punisheth papists here, or any such good work, the slower is his
 “ help : and if it were not the point of religion and conscience, it could not be
 “ but that some men had power to move his majesty to some work would crab
 “ you all. But he is so found in honesty and religion, and a true loving heart,
 “ that all men living are not able to move him to the contrary. . . . I assure you,
 “ the earls of Huntley and Errol will pass off the country, if they be not already.
 “ If any, that be with you, think themselves so wise, that they will not care for
 “ the king, or be cold in his majesty’s affairs, think them not wise in that point. . .
 “ I wot not what to say, his majesty is so used by your country, that should do
 “ most for him, and all other nations seeking him, and the more perchance, that you
 “ dissuade in the contrary, I mean your nation. We were to have had a parliament ;
 “ but his majesty, I hope, shall be made otherwise as well to live on his own, as
 “ if it had holden, and find all his subjects obedient, either in leaving the country,
 “ or obeying the laws therein. BOTHWELL, I believe, be away likewise, but to what
 “ country I am not certain, nor yet assured of his departure ; but, as we hear, he
 “ should stay in Caithness.” Sir WILLIAM then desires Mr. HUDSON to return his
 thanks to Sir ROGER WILLIAMS, and Mr. GREVILL, for their letters and tokens.

Another of Mr. BACON’s correspondents was Mr. DAVID FOULIS, grandson of JAMES FOULIS, keeper of the register to king JAMES V. of Scotland, and second son of HENRY FOULIS, and MARY, daughter of HADDON of Glenargis, by a daughter of the earl of Mar. His services to the king of Scots, especially during his employment as ambassador to queen ELIZABETH, procur’d him the honour of knighthood in the Tower of London, May 13, 1603, soon after that king’s accession to the crown of England, and just before his coronation. Attending his majesty to the university of Oxford, among other persons of distinction, he was on the 30th of August, 1605, created master of arts¹; and on the 6th of February, 1619, had the dignity of baronet conferr’d upon him. He had been cofferer to HENRY prince of Wales, after whose decease he held that office under prince CHARLES. After he had purchased of the lord EVRE the seat and manor of Ingleby, in Cleveland, in Yorkshire, he resided chiefly there, being made one of his majesty’s council for the northern parts, and *custos rotularum* and deputy lieutenant for the north riding of that county. But in 1632 he had the misfortune to expose himself to the resentment of THOMAS viscount WENTWORTH, lord president of the council in the north, afterwards earl of Strafford, by appearing with some zeal against the commission issued out to compel gentlemen to compound for not having taken the degree of knighthood, in conformity to an obsolete law, and by letting fall some words reflecting upon his lordship, for his proceedings therein; for which he and his eldest son HENRY were censur’d in the Star-chamber, in 1633, Sir DAVID being declar’d incapable of all offices and places, which he held, com-

¹ Wood, Fasti. Oxon. vol. i. fol. 173.

mitted prisoner to the Fleet during his majesty's pleasure, and fin'd 5000l. to the king, and 3000l. to the lord Wentworth, for the payment of which he was forc'd to sell part of his estate; his son being likewise committed to the Fleet, and fin'd 500l.^a

This gentleman had procured Mr. BACON the good opinion and favour of the king of Scots, as appears from a French letter of his dated at Edinburgh, on the 15th of March, 1593¹; and that king had a great confidence in the services, which Mr. BACON could do him in England, ordering Mr. FOULIS to desire him to continue his affection to his majesty's interests, who, as Mr. FOULIS hop'd, would soon testify his gratitude under his own hand.

“ Il vous resté donc, *says he*, pour mieux rencontrer l'affaire en chemin, de continuer une mutuelle intelligence, par leur seul moyen (*si de se quicquam*) qui scavent assurement & veulent librement vous faire plus de plaisir a l'avancement de vostre reputation, qu'un medicin éloigné de son patient ne luy scauroit porter, ou plustost envoyer de la santé. *Sat sapienti.*”

The earl of Essex, who was at London on the 14th of March, 159 $\frac{1}{2}$, sent that day to Mr. BACON a hundred French crowns for Dr. MORISON, to whom he desired him² to write, that the queen might be brought to do somewhat for him; but that he would not call for it yet, being desirous, when he did, to ask for him something of value, which his lordship intended to do, when Dr. MORISON should have deserved extraordinarily well in some particular point. “ I speak not this, *says his lordship*, to condemn that which he hath done; but that I see, by the disposition of the affairs of that place, that we shall have more cause to use him, and he means to deserve better. I do long to see you, and speak with you, which I will do very shortly.”

Mr. STANDEN having been desired by Mr. BACON to speak to the earl of Essex concerning Dr. MORISON, he wrote on the 19th of March, 159 $\frac{1}{2}$, from Kingston³, that his lordship had told him, that he had already dealt with Mr. FRANCIS BACON on that subject. “ I moved, *adds he*, his lordship touching your desire to see him at London; and that knowing a time of his lordship's best leisure, you would not miss to travel thither to that end; whereunto he would by no means consent without giving me any farther resolution, either hereof, or of his going to Redburne, in mine opinion reserving the same untill her majesty's arrival at Greenwich, which is said will be on Tuesday next.” Mr. STANDEN then mentions, that the news of the *yielding Paris to him*^m, *that hath so long made love to it*, had given much content to the English court; that Monsieur BRISSACⁿ, who had been left chief in that city by the duke of MAYENNE, was the contriver of it: That the Spaniards and other strangers in garrison there were dismissed without hurt:

^a RUSHWORTH, part ii. p. 215.

¹ In a volume of the papers of ANTHONY BACON, esq; in my possession.

² Vol. iv. fol. 82.

³ Ibid. fol. 80.

^m On the 22d of March, N. S. L'ETOILE,

tom. i. p. 483.

ⁿ CHARLES DE COSSE^e, made marshal of France, on account of his service to HENRY IV. in surrendering up the city of Paris to him.

That if this had not fallen out then, the army of Flanders had within three days after advanced and prevented it : That Roan and Newhaven were become likewise friends to the king : That the deputies of Bretagne were departed without effecting their desire of support from England either of men or money. " Your brother, " concludes he, is here himself, and speaketh often to my lord, whereby I hope " well : And surely it is judged, that shortly there shall be a *Roll-master* *, altho' " our earl will not have it so."

Mr. FAUNT wrote likewise in a letter from London the same day †, acquainting Mr. BACON, that he had review'd the house, which he had taken for him in the city; and that the occurrences there were none but the news of HENRY IV's entry into Paris, which possess'd all sorts of ears; whereas the entry of CHARLES MANSFIELD ‡ into France, with so great a force, as was expected, seemed unlikely, when the principal towns there were rendering themselves. ROAN stay'd till the general pardon should be published at Caen, the other articles being agreed upon. The late search in London was chiefly for a principal man in the late confederacy; whom some said to be JACQUES, but Mr. FAUNT thought him to be another stranger.

The queen removing from Hampton-court to Greenwich, Mr. STANDEN returned to London, whence on the 24th of March, 1594 †, he sent Mr. BACON an account of an interview, which he had lately had with the lord treasurer; that on the day of her majesty's departure from Hampton-court, imagining his lordship to be more at leisure than before, he stept into his lordship's bed-chamber, and found him alone, sitting by the fire. He began with delivering Mr. BACON's duty to his lordship, whom he acquainted with his having left that gentleman at Redburne, in a better state of health than he had enjoyed that winter before, but that his indisposition had prevented Mr. BACON from paying his duty to his lordship in person. After these ceremonies were ended, Mr. STANDEN enter'd into his own particular case, requesting his lordship's favour and interest. The lord treasurer upon this return'd to the speeches, which he had before used of Mr. STANDEN in his absence, that he had been so long in England without any conference with him, except twice in the beginning, having never since look'd towards him. Mr. STANDEN alledg'd his grievous sickness in August preceding at Windsor, and the continuance of it till that time, which had prevented him from coming to his lordship; then his lordship's own indisposition, which was an impediment, or rather a bar for good manners sake to trouble him. In reply to this his lordship urg'd to him his daily attendance at court all the winter, and that his ague being continual, it was impossible for him to court it; and that therefore he must have some good as well as ill days; and consequently there was no excuse for not taking an opportunity on those good days. Then he press'd him about the relation, which the queen had commanded him to deliver to his lordship for her; asking the cause, why he had not obey'd? Mr. STANDEN answered, that he had immediately retir'd from the court to Mr. BACON's lodgings, in order to recollect the facts of so large

* Master of the rolls.
† Vol. iv. fol. 105.

‡ L'Étoile, tom ii. p. 67.
† Vol. iv. fol. 79.

a period of time; and having put them down with some labour, he return'd to the court at Windsor. There being presently seiz'd with his ague, and incapable of coming into the presence of her majesty, who had expressly commanded him to deliver the relation into her own hands, without naming his lordship or any other person, he requested the earl of Essex to be the exhibitor of it to the queen, which his lordship most courteously did; and it was now more than six months since this was done. The lord treasurer hereupon began to start in his chair, and to alter his voice and countenance *from a kind of crossing and wayward manner, which he bath,* says Mr. STANDEN, *into a tune of choler*; so that he found, that his lordship was touch'd in very deed, saying, that Mr. STANDEN having dealt in that affair with the earl of Essex, he would do well to persevere, wishing, that the earl might do him good, and that it should no way offend him. "Then, *adds Mr. STANDEN,* he tempested with his own invention and wonted objection of ill and indiscreet demeanor by my discovery at Calais, saying her majesty to be in great choler with him thereabouts, thinking it to be his lordship's evil carriage in managing the matter; and that he would receive no blame for my or any other's cause. To which endeavouring to answer his lordship with all truth and submission, he would not give me any farther audience, but concluded with this, that this was his final answer. Whereupon, seeing the sky troubled, I made him a low knee, and bid him well to fare, praying God to grant to his lordship health and patience; and so came out among his men, with the marshal MATIGNON's cheer and countenance. This is all the story, good Sir; and hereby, as long as he reigneth, may I see my fare, and all for following the earl. The thought on my part is already taken, and to God I remit the rest. I have not yet imparted to the earl this matter; but some time this day I mean to do it; as also of your coming hither."

The attorney-general Sir THOMAS EGERTON, being at this time promoted to the post of master of the rolls, and having offer'd to assist Mr. FRANCIS BACON with his own observations with relation to the office of solicitor-general, which was now expected to be confert'd upon him, as it was likely to be vacant upon the advancement of Mr. EDWARD COKE, to the place of attorney, Sir ROBERT CECIL wrote on the 27th of March, 1594, the following letter to the new master of the rolls, expressing his strong desire for the preferment of his cousin FRANCIS:

"S I R,

"I have understood by my cousin BACON, what a friendly and kind offer you have made him, the better to arm him with your observations (for the exercise of the solicitorship) which otherwise may be got with time. For the greatest sufficiency of wit and learning may yet be to seek of things falling into practise without some light given: which as he doth exceedingly please himself to receive of a man of your gravity, so do I thank you for it, as much as if it had been done to myself. And this I dare assure you, that I have no kinsman living (my brother excepted) whom I hold so dear. Neither do I think, that you,

* Mr. COKE was made attorney-general, April 10, 1594. DUGDALE Chronica series, p. 99.
 * Vol. iii. fol. 60.

“ or any other can confer any good turn upon any gentleman (tho’ I say it to you
 “ in private) likelier for his own worth to deserve it. The place by the suddenness
 “ of the remove was procrastinated ; but your help in the mean time (in this course
 “ offered him) will serve to so good purpose, as I am not sorry he hath this va-
 “ cation of some few days to inform himself at better leisure of those things,
 “ which at the very first he should have use of. Sir, I would write more, if I
 “ spake not in a manner for myself ; for so, I assure you, in measure of love and
 “ affection, he standeth unto me. But seeing I speak to a wise man, to whom a
 “ word is more than a sentence, I will leave all other circumstances, and will
 “ study to make you know how great an obligation any man’s kindness to him
 “ doth throw on me ; and so I bid you farewell. From the Strand, this 27th of
 “ March, 1594.

“ Your assured loving friend,

“ RO. CECIL.”

The earl of Essex likewise, who took all opportunities of speaking to the queen in favour of Mr. FRANCIS BACON, gave him the next day, March 28th, a particular account of his conference with her majesty on that subject*.

“ S I R,

“ I have received your letter, and since I have had opportunity to deal freely
 “ with the queen, I have dealt confidently with her, as a matter, wherein I did
 “ more labour to overcome her delays, than that I did fear her denial. I told her
 “ how much you were thrown down with the correction she had already given
 “ you ; that she might in that point hold herself already satisfied. And because
 “ I found, that TANFIELD† had been most propounded to her, I did most disable
 “ him. I find the queen very reserved, staying herself upon giving any kind of
 “ hope, yet not passionate against you, till I grew passionate for you. Then she
 “ said, that none thought you fit for the place but my lord treasurer and myself.
 “ Marry, the others must some of them say before us for fear or for flattery. I told
 “ her, the most and wisest of her council had delivered their opinions, and pre-
 “ ferred you before all men for that place. And, if it would please her majesty
 “ to think, that whatsoever they said contrary to their own words, when they
 “ spake without witness, might be as factiously spoken, as the other way flatter-
 “ ingly, she should not be deceived. Yet if they had been never for you, but
 “ contrarily against you, I thought my credit, joined with the approbation and
 “ mediation of her greatest counsellors, might prevail in a greater matter than this ;
 “ and urged her, that tho’ she could not signify her mind to others, I might have
 “ a secret promise, wherein I should receive great comfort ; as in the contrary
 “ great unkindness. She said, she neither was persuaded, nor would hear of it
 “ till Easter, when he might advise with her council, who were now all absent ;
 “ and therefore in passion bad me go to bed ; if I would talk of nothing else.
 “ Wherefore in passion I went away, saying, while I was with her, I could not

* Vol. iv. fol. 90.
 chief baron of the Exchequer.

† Probably LAURENCE TANFIELD, afterwards knighted, and lord

“ but

“ but solicit for the cause and the man I so much affected ; and therefore I would
 “ retire myself till I might be more graciously heard. And so we parted. To
 “ morrow I will go hence of purpose, and on Thursday I will write an expostu-
 “ lating letter to her. That night or upon Friday morning I will be here again,
 “ and follow on the same course, stirring a discontentment in her, &c. And so I
 “ wish you all happiness, and rest

“ Your most assured friend,

“ E S S E X.”

The earl wrote another letter two days after to Mr. FRANCIS BACON, in these terms *.

“ S I R,

“ I have now spoken with the queen, and I [see] no stay from obtaining a full
 “ resolution of that we desire. But the passion she is in by reason of the tales, that
 “ have been told her against NICOLAS CLIFFORD, with whom she is in such rage
 “ for a matter, which I think you have heard of, doth put her infinitely out of
 “ quiet ; and her passionate humour is nourished by some foolish women. Else I
 “ find nothing to distaste us, for she doth not contradict confidently ; which they ;
 “ that know the minds of women, say is a sign of yielding. I will to morrow
 “ take more time to deal with her, and will sweeten her with all the art I have to
 “ make *benevolum auditorem*. I have already spoken with Mr. Vice-chamberlain *,
 “ and will to morrow speak with the rest. Of Mr. Vice-chamberlain you may
 “ assure yourself ; for so much he hath faithfully promised me. The exceptions
 “ against the competitors I will use to morrow, for then I do resolve to have a
 “ full and large discourse, having prepared the queen to night to assign me a time,
 “ under colour of some such business, as I have pretended. In the mean time I
 “ must tell you, that I do not respect either my absence, or my shewing a discon-
 “ tentment in going away, for I was received at my return, and I think I shall
 “ not be the worse. And for that I am oppressed with multitude of letters, that
 “ are come, of which I must give the queen some account to morrow morning,
 “ I therefore desire to be excused for writing no more to night ; to morrow you
 “ shall hear from me again. I wish you what you wish yourself in this and all
 “ things else, and rest

“ Your most affectionate friend,

“ This Friday at night.”

“ E S S E X.”

Mr. FRANCIS BACON's answer was as follows^b.

“ My LORD,

“ I thank your lordship very much for your kind and comfortable letter, which I
 “ hope will be followed at hand with another of more assurance. And I must
 “ confess this very delay hath gone so near me, as it hath almost overthrown my

* Vol. iv. fol. 89.

* Sir THOMAS HERFAGE.

b Vol. iii. fol. 62.

“ health ;

“ health; for when I revolved the good memory of my father, the near degree of
 “ alliance I stand in to my lord treasurer, your lordship’s so signaled and declared
 “ favour, the honourable testimony of so many counsellors, the commendations
 “ unlaboured, and in sort offered by my lords the judges and the master of the rolls
 “ elect; that I was voiced with great expectation, and (tho’ I say it myself) with
 “ the wishes of most men, to the higher place; that I am a man, that the queen
 “ hath already done for, and that princes, especially her majesty, love to make
 “ an end where they begin; and then add hereunto the obscurity and many ex-
 “ ceptions to my competitors: when I say, I revolve all this, I cannot but con-
 “ clude with myself, that no man ever read a more exquisite disgrace. And there-
 “ fore truly, my lord, I was determined, if her majesty reject me, this to do. My
 “ nature can take no evil ply; but I will, by God’s assistance, with this disgrace
 “ of my fortune, and yet with the comfort of the good opinion of so many ho-
 “ nourable and worthy persons, retire myself with a couple of men to Cambridge,
 “ and there spend my life in my studies and contemplations, without looking back.
 “ I humbly pray your lordship to pardon me for troubling you with my melan-
 “ choly. For the matter itself, I commend it to your love: only I pray you com-
 “ municate afrash this day with my lord treasurer and Sir ROBERT CECIL; and
 “ if you esteem my fortune, remember the point of precedency. The objections
 “ to my competitors your lordship knoweth partly. I pray spare them not, not
 “ over the queen, but to the great ones, to shew your confidence, and to work
 “ their distrust. Thus longing exceedingly to exchange troubling your lordship
 “ with serving you, I rest

“ Your lordship’s in most intire and faithful service.

“ FRANCIS BACON.”

“ I humbly pray your lordship I may hear from you some time this day, 30th
 “ March, 1594.”

Mr. STANDEN’s letter from London, on the 5th of April, 1594, inform’d Mr.
 BACON^d, of his having come hither on the Wednesday night before, to meet the
 earl of Essex at Walsingham-house, where he knew that his lordship would be;
 that he might the more at his leisure talk with the earl; which accordingly fell out,
 for he found his lordship there alone, and supped with him, receiving great
 civilities from lady Essex. He discoursed at large with the earl about his own hard
 fate, and his lordship saw no manner of good to follow by the way of the *old*
Man, and therefore was determin’d to press the queen, and that very effectually
 and shortly, by another device; which not taking effect, then by a good suit, and
 lastly, all failing, by employing Mr. STANDEN in his own business abroad, which
 he more desired than any of the others. “ These, *says Mr. STANDEN*, are still
 “ lengths, and so charges to such, whom I am sorrowful to burden, weighing the
 “ small interest or cause to me thereof. Howbeit being embarked, I must now
 “ follow the fleet, hoping, by the earl’s speeches, that in the end something will
 “ be found. In court it is hard negotiating with my lord for the multitudes that
 “ overwhelm him. Yet if your St. Alban’s man address himself to me, I will
 “ find opportunity to get him audience.” Mr. STANDEN adds, that the French

^c That of attorney general.

^d Vol. iv. fol. iii.

king prospered : Tholouse, and all the greatest towns being in his hands, and his so dearly beloved Noyon mistress * with child. That Sir ROBERT CECIL was daily look'd for in England. That Sir NIC. CLIFFORD was in the Tower, and his dear darling DRURY in the Fleet. That lord WREMES had not yet appeared, nor any thing from Scotland liked of at the English court; and that from Ireland, all was perverse and melancholly; " yet do we, *says he*, persist with the same forwardness and wonted crossings; and at last, for all this, Sir WILLIAM RUSSEL shall thither . . . Mr. FRANCIS, your brother, came to Essex-house, when he had supp'd, and had long talk with the earl; yet see I no conclusion, altho' the other two [the now master of the rolls and COKE the attorney] have their war-rants signed, a thing as much bringing this great man's credit in question, as any other he hath managed all the time of his favours heretofore."

Mr. STANDEN returning the same day by the earl of Essex's order to the court at Greenwich, wrote from thence to Mr. BACON on the 7th of April, 1594¹, to satisfy him, that the report, which had been spread thro' the city of London, and brought to court at noon the day before, was absolutely groundless; and that the author of it was sought for, in order to be punished; that the lord treasurer was on the Friday preceding well chidden about Irish matters, which were in very ill terms, and he was then sick; and that earl Bothwell was that day entered Scotland² with the forces, with which he had been favoured in England, *to the mislike of the best sort*. " Yesterday, *adds he*, at seven of the clock I was walking with my lord admiral in the Privy garden, and being in discourse, suddenly came out Mr. KILLIGREW, and her majesty follow'd him with only the lady marquess³, who passing by, said to my lord, that she had somewhat to say to him alone. Whereupon I retired, and she entered into another garden, so that I lost the sight of her. Strait she asked what I was? which when she understood by my lord, she said it to be impossible, for that I seemed to be one of the clerks of the signet. When my lord had assured her, she swore she knew me not, and looked back sundry times to see whether I followed; which doubting her being in humour, I durst not do. Mr. KILLIGREW told me, she spake much of me and long; but that he could not discern, saving only here and there a word, all tending, as he saith, to good sense, and willeth me to resort to my lord admiral, who can tell me all, offering himself, the next time her majesty walketh, to tell her of me."

The earl of Essex pursuing his solicitations to the queen in favour of Mr. FRANCIS BACON, and her majesty having at last promised the vice-chamberlain to speak with that gentleman, his lordship ordered his secretary, Mr. SMITH, to write to him from Greenwich, on Monday night the 22d of April, 1594¹, and acquaint

* GABRIELLE d'ESTREES, daughter of ANTHONY d'ESTREES, governor of Noyon, by FRANCES BABOU. GABRIELLE was married to NICOLAS d'AMERVAL, seigneur de Lincourt, governor of Chauny, from whom she was afterwards separated, and became mistress of HENRY IV. who created her marquise de Monceaux, and at last dutchess of Beaufort. Her son CESAR was

born at Concy, in June 1594.

¹ Vol. iv. fol. 110.

² See SPOTSWOOD, p. 402.

³ ANNE marchioness of Winchester, wife of WILLIAM marquis of Winchester, and daughter of WILLIAM lord HOWARD, of Effingham.

¹ Vol. iv. fol. 115.

him with her majesty's promise to admit him to her on the Wednesday or Thursday following; and that his lordship was of opinion, that he should thank the vice-chamberlain by a letter, for his good offices to him. "Another point, *says Mr. SMITH*, that he [the earl] commendeth to your remembrance, is, that you omit not to do that, which you intended to do on Saturday next, because her majesty is made acquainted therewith; and, as I think his lordship said to me, expecteth it; and my lord and Mr. Vice-chamberlain will be there present."

The earl of Essex himself likewise, in a letter on the Friday after to Mr. FRANCIS BACON^k, desired him, if it were no impediment to the cause, which he was to handle the next day, to attend again at court that afternoon. "I, *says his lordship*, will be at the court in the evening, and so will Mr. Vice chamberlain; so as if you fail before we come, yet afterwards I doubt not but he or I shall bring you together. This I write in haste, because I would have no opportunity omitted in this point of access."

Mr. STANDEN wrote about the same time, tho' the particular day is not mark'd, to Mr. BACON^l, that Sir ROBERT SIDNEY was arrived the night before, and that it was then known only in general, that all went well in France; and that on Saturday night late came news out of Scotland, now public, that Bothwell arriving within two miles of Edinburgh, where the king of Scots was, with a design, as it was thought, to take his majesty, and with a body of 600 horse, and 1000 foot, besides his intelligences within that city, the king seeing this boldness, caused the lord Hume to issue out with some few foot, and 500 horse, who was defeated, and many of his majesty's people kill'd. Yet Bothwell's intelligences in the city failing his expectation, he retir'd to Leith, a mile off^m. Before his entrance into Scotland, a proclamation had been published in her majesty's name, forbidding any of her subjects to accompany him. "For your brother Mr. FRANCIS, *says Mr. STANDEN*, the earl was on Sunday in the afternoon to have spoken with my lord treasurer, touching the conclusion, which dependeth all upon the said lord treasurer, such being your brother's desire, that nothing be done without his presence. The earl found him then asleep, and so went to tennis. After my lord's waking, he sent for the earl; but then there was no remedy to make him leave off play, altho' I moved him therein, whilst I gave him drink; and until my lord treasurer's recovery (who is yet in his bed) there will be no end. Then we hope it will be resolved and signed with the other two, who have not yet their patents."

Mr. FRANCIS BACON being still disappointed of access to the queen, on account of the *hard terms* which the earl of Essex as well as the vice-chamberlain happen'd to be in with her majesty, he thought proper on the first of May, 1594, to write to Sir ROBERT CECIL the following letterⁿ.

^k Vol. iv. fol. 109, & 112.

^l Vol. iv. fol. 113.

^m See SPOTSWOOD, l. vi. p. 402, 403. who tells

us, that Bothwell the next day dissolved all his troops.

ⁿ Vol. iv. fol. 125.

"My

“ My most honourable good cousin,
 “ Your honour in your wisdom doth well perceive, that my access at this time
 “ is grown desperate, in regard of the hard terms, that as well the earl of Essex as
 “ Mr. Vice-chamberlain, who were to have been the means thereof, stand in with
 “ her majesty, according to their occasions. And therefore I am only to stay
 “ upon that point of delaying and preserving the matter intire till a better con-
 “ stellation : which as it is not hard, as I conceive, considering the French business,
 “ and the instant progress, &c. so I commend in special to you the care, who
 “ in sort assured me thereof, and upon whom now, in my lord of Essex’s absence,
 “ I have only to rely. And if it be needful, I humbly pray you to move my
 “ lord your father to lay his hand to the same delay. And so I wish you all in-
 “ crease of honour. From Gray’s Inn this first of May, 1594.

“ Your honour’s poor kinsman in faithful service and duty,

“ FRANCIS BACON.”

Sir ROBERT CECIL’s answer was in these terms :

“ COUSIN,

“ I do think nothing cut the throat more of your present access than the earl’s
 “ being somewhat troubled at this time. For the delaying, I think it not hard,
 “ neither shall there want my best endeavour to make it easy, of which I hope
 “ you shall not need to doubt by the judgment, which I gather of divers circum-
 “ stances confirming my opinion. I protest I suffer with you in mind, that you
 “ are thus gravelled ; but time will founder all your competitors, and set you on
 “ your feet ; or else I have little understanding.”

The earl of Essex, after a short absence from the court, returned thither, and then wrote the following letter to Mr. FRANCIS BACON °.

“ S I R,

“ I wrote not to you till I had had a second conference with the queen, because
 “ the first was spent only in compliments. She at the beginning excepted all
 “ business. This day she hath seen me again. After I had followed her humour
 “ in talking of those things, which she would entertain me with, I told her, in
 “ my absence I had written to Sir ROBERT CECIL to solicit her to call you to that
 “ place, to which all the world had named you ; and being now here, I must fol-
 “ low it myself, for I knew what service I should do her in procuring you the
 “ place, and she knew not how great comfort I should take in it. Her answer in
 “ playing just was, that she came not to me for that. I should talk of those things,
 “ when I came to her, and not when she came to me. The term was coming,
 “ and she would advise. I would have replied, but she stopped my mouth.

" To morrow or the next day I will go to her, and then this excuse will be taken away. When I know more, you shall hear more. And so I end full of pain in my head, which makes me write thus confusedly.

" Your most affectionate friend,

" ESSEX."

Soon after the earl wrote another letter to Mr. FRANCIS BACON, in these terms¹.

" S I R,

" I went yesterday to the queen thro' the galleries, in the morning, afternoon, and at night. I had long speech with her of you, wherein I urged both the point of your extraordinary sufficiency, proved to me not only by your last argument, but by the opinion of all men I spake withal, and the point of mine own satisfaction, which, I protested, should be exceeding great, if for all her unkindness and discomforts past, she would do this one thing for my sake. To the first she answered, that the greatness of your friends, or of my lord treasurer and myself, did make men give a more favourable testimony than else they would do, thinking thereby they pleased us. And that she did acknowledge you had a great wit and an excellent gift of speech, and much other good learning. But in law she rather thought you could make shew to the utmost of your knowledge, than that you were deep. To the second she said, she shewed her dislike of the suit, as well as I had done my affection to it; and that if there were a yielding, it was fitter to be of my side. I then added, that this was an answer, with which she might deny me all things; if she did not grant them at the first; which was not her manner to do. But her majesty had made me suffer and give way to her in many things else; which all I should bear not only with patience, but with great contentment, if she would but grant my humble suit in this one. And for the pretence of the approbation given you upon partiality, that all the world, lawyers, judges, and all could not be partial to you; for somewhat you were cross'd for their own interest, and somewhat for their friends; but yet all did yield to your merit. She did in this as she useth in all, went from a denial to a delay, and said, when the council were all here, she would think of it; and there was no hast in determining of the place. To which I answered, that my sad heart had need of hasty comfort; and therefore her majesty must pardon me, if I were hasty and importunate in it. When they come, we shall see what will be done; and I wish you all happiness, and rest

" Your most affectionate friend,

" ESSEX."

Mr. ANTHONY BACON wrote about this time to his mother², that both his brother and himself were resolved, that in case he was not plac'd between that and

¹ Vol. iv. fol. 123.

² Ibid. fol. 122.

the next term, never to make any more words of it. And Mr. FRANCIS BACON himself, in a letter to her on the 9th of June from Gray's Inn¹, observ'd, that as nothing was yet done in the choice of a solicitor-general, he should have occasion to visit the court during the vacation, which he had not done for a month past.

About the latter end of April, or in the beginning of May, 1594, Mr. BACON removed from Redburne in Hertfordshire, which was too remote from the capital for the carrying on his numerous correspondences; and he settled himself in London, in a house in Bishopsgate-street; tho' the situation of it was highly disliked by his mother, not only on account of its neighbourhood to the Bull-inn, where plays and interludes were continually acted, and would, she imagined, corrupt his servants; but likewise out of zeal for his religious improvement, which he would have no means of cultivating in a parish, the minister of which was both ignorant and negligent of his duty. These circumstances she represented to him very strongly in one of her letters², soon after his hiring of that house, and complain'd, at the same time, of his being govern'd by his servants, to his great prejudice.

And indeed the severity of her temper, and her chagrin on many other occasions, particularly against his servant Mr. LAWSON, were extremely uneasy both to him and his brother FRANCIS; and, at last, on the 12th of July, 1594, drew from him an expostulatory answer³ to a letter, which she had addressed to them.

“ MADAM,

“ For answer on my part to your ladyship's letter to us both, having asked
 “ counsel and leave of him, who only knoweth and guideth the heart, I found
 “ myself emboldened with warrant of a good conscience, and by the force of truth,
 “ to remonstrate unto your ladyship with a most dutiful mind, and tender care of
 “ your ladyship's soul and reputation, that howsoever your ladyship doth pretend
 “ and alledge for reason your motherly affection towards us in that, which con-
 “ cerneth LAWSON; yet any man of judgment and indifferency must needs take it
 “ for a mere passion, springing either from presumption, that your ladyship can
 “ only judge and see that in the man, which never any man yet hath seen; or from
 “ a sovereign desire to over-rule your sons in all things, how little soever you
 “ may understand either the ground or the circumstances of their proceedings; or
 “ else from want of civility, abandoning your mind continually to most strange and
 “ wrongful suspicions, notwithstanding all most humble submissions and endeavours
 “ possible on his part to procure your ladyship's satisfaction and contentment. This
 “ my remonstrance, as I have just cause to fear, that it will at the first sight be offen-
 “ sive to your ladyship, yet have I no less reason to hope, that almighty God, who
 “ knoweth with how dutiful intent, and to what end I have made the same, will in
 “ his mercy dispose your ladyship's heart not to yield to your , which you
 “ as it were so heinous an offence, but to truth and charity. Whereupon,

¹ Fol. 140.

² Vol. iv. fol. 114.

³ Ibid. fol. 150.

“ intirely

"intirely reposing myself as infallible grounds, I remain more ready to receive
"and endure your blame for performing with free filial respect this my bounden
"duty, than your thanks, or liking for soothing or allowing by silence so dangerous
"humours and uncharitable misconceits. And so I most humbly take my leave."

B O O K III.

THE king of Scots, in the beginning of April 1594, appointed JAMES COLVIL laird of Eister-Weimes, and Mr. EDWARD BRUCE of Kinlofs, afterwards baron of Kinlofs in Scotland, and master of the rolls in England, ambassadors to queen ELIZABETH, to complain of the secret intelligence, which the lord ZOUCH, her embassador in Scotland, had carried on with earl BOTHWELL, and the countenance and support lately given to that earl in her kingdom. He wrote a letter to her majesty upon this subject on the 13th of April^a; and at the same time directed his ambassadors to assure her, that since the popish lords had not embrac'd the conditions offer'd, he would prosecute the laws against them, proscribe their persons, and confiscate their lands; and to desire of her, as one, whom that cause equally touched, a supply of money, till they were either expell'd the realm, or apprehended and brought to justice^b. He wrote likewise the same day a letter to the earl of Essex, which in his own style and orthography is as follows.

“ Richt trustie and vell belovit cousin, allthoch I have this long tyme forborne
 “ the writting unto you because of the vronge ye receavid thairthrouch, suppoise
 “ not in my default, but in the default of thaime, that vaire emploied betuixt
 “ us; yett nou having directid thir tuo gentlemen ambassadouris to the quene
 “ youre souveraine, upon vechtie and urgent occasions, importing no lesse then
 “ the preservation or breake of the amitie so long and happelie continueid betuixt
 “ the tuo crounis, I volde not omitt this occasion unsending these few lynis unto
 “ you, hearby to praye you favourablie to heare, and, according to the freind-
 “ shipp I looke for at youre hande, to further thame als farr, as in you lyis to
 “ a goode and speedie dispatche. I looke, milorde, that a nobleman of the
 “ ranke ye are of, vill move and assist the quene with youre goode advyce, not
 “ to suffer herself to be fyled and abused any longer with suche as præferre thaire
 “ particulaire and dishonest affections to the quenis princelie honoure; and peax
 “ of both the realmes: but I referr the particulars of all to the beararis report,
 “ quhome I have comandit to use youre advyce in all thaire proceedings. And
 “ thus, richt trustie and vellbelovit cousin I bidd you hairtelie fairvell,

“ Your verie loving freinde,

“ From Edinburgh the xiii
 “ of Apryle 1594.”

“ JAMES R.”

What answer the earl return'd to the king does not appear; but I find a letter of his without the date of the year; the uncertainty of which may excuse the inserting it here.

^a From a copy among the MS. collections of Dr. PATRICK FORBES, in the possession of the honourable PHILIP YORKE, esq. See likewise SPOTS-

WOOD, p. 403.

^b SPOTSWOOD, *ibid*.

^c From a copy among Dr. FORBES'S MS. collections.

“ Most

" Most gracious and renowned prince,

" If I should only regard the weakness of mine own merit, without having an eye unto the exceeding bounty, whereby your majesty hath quickned me to make a present of all that service, which my poor ability may perform, I should have forborn to have made this paper witness of my boldness. But in what manner could I have framed a plea in excuse of inexpressible ingratitude, if I had not by some lines given a taste of the affections of my heart, which breath only after the prosperous success of a king of so much worth, whose servant I am born by nature, and by duty am obliged to exercise all the powers both of my mind and body in advancing his designs? Therefore such as I am, and all whatsoever I am, (tho' perhaps a subject of small price) I consecrate unto your regal throne; protesting, that what defect soever may be incident unto me, it shall appear more fitly to be set on the score of error than of wilfulness. And whereas I have presumed, out of the suddenness of my brain, to hatch a rude and indigested piece of work, most humbly I beseech your highness to overlook it with a favourable eye, and to conceive, that I took in hand to play the statesman rather out of the zeal I bore to so just a cause, than out of any overweening humour of mine own sufficiency. Neither do I doubt, that the minds of all my countrymen, being already in motion to betake themselves to a right full cause, will jointly unite their hopes in your majesty's noble person, as the only center, wherein our rest and happiness consist. I refrain from presenting thanks in lieu of full payment; for I feel my forces unable to weigh with your highness's magnificence. Therefore in this behalf I will imitate TIMANTHES, who covered those parts of his picture with a veil, which he could not express lively by the art of his pencil, esteeming it more commendable to refer them to the imagination of others, than to bewray his own imperfections in colours. In like sort while I want apt words to reveal the thoughts of my gratefull heart, I am determined to shadow them with the veil of silence, until some happy revolution of time shall turn my inside outward, and give a public demonstration of my loyalty. In mean season I please myself with this hope, that being unable to present more, your accustomed grace will accept of my good will, which offers all that it can.

" Your majesty's most humble

" London, May. 17."

" and affectionate servant,

" 7."

A few days after the date of the king's letter abovementioned to the queen he wrote one to his two ambassadors in the following terms^a:

" Traist freinds, we greit yow weill. Seing the mouthis of the malicious and maist wicked sortt is daylie mair and mair opinit to detract and steinze, so far as lyes in tham; our gude fame and honour; whais falslye contrived reports hes bein be the trumpetts of sathan so farre sprede, as we heir thay have atteinet to the eares of our dearest sister the quene of England; and anc cheislye

^a From a copy in Dr. FORBES'S MS. collections.

" concerning the intercepting of a lettre subscrivit with our hand, as is alledgit,
 " ratefeing ane intelligence and dealing betwixt ws and Spayne. Bot as the mat-
 " ter it selfe is falslye and malitiouflye invented be sum of these, whois hairtes
 " hes vowed our perpetuall disobediencie; sua we give unto yow heirby our ex-
 " pres chairge and command to deall with our said dearest sister heirin; assuring
 " her, as our haint hes bein ever heirtofor voyde of all desyre to have had any
 " kynd of medling or intelligence with Spaynzarts, or any natioun quhatsum-
 " ever, to the prejudice aither of relligioun or the quyetnes of bothe our estaits;
 " sua hes our hand bein still frie from all wryt, that nicht have brede the small-
 " est suspitioun of confirmatioun thair of; not omitting (yf neid beis) to reproche
 " with ane fals lye in our name quatsoever shalbe so bauld as impudentlye to
 " avow the contrair: craving most earnestly, that our said dearest sister, as sche
 " tenders our honour and contentment, will neglect nothing of her princelye
 " dewtie, that maks for the perfytt tryell thair of; quhilk being fund, that conding
 " punishment follow thairupon; otherwis we shal be forcet to suspect, that, far
 " by our deserts, her wountet affectioun towarts ws is sumquhatt relentet, yf by
 " her oversicht the sklanderous tungen of such insolent personis should not be
 " exemplarlye restraynet, and sic ordour takin, as in the manifestatioun of thair
 " knaivrie our innocens shal be no more suspected, bot appeir in the awne cleir-
 " nes to the whole world: doubting nothing, bot at last it shal bring furthe the
 " steadfast and assured continewance of our said dearest sister's loving dispositioun
 " towarts ws quhilk as heirtofor, throu our gude mynd and merites, we have
 " ascryvit to ws as our awne propre; sua on hir pairt we trust, that no sic ma-
 " licious tempests and devyllishe assaults shal ever be able to brangle or diminishe
 " the samyng. Thus, not doubting of your discret diligence herin, quhairment
 " this present shal be your warrand, we commit yow to God's holye protectioun.
 " From Striveling the xx. day of Apryle 1594.

" JAMES R."

Queen ELIZABETH, upon the arrival of the Scots ambassadors, after excusing the
 connivance given to earl BOTHWELL by urging the slow pursuit of the popish lords;
 and the favour shewn to them in Scotland, promis'd, that for the future he should
 find no more protection in her country; and that the king should want no money
 within her power for pursuing those lords. With this answer Mr. BRUCE return'd
 to Scotland, while the laird COLVIL proceeded to the French king, to congratu-
 late his successes against the league, and to invite him to assist the baptism of the
 young prince of Scotland*.

The course of intelligence from that kingdom was still kept up by Dr. MOR-
 rison, tho' none of those letters remain among Mr. BACON's papers. They were
 sometimes sent to the earl of Essex or Mr. BACON, inclos'd in those of Mr. BOWES,
 the English ambassador at Edinburgh, who particularly transmitted one in his own
 to that earl dated there the 30th of April, 1594, "trusting, *says he*, that your
 " lordship shall by the view thereof behold and understand the occurrents here,
 " and present condition of this estate, falling daily into greater confusion, and

* SPOTSWOOD, p. 403.

Vol. iii. fol. 73.

"likely by the unspeakable favour shewn to the rebellious earls, to run into dangerous troubles, as by the inclosed, and otherwise, it will be given your lordship to understand."

Mr. DAVID FOULIS being employ'd by Mr. BACON to cultivate the king of Scots good opinion of him, that gentleman assur'd him in a letter from Edinburgh on the 18th of May, 1594^{*}, that his majesty was fully resolv'd to accomplish his promise, and in return hop'd for his service and interest in his affairs. Mr. FOULIS was sent not long after by that king ambassador to England, to whom the French ambassador wrote on the 9th of July an account of the news, which he had received from France, directing his letter for him to Mr. BACON's house, who obtain'd a copy of it still extant[†].

While Mr. FOULIS was in England, he wrote to Mr. BACON on Saturday the 14th of July, 1594[‡], that he had been certainly inform'd, that the reports spread then concerning the earl of Bothwell were so far from being true, that the earl very narrowly escap'd being taken at Edinburgh, and lost six horses seiz'd by the provost of that city. "You see, *says he*, what occasion we have to complain, not only of the falsities invented to the prejudice of the king, my master, but of the credit given to them. But I hope, God will guard him more effectually from the hands of his enemies, than he has hitherto done from the malicious tongues of those, who are solicitous for his destruction. But his majesty's innocence will at last outweigh all their malice. The ambassadors of Denmark are already arriv'd in Scotland. It is said, that the duke of Brunswick's is so likewise. I will inform you, when he is."

Among those persons of rank and distinction, who were attach'd to the interests of Mr. FRANCIS BACON, and desirous of his preferment, was Mr. FULKE GREVILL, descended from WILLOUGHBY lord Brooke, admiral to king HENRY VIIth, his family being seated at Camden in Gloucestershire, in which county he was born in 1564, the same year with his illustrious friend Sir PHILIP SIDNEY. He was educated at Trinity College in Cambridge, and spent some time in his studies at the university of Oxford; and upon his return from his travels was introduc'd to the court by his uncle ROBERT GREVILL, servant to queen ELIZABETH¹, and was highly esteem'd there for his genius and various learning, which he shew'd by his dramatic and other poetical writings, tho' in a style harsh and affected, and a versification less polish'd than that of his incomparable contemporary SPENSER. He had a considerable share in the favour of her majesty, and enjoy'd it long, tho' he neither sought for nor obtain'd any great place or preferment during all his attendance upon her; nor did he need it, being supported by a plentiful estate of his own, which, as himself us'd to say, was better held together by a single life, in which he liv'd and died, tho' a constant admirer of the ladies². He was an eminent patron of men of abilities in their several professions, as of the lord

^{*} From a volume of Mr. ANTHONY BACON's 1641. in 4to.
papers in my possession, fol. 66.

[†] Ibid. fol. 3.

[‡] Ibid. fol. 67.

¹ Wood, Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 527.

² NAUNTON, ubi supra.

³ NAUNTON's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 36. edit.

keeper ECKERTON, bishop OVERAL, SHAKESPEARE, and BEN. JOHNSON; and his friendship for the earl of Essex would have sav'd his lordship from ruin, if the latter had regarded his faithfull advices more than the suggestions of interested flatterers and parasites*. He was created a knight of the Bath at the coronation of king JAMES I. and soon after obtain'd the grant of the ruinous castle of Warwick; and on the 1st of October, 1614, the 12th year of that king's reign, was appointed chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer, and sworn of the privy council. He was afterwards, on the 9th of January, 1627, advanc'd to the title of lord Brooke of Beauchamp's Court. In September, 1621, he was made one of the gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber; upon which he resign'd his chancellorship of the exchequer, being succeeded in it by Sir RICHARD WESTON, afterwards earl of Portland, and lord treasurer. His death, which happen'd on the 30th of September, 1628, was occasion'd by the rage of one HAYWOOD, who having spent the greatest part of his life in his service, and thinking himself not sufficiently rewarded, gave him a mortal stab in the back; being then alone with his lordship in his bed-chamber at Brook-house in Holbourn, and immediately murder'd himself in the next room with his own sword.

In his letter to Mr. FRANCIS BACON from the court, about the 17th of June, 1594, he acquainted him, that his first coming thither was on the Saturday before, and that he departed thence again as soon as he had kiss'd the queen's hands, because he had no lodging nearer than his uncle's, which was four miles off; but that he return'd to the court that day, being Monday, to dinner; "and waiting, *says he*, to speak with her majesty, took occasion to tell how I met you, as I pass'd thro' London, and many other speeches, how you lamented your misfortune to me, that remained as a withered branch of her roots, which she had cherish'd and made to flourish in her service. I added what I thought of your worth, and the expectation for all this, that the world had of her princely goodness towards you; which it pleas'd her majesty to confess, that indeed you begun to frame very well, inasmuch as she saw an amends in those little supposed errors, avowing the respect she carried to the dead, with very exceeding gracious inclination towards you. Some comparisons there fell out besides, which I leave till we meet, which, I hope, shall be this week. It pleas'd her withall to tell of the jewel you offer'd by Mr. vice-chamberlain, which she had refus'd, yet with exceeding praise. I marvel, that as a prince she would refuse those havings of poor subjects, because it did include a small sentence of despair. But either I deceive myself, or she was resolv'd to take it; and the conclusion was very kind and gracious; sure as I will lay 100 l. to 50 l. that you shall be her solicitor."

But Mr. GREVILL was disappointed in his expectation of Mr. FRANCIS BACON's preferment, tho' the latter was employ'd soon after in some business of the queen's, but seems to be stop'd in his journey for the execution of it by sickness; which

* LLOYD'S State Worthies, p. 728. 729.

† DUGDALE'S baronage, tom. ii. p. 442.

* WOOD, ubi supra; & CAMDENI Annales regis JACOBI I. p. 11.

† CAMDENI Annales, p. 74.

* WOOD, col. 522.

† Vol. iv. fol. 122.

occasion'd him to write, on the 20th of July, from Huntingdon, the following letter to her majesty

"Most gracious and admirable sovereign,
 "As I do acknowledge a providence of God towards me, that findeth it expedient for me, *tolerare iugum in iuventute mea*, so this present arrest of me by his divine majesty from your majesty's service is not the least affliction, that I have proved: and I hope your majesty doth conceive, that nothing under mere impossibility could have detained me from earning so gracious a vail, as it pleased your majesty to give me. But your majesty's service, by the grace of God, shall take no lack thereby, and thanks to God, it hath lighted upon him, that may be best spared. Only the discomfort is mine, who nevertheless have the private comfort, that in the time I have been made acquainted with this service, it hath been my hap to stumble upon somewhat unseen, which may import the same, as I made my lord keeper acquainted before my going. So leaving it to God to make a good ending of a hard beginning, and most humbly craving your majesty's pardon for presuming to trouble you, I recommend your sacred majesty to God's tenderest preservation. From Huntingdon this 20th of July, 1594.

"Your sacred majesty's in most humble obedience and devotion,
 FR. BACON."

Two days after, his brother, Mr. ARTHUR BACON, in a letter from London, assur'd him, that he was no less sorry than Mr. FRANCIS himself, for his pain and the forced interruption of his journey. "My only particular present comfort," says he, is grounded upon a full assurance I have, the good proof you have generally given of your christian wise patience in more important accidents, the lively spring whereof I rest assured, with God's grace, cannot be drawn dry." Mr. BACON adds, that at that instant, he knew not where the earl of Essex was, but that Sir ROGER WILLIAMS had sent him word the day before, that his lordship had appointed him to meet at the court that night, having been sent for to Grafton by a pursuivant from her majesty. That the French king was in danger to receive a great scorn by being constrain'd to raise the siege of Laon*, after the loss of LIVRY BELLEGARDE*, and divers others of distinction being hurt: That Paris and Roan had mutinied marvellously of late against that king, by occasion of the excessive indiscrete zeal of those of the religion, who not having patience to stay the king's farther success and establishment, had made a more dangerous breach in the common people's hearts, than he with all his double cannon had been able to make in the walls of Laon. "I may not," concludes Mr. BACON, forget to advise you, that Sir FRANCIS ALLEN speaking with Sir ROBERT CECIL the other day, by way of excuse for himself and for Mr. STANBEN, Sir ROBERT, at the

* Vol. iv. fol. 141 and 156.

* Vol. iv. fol. 148.

* He became master of this town on the 2d of August, N. S.

* MARIE ROGER de Saint Larry de BELLEGARDE, made by HENRY III. master of his wardrobe, and grand Ecuyer, and afterwards advanced by LEWIS XIII. in 1620, to be duke and peer

"first,

“ first, like a pot soon hot, swore, that were it not in respect of the earl, he would
 “ have outed him. But after that by chance he had asked Sir FRANCIS ALLEN how
 “ he fell acquainted with STANDEN, and that Sir FRANCIS had told him, by the
 “ means of a most dear honourable friend, his honour’s near kinsman, naming
 “ A. BACON, Sir FRANCIS said (whose word I know not to be counterfeited or
 “ figurative) that he never saw privy counsellor more confused by blushing, being
 “ silent upon the very name of his poor cousin, who was not a little glad to
 “ understand, that it served to so good a purpose.”

Mr. FRANCIS BACON went to Cambridge about this time, where, on the 27th of
 July, he was created master of arts; the day before which his brother ANTHONY
 wrote to him from London, to recommend to him monsieur GOURGUES, son of
 the principal treasurer of Guienne in France, who was desirous of seeing that uni-
 versity. In this letter Mr. BACON observes, that it was then held for certain, that
 the French king was in Laon by composition very honourable and favourable for
 the besieged, and, it was thought, would, after he had appeased the tumults in
 Paris and Rouen, march towards Lyons, where Suroy was grown very mighty by
 the Spanish succour of 16000 foot and 2000 horse. That Groningen was sur-
 rendered to count MAURICE, as it were at discretion: That the king of Den-
 mark’s ambassador, with the duke of Mecklenburg’s and Brunswick’s, were already
 arriv’d in Scotland: and that the earl of Cumberland in the mean time was fallen
 sick of a quotidian ague, so that now the earl of Suffex was named to go to Scot-
 land, to be present at the baptism of the young prince, which was perform’d
 in the latter end of August. “ The final resolution for the voyage to Bass, [con-
 “ times Mr. BACON, is to be set down this evening, which my lord [Effex] sent
 “ me word this day by Mr. STANDEN, he would bring me himself, excusing very
 “ kindly his absence for having had neither leisure nor master worth the com-
 “ municating unto me. Yesternight it pleased the queen’s majesty to use most
 “ gracious words unto him, to wit, that his desire to be in action, and to give farther
 “ proof of his valour and prowess, was so well liked and highly commended; but
 “ that she loved him and her realm too much to hazard his person in any lesser
 “ action, than that, which should import her crown and state; and therefore
 “ willed him to be content, and gave him a warrant of 4000 pounds sterling, say-
 “ ing, *Look to thyself, good Effex, and be wise to help thyself, without giving thy enemies*
 “ *advantage: and my hand shall be readier to help thee than any other.*”

Mr. DAVID FOUTIS, being returned from England to Scotland, wrote from
 Edinburgh on the 23d of July, 1594, to Mr. BACON, that upon his arrival there
 on the 15th, the king was highly satisfied with the service, which he had done his
 majesty in England, ascribing the honour of it to those, to whom it justly be-
 longed. “ *Præter affectionem*, says he, *Platonius glæra nunc refert non potest, novit*
 “ *tamen cetera.* For your part, do not doubt of a proper return. I assure you
 “ of this, and that in time he will give you a proof of this. My master is sending

† From the register of the university.

* Vol. iv. fol. 149.

† On the 22d of July, N. S. MATHEW, l. xvii.
 fol. 357.

‡ Sparswood, p. 406.

* From a volume of Mr. BACON’s papers in my
 possession, fol. 63 and 11.

† The earl of Effex.

“ to your court his principal secretary to obtain what I could not. It is necessary
 “ for both kingdoms, that he be satisfied in some measure, and in time, for the
 “ papists begin to shew themselves. The three earls have six or seven hundred
 “ men in the field, and expect to receive forces from Spain very soon : it is
 “ thought, that ten or twelve sail are already at sea.” Mr. Foulis adds, that
 JAMES GORDON, the jesuit, arrived at Aberdeen on the 16th of that month : That
 the ship was taken with two Englishmen, whom the earl of Huntley thought to
 be able to deliver very soon : That the king had troops enough to keep the enemy
 quiet, but wanted money ; what Mr. Foulis had received, having been employed
 in particular exigencies, so that ~~more was wanting~~ for the public service, and there
 was an immediate necessity for it, since a delay would be dangerous. “ We are
 “ greatly surpriz’d here, *says he*, that you have no regard for the imminent danger,
 “ that threatens this whole island. I think, that Cæsar* will now believe it, for
 “ he is inform’d of it by several persons. This gentleman, who is sent to England,
 “ is nam’d Sir RICHARD COOKBURN, a man of considerable rank here, my su-
 “ perior in office. My brother will acquaint you with the rest. The scope of his
 “ commission is to advertise the queen of the danger, which is much nearer than
 “ she imagines, and that my master is not willing to lose any opportunity of
 “ preventing it, by acquainting her with it, and desiring assistance ; and if that be
 “ not sent in time, I assure you (what the ambassador himself does not know) that
 “ he will have recourse to the States-general, who will not be wanting to relieve
 “ his necessities. But his majesty had rather receive one penny of the queen, than
 “ ten of the states. But it is absolutely necessary to have it, since his majesty is
 “ determined royally to pursue what he has begun. We expect your ambassador
 “ here the last day of this month. The baptism will be solemniz’d the next. We
 “ daily expect six of the States ; and have already here two from the king
 “ of Denmark, and one from Brunswick, and another from Mecklenburg.
 “ My brother will give you their names and qualities. They are all in-
 “ tertained at the expence of the king. We do not yet know who will come from
 “ France. You will receive within three days your letter, with a more particu-
 “ lar assurance of the king’s pleasure in several points. His majesty embraces
 “ *Platoniam in me libertatem*, as a satisfaction done to himself, which he will always
 “ remember. No person besides himself knows any thing of it. Mr. BOWES,
 “ the ambassador resident here, is very much scandaliz’d at the behaviour of
 “ of *Crato*, and his son, towards me ; and assures me, that he will remon-
 “ strate it to the queen at his return, which will be very soon. I presume,
 “ that he has already advertised you, what offices I have done for her majesty since
 “ my return. You will receive likewise with your letter the copy of the in-
 “ structions of our ambassador, and the copy of the king’s letter to the queen.
 “ Let me know, to whom I shall address my letters at Berwick, for I am not wil-
 “ ling to commit them to every person promiscuously. I refer the rest to my
 “ brother, who will inform you of all that passes here. I send you the acts of our
 “ last parliament. You may give one copy to my lord.” In the postscript Mr.
 FOULIS added, that since the writing of his letter, the prisoners had been de-
 livered by force from the town of Aberdeen by the popish earls and their con-

* The lord treasurer BURGHLEY.

* Lord treasurer.

* Sir ROBERT CECIL.

federates.

federates. "I will inform you, *continues he*, in short, of the king's intention. Yesterday in the council the chancellor offered himself to assist his majesty in person with thirty musketers and twenty horse at his own expence during these troubles. "No person seconded him with any offer. The master of Glamis confess'd, that "it is expedient to appoint some nobleman lieutenant, and is not at all desirous, "that his majesty should go in person against them. You may easily judge of "the meaning of this. His majesty is very ill serv'd; and it is necessary, that "the queen should know his most affectionate servants, in order that in proper "time and place she may frankly admonish him to trust the most faithful."

Mr. Foulis wrote again to Mr. Bacon from Edinburgh, on the 29th of the same month of July, 1594^a, inclosing the principal points of the commission of the Scots ambassador, to be shewn to Plato, meaning the earl of Essex, to whom he wrote at the same time a letter concerning what he thought of most importance to be known, besides the informations, which he sent to Mr. Bacon, to whom he sent likewise a copy of the king's letter. "Assure yourself, *says he*, that neither "the ambassador Bowes, nor any other person, can inform you of these things. "You will make your advantage of it, and send me your opinion of every thing, "and especially how our ambassador is esteemed; and what answer you believe he "will receive. I am not of opinion, that he should see you, for the king my "master has forbid me to address him to you. If you can assist him, and can do "it indirectly, I desire you to do it heartily. If you hear any thing of the present, "which will be made from your court by your ambassadors, let me know it. "My master has commanded me to recommend him to PLATO, and says, that he "is happy in his acquaintance there; and wishes, that it may have the best suc- "cess; and that he is extremely glad to have recover'd in him Sir PHILIP SIDNEY. "He desires the continuance of his affection, and promises to reward it in a proper "time and place. I cannot represent in writing his affection. He will shew it "himself one day." In the postscript Mr. Foulis gives the names of the Danish ambassadors in Scotland, who were CHRISTIANUS BARNECOVIVS, and STENO BILDO, both secretaries; and that of the Brunswic ambassador ADAMUS KRANSÉ, and that of the Mecklenburgh ambassador JOACHIMUS BASSEVIVIVS, which two last were counsellors.

Mr. STANDEN having written on the 30th of July to Mr. ANTHONY ROLSTON in Spain, Mr. BACON added a short letter to him of the same date, to inform him, that after the sealing of Mr. STANDEN'S, the earl of Essex having been to visit him, and read again Mr. ROLSTON'S letter to Mr. BACON, the contents of which his lordship had before imparted to the queen, he said, that Mr. ROLSTON'S back-friends had disgrac'd to her majesty, and would continue to cast contempt upon, his advertisements as too general and stale; for which reason his lordship desired Mr. BACON to advise him, henceforward to endeavour to write the most particular and fresh occurrences, which he could, in order, that thereby the impressions, which his former actions had made in her majesty's mind, might be wip'd away. His lordship added, that he would not counsel him to return to England, unless he should

^a Ibid. fol. 69.

^b Vol. iv. fol. 158.

come furnish'd with some most important and extraordinary advertisements to content her majesty.

Mr. FOULIS's letter to Mr. BACON from Edinburgh, on the 6th of August, 1594^b, acquainted him of the arrival there on the 3d of that month of the count DE BRANDEROU and JAMES VALCH, treasurer of Zeland, who had brought a present of 300 ounces of gold for the king, with a security of ten thousand guilders a year to the prince. "I hear, *says he*, that the marriage between count MAURICE and the sister of our queen will take place. The good man is vex'd, that the money, which I have received, is not employed in war. He must know (saying his reverence) that the annuity will be employed at the pleasure of his majesty: and what more shall be received, will be employed likewise in the same manner. You have heard of the surrender of Groningen, Laon, Amiens, Abbeville, Blois upon the river of Bourdeaux, and the siege of La Fere. You will shew this to PLATO, and excuse me to him for not having written to him, which I shall do soon more at large."

In another letter to Mr. BACON, on the 17th of the same month, under the name of ACHATES, from Edinburgh^c, he excused the shortness of it, on account of his not having heard from that gentleman; but inform'd him in cypher, that there had been sent into Scotland a great number of crowns from a banker at Brussels; and that offers were making to Tacitus, which Mr. BACON decypher'd to be the king of Scots.

Mr. FRANCIS BACON's business at court was still depending, as appears from his letter from Gray's Inn to his brother, of the 16th of August, 1594^d, in which he observ'd, that he had heard nothing of it of late; adding, that there had been a defeat of some force in Ireland by MACGUIRE, which troubled the queen, being unaccustomed to such news thence; and thereupon the opportunity was alledged to be left to move her in his own favour; though there was a ballance to this ill news by the coming in of the earl of Tyrone, as was expected^e.

Mr. BACON had some account of the state of Ireland the next month, in a letter dated at Dublin, on the 14th, from Mr. HENRY GOSNOLD^f, who was in some post, perhaps that of secretary, under Sir WILLIAM RUSSEL, appointed lord deputy in May preceding, and to whom he had been recommended by Mr. BACON. "The voyage, *says he*, we have had for the relief of Inniskillin is too long to repeat, saying, that as I have discoursed the beginning abruptly to Mr. ROBERT KEMP, so, according to the course of comedies, I will finish it with better fortunes, that I both find and expect since our return. General favours are the clemency of the air, the healthfulness of the soil, the commodity of the sea, &c. If you look into the conversation of the inhabitants, I protest, tho' I dare clear the most part of them of prodigality, yet for cruelty and beggary, I would never wish a worse place. For mine own part, I want no particular favour, that my

^a From a volume of Mr. BACON's papers in my possession, fol. 68.

^b Ibid. fol. 62.

^c CAMDEN, p. 635.

^d Vol. iv. fol. 168.

^e Vol. iv. fol. 179.

^f place

" place requires, saving crowns, which come not in so fast, as my state requires.
 " Wherefore I am driven to make good use of a good rule, that yourself once
 " gave me, *The first year's patience will double the next year's profit.*"

Sir RICHARD COCKBURN, secretary to the king of Scots, mentioned in the letters of Mr. Foulis cited above, and sent ambassador to England by that king, to desire the queen's assistance in pursuing the popish lords, and to complain of the entertainment at the English court of one Mr. LOCK, an agent of Bothwell, and Mr. JOHN COLVIL's public residence at Tweedmouth, received satisfaction in those points, but met with many evasions with respect to the demand of money; only some part of it, which was otherwise due to the king, being advanced. Upon Sir RICHARD's leaving England, he wrote the following letter to Sir ROBERT CECIL.

" S I R,

" Although our late intimate acquaintance hath had small progress, and not been
 " entertained with such external meanings, as is accustomed; yet having under-
 " stood of some signs of your good will uttered towards me, so much the more
 " obligatory, as undeserved on my part, I cannot forbear thankfully to acknow-
 " ledge the same, and therewithal to give you assurance of a like reciprocal af-
 " fection; from which shall flow such small offices, as may suit somewhat to the en-
 " tertaining of that amity and firm intelligence betwixt the two crowns, and to
 " the continuance of our own particular credit, as I have desired the bearer more
 " at large to make you acquainted; by whom, and these few lines, I will hold dis-
 " charged that part of my duty in taking leave of you, which I would gladly have
 " done by mouth, after I had kissed her majesty's hands.

" Your very assured and affectionate friend,"

Sir ROBERT CECIL's answer was in these terms:

" S I R,

" I would have answered your courteous letter with a like, as soon as I did re-
 " ceive it, if an earnest occasion of the instant had not diverted me, to which I
 " pray you impute my silence. I have now therefore thought it my part to assure
 " you of my willing mind to answer all the offices of good will and kindness,
 " which may at any time fall into the course of any acquaintance or intelli-
 " gence, which both our places shall afford each other; wherein I please my-
 " self not a little to see our resolution *convenire in eodem tertio*, as men, that
 " without faction, or particular humour, affect the conservation of the sound amity
 " of both kingdoms; wherein I am not ignorant, that very often ministers of
 " state under kings may often prove the instruments of good and evil; and there-
 " fore do recommend to you, as well as I injoin to myself, a tender regard of the
 " same; of which your abode here and temperate carriage hath given very hope
 " unto us, and your return back, I doubt not, shall truly deliver the king from

^p His instructions were dated August 27, 1594.

^q Spotswood, l. vi. p. 407.

^r Vol. iv. fol. 177.

^s Fol. 176.

“ any belief, that her majesty's eye is not always very careful of his particular
 “ good and honour, though all times seem not alike for the satisfaction of all his
 “ desires. And thus with these hasty scribbles, I commit you to God's favour.
 “ From the court this 17th of September, 1594.

“ From your loving friend,

“ ROBERT CECIL.”

Mr. FOULIS begins his letter to Mr. BACON on the 22d of that month, from Edinburgh, with these expressions. “ Les peintres, de qui vous m'avez escrit,
 “ ont vestu leur cas d'une robe bien delicate, mais trop courte, en couleurant le
 “ tout d'une multitude des affaires, & laissant la nostre (quasi la principale) toute
 “ neuë. Mais il faut pas se desier pour cela. *Durate & vosmet rebus servate se-*
 “ *cundis.* Le temps aproche fort; qui portera les causes de redresse.” He then
 adds, that [27] the lord treasurer BURGHELY had often written to [SOLON] the
 embassador of [9] the queen, to acquaint [10] the king of Scotland, “ qu'il ne se
 “ laisse persuader autrement par moy, que toute la difficulté de ses affaires procede
 “ de sa majesté seulement, *tanta est sibi causa timoris.* Mais il a ouvert sa boutique
 “ sans vendre de la marchandise; ni sont ces traits tirez d'une si subtile main,
 “ que le moins clair-voyans ne les apercevent, et encores qu'ils j'adressent plus outre
 “ que a moi, si est ce qu'ils ne toucheront point au blanc, car l'appuy de TACITUS [*qui*
 “ *d'Escoffe*] est maintenant si religieusement fondé en l'inviolable affection de 9 [sa
 “ majesté] et le clou si bien rivé de ce costé (Dieu merci) qu'un septentenaire sub-
 “ tilité n'agarde de le brâner.” With regard to himself, Mr. FOULIS declares,
 that whatever assistance he could contribute to the advancement and perpetual sup-
 port of this friendship between the two crowns, he would employ it on all occa-
 sions, without regard to what might be said or thought of him: “ Et ne laissera
 “ pas pour eux, *says be*, de servir si delement a l'autel, qui me promet en fin vic-
 “ toire et honneur; *quod meo nomine spondebis.*”

The same day Mr. FOULIS wrote a letter in cypher to the earl of Essex*, where-
 in he inform'd his lordship, that the king of Scots would mount his horse, and
 go to the north that week, with full resolution to complete the work, and satisfy
 the queen of England: but that he had been oblig'd to pawn his jewels for two
 thousand pounds sterling, in order to expedite the business, so determin'd was he
 upon it, expecting to be soon assisted by her majesty, upon whom he relied in all
 things. “ We have promised, *says Mr. FOULIS*, to observe the peace made between
 “ our predecessors and the States General, and nothing more, tho' they have made
 “ great offers. The papists will be ruin'd here, though the earl of Bothwell has
 “ join'd them. That earl begins to be hated of every one, since those are hang'd,
 “ who assist him. Four have already been hang'd, who had assisted him in this
 “ last treason. The rest are strictly pursued. The laird of Logie will be at least
 “ banished on that account. The king has promis'd and sworn to hear nothing
 “ from the earls of Huntley, Angus and Errol, till they have quitted the country;
 “ and I am persuaded he will do it. There will be no house, in which mass has
 “ been said, in our whole way, which will not be demolished. All business here:

* From a volume of Mr. BACON's papers in my possession, fol. 65.

* Ibid. fol. 64.

" is in the hands of the chancellor and keeper of the privy seal, both well affected
 " The king begins to discern every day those, who endeavour'd to put him upon
 " ill terms with the queen of England, and will take proper measures in that
 " respect, and shew by his conduct, that there is nothing, which he wishes more,
 " than the friendship of her majesty. I write as the fact really is, and desire your
 " lordship not to believe other reports."

Mr. HUDSON likewise communicated, on the 29th of September, to Mr. BACON two letters to himself *, one from Mr. BALANTINE, Vice-chamberlain to the king of Scots, dated on the 19th of that month, and the other on the 22d from Mr. ROGER ASTON, afterwards knighted, who was natural son of JOHN ASTON, second son of RICHARD ASTON, of Aston in Cheshire, and had been educated in Scotland, where he was groom of the bed-chamber to the king, by whom he was much beloved, and often intrusted with carrying letters from him to queen ELIZABETH. After that king's accession to the throne of England, he was made master of the great wardrobe, and died on the 23d of May, 1612, being interr'd on the 28th, at Cranford in Middlesex †.

The substance of Mr. BALANTINE's letter was, that the earl of Mar had gain'd nothing by the queen of Scots forc'd reconciliation but a general countenance, which at the king's earnest request and command she was contented to yield. That her friends the lairds of BACLUGH ‡ and CESFORD §, were retired to their houses without visitations; so that their conjunction in shew had been dissolved, though not in effect. That the chancellor's extreme sickness had so shaken that confederacy, that, in the opinion of the wisest, not only their case was lost, but themselves greatly endanger'd, by reason the chancellor gave not only authority to their actions, but also, by his nature, wisdom, and experience, *sweetned their unripe, and tempered their hot proceedings*. That the chancellor's office was upon the point of being transferr'd to the prior of Blantyre. That the king by very loving letters had declared to the chancellor, how much he regretted his unseasonable sickness, professing, that as by his countenance in favouring the duke of Lenox, and countess of Huntley, he had given to the world a sufficient proof of his constant affection to their father; so, if God should call him, he would make his children a second example and proof of his firm love. That the lady Bothwell was received into grace by a most secret cunning practice ready to be mistaken, for BACLUGH fearing his imminent ruin by the chancellor's sickness, and by other

* Vol. iv. fol. 180.

† Wood, Fasti Oxon. vol. i. col. 173.

‡ Sir WALTER SCOT, son of WALTER SCOT, by MARGARET, daughter of DAVID earl of ANGUS. He was knighted by the king of Scots, and made warden of the marches towards England, having the charge of LIDDESDALE. He was created lord SCOT of BACLUGH, and dying in 1611. left by his lady, MARY daughter of WILLIAM KER, of Cesford, one son WALTER, created earl of BACLUGH in 1619, and two daughters. This son, who died in 1683, had a son FRANCIS, the second earl, whose younger daughter ANNE married in

1665, JAMES duke of Monmouth.

§ Sir ROBERT KER, warden of the middle marches. He had in 1591 been oblig'd to fly on account of the murder of WILLIAM KER of Ancram at Edinburgh in the night, but after a few months obtain'd his pardon, as was supposed, thro' the interception of the chancellor MATTILAND, who afterwards married him to his sister daughter of MATTILAND of Lethington. See SPOTSWOOD, p. 382, 383 who took his account of that murder from a long letter, which I have read in manuscript, written to him from Edinburgh, 28 July, 1631, by Sir ROBERT KER, son of Mr. WILLIAM KER.

occasions, of which none of the least was the liberty his mother had in that country, and permission to receive her revenues peaceably, thought good to prevent the inconveniences likely to ensue by secret intelligence with his mother, who being desirous of her son's and her own interest, in order that the matter might be the better mask'd, dealt with her son's profess'd enemies, the lords HAMILTON and HERRIES, to make her way to the duke of Lenox and the earl of Mar, by whose intercession she might procure grace from the king; and after she had pitifully lamented unto them her son's unnatural behaviour in the barring her, as he did, from her houses, the two lords were so moved with her tears, and so glad to have occasion to render BACLUGH odious, that they dealt in her favour with the king, who not only received her with good countenance, but also sent with her an order to BACLUGH to restore to her both her houses and revenues: which was what BACLUGH wish'd, tho' he durst not demand it. That Sir GEORGE HUME, afterwards earl of Dunbar, and treasurer of Scotland, BACLUGH's most confident friend, and privy to the plot, seem'd to be much discontented for its being done without his knowledge in favour of BOTHWELL his profess'd enemy; which occasioned some debate in words between the duke of Lenox and him, which was the more easily and speedily pacified, because he knew all before. That BACLUGH and CEsFORD were secretly in Edinburgh, in Mr. WILLIAM FOWLER's house, to meet with the master of Glamis, who had desired a conference with them, and seem'd to be jealous of the chancellor, affirming, that the cause of his sickness was, that after conference with the king, he promised both to reveal to him the design of his association, and to find convenient remedies; so that on the one part being bound by promise to his prince, and by amity to those, who had been his friends in perilous times, and not finding a way to discharge both obligations together, he had fallen into a great melancholy, which caus'd his fever. That it was thought, that if the master of Glamis's humour was seconded by the two lairds BACLUGH and CEsFORD, all would go wrong. That the king inclin'd to that counsel. That BACLUGH appear'd to be discontented with the troubles on the borders, as if he had been forced to these disorders; and that it was probable, that he would shortly send his apology either by writing or message.

Mr. ASTON's letter contain'd nothing of consequence, but that RICHARD DOUGLASS had urg'd the king to write favourably for his uncle ARCHIBALD, remonstrating, that his majesty's service was greatly hindered, by reason his uncle was disavowed, and not respected there. But that the king in choler rejected his demand, and revil'd his uncle; and yet the said RICHARD was preparing to go to London.

Mr. STANDEN having made a new application to the lord treasurer BURGHLEY, about the month of October, 1594, his lordship wrote him the following answer.

“ Mr. STANDEN,

“ I received your letter very evil at ease, and therein have continued, or rather increased in pain. I see the occasion of your letter proceedeth upon a few words

" of mine given to Mr. BEALE. And true it is, that since I found you strange
 " to me, and that I hear by your report to your friends, that I began to be
 " strange to you, I wish indifferent hearers might hear, wherein you have gathered
 " any conceit of my strangeness. I avow to you on my honesty, whereof no
 " man hath a power to deprive me, I never meant to be divided in conversation
 " from you, until I saw you utterly dispos'd to have no intelligence with me : and
 " herewith I was not discontented, for I know it to be a lot inseparable, where I
 " mean best, to be worst thought of. But it is not my fault, but theirs, that do
 " mis-judge me. I am weary to write upon this argument, for the field is large.

" Your loving friend,

" W. BURGHLEY.

" I do thank you for your offer of kindness, which is the more worthy, if you
 " conceive unkindness on my part."

The king of Scots, upon his march to the north against the popish earls^b, having made application to queen ELIZABETH for a supply of money, Sir ROBERT CECIL in his answer, of the 15th of October, 1594^c, to a letter of Mr. LAMBERT SADIAR, inform'd him, that upon the receipt of that letter, having presented it to her majesty, she had ordered him to let Mr. SADIAR know, that having understood that day of the king's good progress in his journey, and finding by his letter in what sort some support was desired, she was pleas'd, notwithstanding her infinite causes of expence, to let the king have 2000*l*. forthwith beforehand to serve his present purpose, and had given orders to the lord treasurer to pay that sum into his hands. Hereof, says Sir ROBERT, you may advertise the king; for her majesty having once said it, used never to alter it. My lord having some weakness in his hand, doth desire you to receive that by my hand, which he should have written; of whom you may be assured ever to find that, which may conserve the sound and entire amity between both the kingdoms, whatever the malicious spirits may evaporate against him."

Mr. FRANCIS BACON was now at Twickenham Lodge, where he had been some time alone, but being desirous to know what had been lately done at court, that might affect his own interest and situation, wrote a letter to his brother on Tuesday the 16th of October, 1594^d, in these terms: " One day draweth on another, and I am well pleased in my being here; for methinks solitariness collecteth the mind, as shutting the eyes doth the sight. I pray you therefore advertise me what you find by my lord of Essex, (who, I am sure, hath been with you) was done last Sunday, and what he conceiveth of the matter." But he return'd to London soon after, in order to attend the business of the term, and on the 23d of October received the following letter from the earl of Essex^e.

^b STOWOOD, p. 408, 409.
^c Vol. iv. fol. 195.

^d Vol. iv. fol. 187.

^e Vol. iv. fol. 197.

" S I R,

“S I R,

“ I will be to morrow night at London. I purpose to hear your argument the next day. I pray you send me word by this bearer, of the hour and place, where it is. Of your own cause I shall give better account, when I see you than I can do now; for that, which will be done, will be this afternoon or to morrow. I am fast unto you, as you can be to yourself.

“ E S S E X.”

Mr. BACON, upon the receipt of a letter to himself and of another to Mr. STANDEN, probably from Mr. ROLSTON, in Spain, sent them, after they were decypher'd, to Mr. STANDEN on the 20th of October, 1594^f, referring it to his discretion, how much or how little he would communicate to the earl of Essex, whom he only advertised of the receipt of them, and that he found in them some points very well worth the advertizing, and the knowledge of the English court, and consequently of some real thanks: And at the same time he sent, as appears from an indorsement of this letter, a copy of that, which had been written the day before by the French ambassador to ANTONIO PEREZ.

Mr. EDWARD YATES, a servant of Mr. BACON, being sent about this time to France, to attend Monsieur GOURGUES, who was returning thither after having visited England, and Monsieur MAILLET, probably the agent of the city of Geneva, he wrote an account^{*} of his journey from the time of their leaving Calais on the 10th of October, 1594, till after their arrival at Paris on the 20th; in which journal are several particulars, which deserve to be mentioned. He observes, that on Friday the 21st of that month he saw the king's dinner serv'd at the Louvre. His officers tasted of every dish; and at two, which was his majesty's ordinary hour, he sat down. The duke de Montpensier^g gave him his napkins. In the bed-chamber were the prince of Conti^h, and count Soissonsⁱ, the admiral, marshal DE LA CHASTRE, and the two marshals of the king's camp, MONTMARTIN and CLERMONT. Mr. YATES then spake with my lord WEEMES, who was glad to hear of Mr. BACON. The next day Monsieur GOURGUES saluted the king's sister, kissing the lower part of her gown, which was of single raffety, without welt or guard. She said to him immediately upon his entrance, *You come out of Holland*; and he answering, *Lastly out of England*, she, without any farther curiosity of news, or desire to be inform'd of queen ELIZABETH's health, retired into a window with some of her ladies. The king had lately hurt one of his legs with a horse in the ferry, going towards St. Germain; and in the Tuilleries a massy stone falling from a workman narrowly missed his majesty, whose attendants reproaching the man, the king ordered them to let him alone, saying, *it is nothing*. The duke of Bouillon being receiv'd marshal of France, the first president used these speeches to him on the occasion. “*La cour vous reçoit en l'estat de mareschal sans tirer à consequence*,” in respect of his religion, as it was thought. He was march'd thence with 8000 men towards Cambray, expecting 4000 out of the Low Countries.

^f Vol. iii. fol. 218.

^{*} Vol. iv. fol. 202.

^h FRANCIS DE BOURBON, governor of Paris.

^g HENRY DE BOURBON, governor of Nor-

ⁱ CHARLES DE BOURBON CONTI.

mandy.

It was then reported, that he was to marry the eldest daughter of WILLIAM the first prince of Orange^k. The marshal DE BIRON's brother was carried prisoner with the young count of Luxembourg from the *Mefnage* in the Tuilleries; but Monsieur DE ROHAN, and his brother, the baron of SOUBISE, escaped by leaping a wall. The marshal with two more pursued them nine leagues, overtook and slew them all but one, who was mounted upon the king's horse, taken from the *Mefnage*. Another incident was as follows; Monsieur LAISSERAT, a Burgundian, governor of a frontier town for the league, had in his garrison a cadet of Gascony, named BEAUSSY, who speaking in the behalf of a Gascon prisoner, was by the governor call'd traitor, and greatly abused with opprobrious speeches. Whereupon he left the garison, and not long after LAISSERAT surrendered the town to the king, and came to Paris, where the eldest brother to BEAUSSY liv'd, who knowing the injury offered to his brother, assembled several of his countrymen and acquaintance, and going to LAISSERAT's lodging, told him, that he was the brother of BEAUSSY, whom he had abus'd, but that he lied in his throat, and that BEAUSSY was a better gentleman than himself. LAISSERAT being seconded with divers Burgundians his friends, assaulted BEAUSSY the same day, in the street St. Honoré, and drove him and his companions to the corner of St. Peter's Church-yard, where the Gascons made a stand, kill'd two of the Burgundians, and wounded ten or twelve dangerously, and then fled to count DE GRAMMONT's lodging, whose assistance they desired for their escape. The count employed the marshal DE BIRON, who convey'd them away in safety. But the marshal DE BRISAC, and Monsieur St. LUC, who favoured LAISSERAT and his company, expressed great discontent with marshal DE BIRON, as having done ill in protecting those who deserv'd a halter. Not long after, that marshal told St. LUC openly in the Louvre, *Vous levez de bec ici, et devant l'an vous faisiez le poltron*. This inflam'd the resentment of both sides; and the count DE GRAMMONT joining the marshal DE BIRON, and the marshal DE BRISAC with St. LUC, three or four days after they went into the fields with hundreds of horsemen, of which the king being inform'd sent for them, and swore that he would fill the Bastille with marshals and gallants, if they played him any more such pranks. On Friday the 28th of October, the king went to St. Germain. When Paris was surrender'd to him, he went to the gate St. Denis to see the duke of Feria and the Spaniards march out. Mr. YATES was told by a Parisian, that the duke DE MAYENNE was at that time reduced so low, that his followers and pages were almost starved, and pawn'd his plate for victuals; and often when he went to see the prince of Parma deceased, he waited an hour or two before he could speak with that prince, and always continued bare-headed till the prince bid him be cover'd. The king now seem'd to pity that duke, saying, that he would ride before it was long from town to town upon a bidet. Monsieur DE GRILLON^l told madam DE MONTPENSIER^m, in presence of the

^k ELIZABETH DE NASSAU, daughter of the prince of Orange, by CHARLOTTE DE BOURBON, daughter of LOUIS DE BOURBON, duke of Montpensier. She was married to the duke of BOUILLON, some time after the death of his first wife CHARLOTTE DE LA MARK on the 15th of May, 1554. N. S.

^l LEWIS DE BERTON, seigneur Crillon or Grillon, distinguished by his valour, the title of *homme sans peur*. He was captain of the guards, and died in 1615.

^m CATHARINE DE LORRAINE, dutches de Montpensier, daughter of FRANCIS duke of Guise,

king, that he was the least of an hundred, who had vowed her death for the execrable murder of HENRY III. It was thought, that an inquiry would be made of all manner of persons accessary to it; the king, as it was said, having receiv'd verses *de bonne part*, representing the daily danger, which he incurr'd by leaving so heinous a crime unpunish'd. A courtier demanding the government of the isle of France, and the superintendency of the finances, which had been possess'd by Monsieur d'O^a, deceased, the king only answered him, that no men were better monied than governors, and no chear comparable to the banquets of financiers; for which reasons he would reserve those two offices to himself, in order to have crowns, and to keep good chear. And he told Monsieur DE HARLAY^b, the first president, that as yet his crown hung on the one side of his head; but if it once came to stand upright, he would reward all his great services. In the mean time he constituted that president, and the lieutenant civil, and the provost of merchants, his lieutenants in the isle of France.

Mr. FOULIS attending the king of Scots in his northern expedition against the popish earls, wrote from Aberdeen on the 4th of November, 1594, to Mr. BACON^c, informing him, that on the last of October, the house and fortrefs of Straithbogie were demolished in the king's presence, the mistress of the house looking on, without having been able to obtain audience of his majesty to request any favour. That on Monday the house of Slaynes, belonging to the earl of Errol, would be treated in the same manner. That the king would stay at Aberdeen ten or twelve days, in order to settle that country in tranquility; after which he would appoint a lieutenant to continue there, to prevent the earl of Huntley and his associates from residing there any longer. Mr. FOULIS thought, that the earl of Argyle would be this lieutenant. The king expected double the sum of money, which he had received, and was sorry, that his embassador had received it. "He would," says Mr. FOULIS, have employed the whole in this cause, which he has now "sincerely embrac'd, as appears from the commission, which he has given to the "lord OCHILTRY, whom he does not love, to take the earl of Angus, and from "his last prosecution of his expedition. He intends to send to the Low-Countries "to desire assistance for compleating what he has begun. It would be more proper "and suitable to have this from England. I hope, that the artifices of his enemies both here and there will end in his honour and their reproach." Mr. FOULIS desired Mr. BACON to excuse his not writing to the earl of Essex then, but promised to do it soon.

The earl's answer to Mr. FOULIS on the 4th of December from London, was as follows^d.

by ANNE D'ESTE. She had an implacable aversion to HENRY III. supporting the league against him and his successor HENRY IV. with the utmost zeal and fury.

^a FRANCIS D'O, seigneur de Frenes de Maillebois, governor of Paris, and superintendant of the

finances, which posts he had held under HENRY III. He died at Paris, 24. October, 1594, N. S.

^b ACHILLE DE HARLAY.

^c From a volume of the papers of ANTHONY BACON, Esq; in my possession, fol. 9.

^d Vol. iv. fol. 216.

" S I R,

"SIR,

"My affection you shall understand from my self; my opinion concerning the present estate of things by my good friend Mr. BACON. To both relations I must add this caveat, that you measure not the good-will I bear by the ceremonies I use; nor that you think the satisfaction we give is so great, as that, which we would give. For yourself, I will cover to make you read my kindness out of my actions, as well as out of my letter. For the affairs of that kingdom, if they go not to your contentment, it is the fault of the time, and of the queen's necessity, and not of her will.

"I wish you all happiness, and will be ever

"Your affectionate friend,

"London, this 4th of December."

"ESSEX."

The same day his lordship wrote to the earl of Mar in these terms:

"My LORD,

"I had written to your lordship by some of your last ambassador's train, but that I was then by mischance lame of my right hand. I write now, as well to salute your lordship after my long silence, as to congratulate the king's late happy success in the north. I think the question is very hard, whether the king's safety, or our satisfaction, be greater by his action so well begun. But neither will be perfect till the action be perfected. And so purposing shortly to make your lordship a more full dispatch, I commend your lordship to God's best protection, and rest

"Your lordship's very affectionate friend,

"London, this 4th of December."

"ESSEX."

Mr. BACON, on the 25th of that month, gave his brother FRANCIS an account of a conference between the earl and ANTONIO PEREZ, that his lordship being come expressly the day before after dinner to speak with the French ambassador and ANTONIO, and not finding the latter at his house, sent word to him at Mr. BACON's house to repair with all speed to Watlingham-house, where ANTONIO had two hours conference with his lordship, "and amongst other things argued, says Mr. BACON, the matter you wot of at large, with no less judgment than devotion to my lord's honour and profit and good affection to us. His argument my lord heard attentively, and accepted most kindly, with many right hearty thanks, assuring him, that at his return from the court, which should be within two days, he would resolve. The occasion was very fitly ministered by my lord himself, advertising signor PEREZ, that the queen had signed at two of the clock, and had given him an hundred pound land in fee simple, and thirty pounds in pikes, which for quietness sake, and in respect of his friends, he was content to accept, without any farther contestation."

Mr. THOMAS EDMONDES, who had been now for some years agent at Paris, took frequent occasion to write to the earl of Essex: and there are among Mr. BACON's papers several of his letters remaining, of which there no copies extant among his own. In one of these, dated at Paris the 11th of January, 1594¹, he acquaints his lordship, that upon the alarm given of the descending of the Italian army, the French king seemed resolved with more speed to pursue his intended journey to Lyons; for which reason Mr. EDMONDES was obliged to repeat his suit to his lordship to procure him direction, how to rule himself in that case; for that otherwise he knew not what course to take, in respect of the orders given him to continue at Paris; on which account he had been fore'd to urge the lord treasurer to the same purpose. He then mentions, that having the other day had some speech with Monsieur DE VILLEROY, of common matters, at the close of it the latter broke into some passion with him, because they were obliged to attend so long for the resolution out of England; while in the mean time it rained upon them on all sides, naming by the several ways of Lyons, Picardy, and Bretagne, in the midst of which her majesty now abandoned them; saying, that if they received inconvenience, the peril extended likewise to England. Mr. EDMONDES answer'd, that the queen was of sensible wisdom to know what was fit to do for such regard of her security. But that if they did not receive these offices of kindness from England, which they expected, and as her majesty had formerly yielded, they must lay the blame on themselves for having given her so many discontentments, and very lately for Bretagne, as had carried her into despair against them. Monsieur DE VILLEROY declared himself sorry, that her majesty should receive any such occasion, or stand upon too strict exactions, which the necessity of the time would not suffer France to satisfy; and in which if they should find us obstinate, and to put on a neglect of them, it was not so miserable with them, but they could make a provision for themselves, to which they were earnestly solicited. "I presume not," adds Mr. EDMONDES, by this signification to infer the necessity of relieving of them, but only to let your lordship understand what they do attend thence; and am moved to think by the conceit, which I find they have of our new framed disposition towards them, of being become jealous and enemies of their farther establishment, that they mean to shape their course to depend little upon our amity, other than shall concern general offices. The Vidame having been too long discontent for the king's neglect of him, the king hath, within these few days, in part to content him, made him a counsellor, whereof the name is so common, and the number so infinite, as the justices of peace in England. MORLAS was also made one of the number two months since."

The lord WISEMES, who had long attach'd himself to the interests of queen ELIZABETH, and was then in the service of HENRY IV. made an application to her majesty on the 14th of January, 1594², for the grant of a sum of money in the following letter.

¹ Now in the possession of the honourable PHILIP YORKE, esquire.

² Vol. iv. fol. 8.

³ See PUYANUS, tom v. l. cxii. cap. iv. p. 461.

⁴ Vol. iv. fol. 22.

"MADAM,

"MADAM,

"After many promises, having always continued your highness's most faithful and willing servant in all things, I much know, needful for the entertainment of the amity betwixt your highness and my masters and countries, as in furthering, so far as in me lay, your majesty's particulars; since I had given my vow to your true servant Sir FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM, being ever in hope to have performance of his promise made unto me; the pursuit of which, with my honest dealing in that honourable action, whereunto by your highness's advice I was embarked, with that, which in your service I have most willingly spent, as your most affectionate serviteur, and yet of mind to give your highness farther proof in greater matters than before: the extraordinary charges I have sustained, press me to present this request to your majesty, that by the grant thereof, I may have occasion always to be

"Your majesty's most humble serviteur."

The preferment of Mr. FRANCIS BACON was still in agitation; for on the 20th of January his kinsman Mr. EDWARD STANHOPE⁷ wrote to him from the court at Greenwich, that after long arguing that afternoon between the queen and the lord treasurer about making that gentleman solicitor-general immediately, her majesty ordered his lordship to send for the master of the Rolls to be at court the next day, whose opinion she would use in the choice; telling his lordship, that nobody else would nominate any other to the place, lest they should offend him, who seem'd only to affect his nephew, with some other speeches of the like nature. Mr. STANHOPE thought good to advertise Mr. FRANCIS BACON of this as soon as he could, that the latter might speak with the master of the Rolls, if he thought proper, after his coming; since it was likely to be resolved now for him, if the master did his part.

Four days after lady BACON wrote to her son ANTHONY⁸ an account of a conversation between herself and Sir ROBERT CECIL, upon the same affair. In this letter she observes, that, after courteous and familiar speeches upon the causes of her coming, and the unlook'd-for deferring of the affair, Sir ROBERT urg'd, that her majesty was not well then. And upon lady BACON's mentioning the ill state of her son ANTHONY's health, Sir ROBERT said, *It is true, he hath good parts, but gout and stone be too naturally drawn from parents.* She replied, "Well, the eldest of my but two in all sons is visited by God; and the other methinks is but strangely used by mens dealing, God knows who and why. I think he is the very first young gentleman, of some account, that hath been by the common speech of this time placed, and then out of doubt; and yet nothing done; enough to everthrow a young and studious man, as he is given indeed, and as fit by judgment of wiser, both for years and understanding, to occupy a place, as well as the attorney. The world marvels in respect of his friends and his own towardness." Sir ROBERT rejoind, that experience taught, that her majesty's nature was not to resolve, but to delay; and that she was still without the office of three white staves together: and that he dar'd to say, that the lord treasurer would

⁷ One of the queen's council in the north parts of England.

⁸ Fol. 29.

⁹ Fol. 21 and 24.

gladly have had his cousin plac'd before this. "I hope so myself," said Lady BACON; but some think, if my lord had been earnest, it had been done." Sir ROBERT answer'd, that his lordship had even the Tuesday before mov'd the queen, urging, that the term-day was near, and required a solicitor for her service; upon which her majesty said, it was a shame the place was so long unfurnish'd. *No shame, Madam,* answer'd his lordship. *But alas!* said she, *I may not name any, for no other dare, for fear of you and my lord of Essex.* The lord treasurer replied, "I trust you are not without a nomination; but rather now to conclude." The queen ask'd, "Is there none, I pray you, but FRANCIS BACON fit for that place?" *I know not,* said his lordship, *how your majesty may be altered; but the judges and others have and do take him sufficient with your favour; and it is expected of all this term.* Sir ROBERT protested, that his father acted in this affair plainly and in good faith; and upon lady BACON'S observing, that himself was secretary in place, tho' not nominated, he answer'd, "As for that, I dare speak no more of it; but as long as none is plac'd, I wait still, tho' I must think myself as hardly us'd as my cousin. And I tell you plainly, Madam, I disdain to seem to be thought, that I doubted of the place. And so would I with my cousin FRANCIS to do as long as the place is vacant, and bear the delay. Let him not be discouraged, but carry himself wisely. It may be, her majesty was too much pressed at the first, which she liketh not, and at last will come of herself." Lady BACON observes upon the whole, that Sir ROBERT'S speech to her upon this occasion was *all kindly outward*, and in a manner, that shew'd him desirous to have her think him sincere in it.

Mr. FRANCIS BACON himself wrote the next day to his brother*,

"Good brother,

"Since I saw you, this hath passed. Tuesday, tho' sent for, I saw not the queen. Her majesty alledged she was then to resolve with the council upon her places of law. But this resolution was *ut supra*; and note the rest of the counsellors were perswaded she came rather forwards than otherwise; for against me she is never peremptory but to my lord of Essex. I missed a line of my lord keeper's; but thus much I hear otherwise: the queen seemeth to apprehend my travel; whereupon I was sent for by Sir ROBERT CECIL in sort as from her majesty; himself having of purpose immediately gone to London to speak with me, and not finding me there, he wrote to me. Whereupon I came to the court, and upon his relation to me of her majesty's speeches, I desired leave to answer it in writing; not, I said, that I mistrusted his report, but mine own wit; the copy of which answer I send. We parted in kindness *secundum exterius*. This copy you must needs return, for I have no other, and I wrote this by memory after the original was sent away. The queen's speech is after this sort. *Why? I have made no solicitor. Hath any body carried a solicitor with him in his pocket? But he must have it in his own time* (as if it were but yesterday's nomination) *or else I must be thought to cast him away.* Then her majesty sweareth thus; *If I continue this manner, she will seek all England*

* Vol. iv. fol. 28.

"for a solicitor rather than take me. Yea, she will send for Houston and Coventry to morrow next (as if she would swear them both.) Again she entereth into it, that she never deals so with any as with me (in hoc erratum non est). She hath pulled me over the bar (note the words, for they cannot be her own). She hath used me in her greatest causes. But this is Essex, and she is more angry with him than with me. And such like speeches, so strange, as I should leave myself in it, but that I have cast off the care of it. My conceit is, that I am the least part of mine own matter. But her majesty would have a delay, and yet would not bear it herself. Therefore she giveth no way to me, and she perceiveth her council giveth no way to others, and so it sticketh as she would have it. But what the secret of it is *oculus aquile non penetravit*. My lord continueth on kindly and wisely a course worthy to obtain a better effect than a delay, which to me is the most unwelcome condition.

"Now to return to you the part of a brother, and to render you the like kindness, advise you, whether it were not a good time to set in strongly with the queen to draw her to honour your travels. For in the course I am like to take, it will be a great and a necessary stay to me, besides the natural comfort I shall receive. And if you will have me deal with my lord of Essex, or otherwise break it by mean to the queen, as that, which shall give me full contentment, I will do it as effectually, and with as much good discretion, as I can. Wherein if you aid me with your direction, I shall observe it. This as I did ever account it sure and certain to be accomplished, in case myself had been placed, and therefore deferred it till then, as to the proper opportunity; so now thus I see such delay in mine own placing, I with *ex animo* it should not expect.

"I pray you let me know what mine uncle Killigrew will do, for I must be more carefull of my credit than ever, since I receive so little thence, where I deserved best. And to be plain with you, I mean even to make the best of those small things I have, with as much expedition as may be without loss, and so I sing a mass of *requiem* I hope abroad. For I know her majesty's nature, that she neither careth tho' the whole surname of the Bacons travelled, nor of the Cecils neither.

"I have here an idle pen or two, specially one, that was gozened, thinking to have got some money this term. I pray send me somewhat else, for them to write out besides your Irish collection, which is almost done. There is a col-

^b THOMAS COVENTRY, born in 1547, educated at Balliol College in Oxford, and afterwards at the Inner Temple, and in 1596 chosen reader of that house. He was elected to the degree of *serjeant* at law by queen ELIZABETH, in which he was sworn the 17th of May, 1603, and in 1605 appointed king's *serjeant*, and the same year one of the justices of the court of common pleas, in which he died the 12th of December, 1606. He was father of the lord keeper COVENTRY. Mr. FRANCIS BA-

CON, in a letter to Sir ROBERT CECIL printed among his works, remarks, that he had been told with asseverations, by a wife friend of his, and not factions against Sir ROBERT, that the latter *was bought by Mr. COVENTRY for 2000 angels, and wrought is a contrary spirit to his father*.

^c Mr. ANTHONY BACON had written to Sir HENRY KILLIGREW on the 14th of January, 1597, desiring the loan of 200 l. for six months... Vol. in fol. 4.

"lection

"lection of king JAMES, of foreign states, largest of Flanders, which tho' it
 "be no great matter, yet I would be glad to have it.

"Thus I commend you to God's good protection. From my lodging at
 "Twickenham-park this 25th of January, 1594.

"Your intire loving brother,

"FR. BACON."

His letter to Sir ROBERT CECIL referr'd to in this was in these terms

"S I R,

"Your honour may remember, that upon your relation of her majesty's speech
 "concerning my travel, I asked leave to make answer in writing; not but I
 "knew then what was true, but because I was carefull to express it without doing
 "myself wrong. And it is true, I had then opinion to have written to her ma-
 "jesty: but since weighing with myself, that her majesty gave no ear to the
 "motion made by yourself, that I might answer it by mine own attendance, I
 "began to doubt the second degree, whether it might not be taken for presump-
 "tion in me to write to her majesty, and so resolved, that it was best for me to
 "follow her majesty's own way in committing it to your report.

"It may please your honour to deliver to her majesty, first, that it is an ex-
 "ceeding grief to me, that any not motion (for it was not now a motion) but
 "mention, that should come from me, should offend her majesty, when for these
 "one and twenty years (for so long it is, that I kiss'd her majesty's hands upon
 "my journey into France) I have used the best of my wits to please.

"Next, mine answer standing upon two points, the one, that this mention of
 "travel to my lord of Essex was no present motion, suit, or request; but casting
 "the worst of my fortune with an honourable friend, that had long used me pri-
 "vately, I told his lordship of this purpose of mine to travel, accompanying it
 "with these very words, that upon her majesty's rejecting me with such circum-
 "stance, tho' my heart might be good, yet mine eyes would be sore, that I should
 "take no pleasure to look upon my friends, for that I was not an impudent man,
 "that could face out a disgrace; and that I hoped her majesty would not be of-
 "fended, that, not able to endure the sun, I fled into the shade. The other,
 "that it was no more than this; for I did expressly and particularly (for so much
 "wit God then lent me) by way of caveat restrain my lord's good affection, that
 "he should in no wise utter or mention this matter till her majesty had made
 "a solicitor: wherewith (now since my looking upon your letter) I did in a duti-
 "ful manner challenge my lord, who very honorably acknowledged it, seeing he
 "did it for the best; and therefore I leave his lordship to answer for himself.
 "All this my lord of Essex can testify to be true, and I report me to yourself,
 "whether at the first, when I desired deliberation to answer, yet nevertheless said

" I would to you privately declare what had passed, I said not in effect so much.
 " The conclusion shall be, that wheresoever God and her majesty shall appoint
 " me to live, I shall truly pray for her majesty's preservation and felicity. And
 " so I humbly commend me to you.

Your poor kinsman to do you service,

" FR. BACON."

Mr. ANTHONY BACON, upon receipt of this letter of his brother to Sir ROBERT CECIL and that to himself, signified to him in his answer of the 26th of January, 1597*, his approbation of what Mr. FRANCIS BACON had done; acknowledging his brotherly kindness to himself: " But I must confess, *says he*, freely and unfeignedly, that finding myself by imperfection of nature not only careless of myself, but incapable what is best for myself, I will and do intirely commit myself to the resolution and direction of my most honourable friend and dearest brother." He then acquaints him of their uncle KILLGOREW's refusal to lend him the money desir'd, upon a frivolous excuse grounded upon the denial of his deputy SUGDEN, without whose help he said he could not do it. He concludes with observing, that he expected to see the earl of Essex the next day, and would not fail to send an account of what should pass between them. But his lordship could not get leave to come that day to Mr. BACON, who wrote to his brother on the 27th of January, that he hop'd to have a glance of the earl the day following; adding, that ANTONIO PEREZ highly commended the queen's grace and the royal magnificence of some court solemnity then depending; " which being ended, *says Mr. BACON*, *il est pour reprendre ses terres* with her majesty, when he hath assured me, that he will bring in fitly, without any straining, that, which shall be more for her honour and service than our good; how well soever he meaneth us. Signor BASADONNA wished privately and merrily, that her majesty would but resolve to send our honourable cousin and yourself joint-commissioners to the state of Venice; and that then she would find by experience one of signor A. PEREZ's remonstrative observations to be most true, to wit, that no sovereign power can imprint, by any disgrace, hatred in a lovely subject, nor love in an odious; and that a wise prince ought to avoid *comme la peste* the employment of a servant, who, he knoweth, can dissemble any disgrace, how unjust soever, without demonstration of just grief, having *comme un bas maitre des comptes*; for so, he saith, Sir ROBERT's godfather hath christened him; a very worthy and apt example to relate to her majesty to that purpose."

Mr. ROLSTON, in a letter to Mr. BACON from Fontarabia on the 31st of January, 1597*, mentioned another of his of the 17th of that month; since which he had nothing to inform him of, but that the Scots gentleman had now his dispatch, and would be there within twenty days. For which reason it would be proper to give orders upon the coast of Norfolk to finger him in his way, if it were possible. He called himself WALTER LINDSEY, and the master of the ship was THO. SUDERLAND of Aberdeen. It was openly said at Fontarabia, that he

* Vol. iv. fol. 26.

* Ibid.

* Ibid. fol. 10.

was sent to Spain by seven Earls of Scotland, of whom the earl of Bothwell and the earl of Huntley were the chief. What dispatch he had obtain'd, till he should come to Fontarabia, Mr. Rolston could not advertise in particular. All he had learnt or could learn was, that those earls had sworn to make war against the queen of England, if the king of Spain would help them. All the captains, soldiers, and mariners, who went from Port Passage, were reformed, and the galleons delivered to the Portuguese. Most of the soldiers, that went in them, died, the fault being laid upon the bad victuals. The king of Spain would have a new imposition in Biscaya and Guipiscoa of seven in the hundred of all merchandise, that went out of or entered into Spain. But the inhabitants of Bilbao refus'd directly to agree to a cedula in that behalf, and sent expressly to the court on that affair. Don JUAN DE AQUILA demanded a succour of 2000 men more for Bretagne, and the king of Spain promis'd to send the succour with speed, as Esquivil had written to Fontarabia. With respect to the last succour sent to Bretagne from Portugal, they took 17 companies out of the galle of Lisbon, and the rest out of other garrisons there, so that now the places were badly furnished with men. One TRIBURIO, an Italian knight of Malta, an engineer, was to come to Fontarabia from Arragon, and to remain there; but how long, or for what cause, was yet unknown. Don JUAN VELASQUEZ had sent his secretary to the Spanish court in haste. If the Indian fleet should receive any disgrace by the war, Spain would be undone, for there was so great a want of money, as was not to be believed.

“ At this instant, *continues* Mr. ROLSTON, here arriv'd a youth from Bretagne, and did bring letters for this king. He did come by land, and apparelled like a Frenchman: but what news he hath, I know not. He is gone past to the court. Four of the six ships are now ready and furnished with masts, cordage, anchors, and sails; and the other two will be ready within a month. The bruit is, that when these ships are ended, then they will begin to make there six more. We hear for certain, that our queen doth arm for the sea a great number of ships, and also them of Rochelle, and many other sea-towns in France: and it is doubted, that all they pretend to meet the Indian fleet; and therefore they make great and speedy preparations in Seville to send men and ships to Havana to join with the said fleet; and the like preparation is made in Portugal and Lisbon. And, if it be true, they say, they are to depart from Spain before the midst of March. I cannot write this for a certainty; but this is now the common talk amongst us here. Also we say here, that these six new ships, that are in building, with the other two, that they have bought, and four more of the squadron of VILLA-VICIOSA, shall go for Scotland. If this saying prove true, and that they do determine to send to Scotland, it will be full four months at soonest before they can be ready. VILLA-VICIOSA is now at court.”

Mr. Rolston drew up likewise the following account of the state of Spain at that time^a.

The king of Spain's dominions were generally governed by these councils following:

^a Vol. iv. fol. 42.

The royal council were not above six in number; whereof the cardinal archbishop of Toledo was president, the grand prior, the duke of Alva's natural son, the marquis of Vallada, governor of the prince, the count of Chincou, Don JUAN DE IDIAQUES, and Don CHRISTOFORO DI MORO.

The council of state, which was that of Castile, had also a president, who was the count DE BARRAGES.

The council of the Indies a president.

The council of Portugal a president, Don CHRISTOFORO DI MORO.

The council of Italy a president.

The council of Hazienda, that is, of the revenue, had also a president, which in effect was the office of high treasurer.

The council of war, whereof the great prior Don HERNANDO DE TOLEDO abovemention'd was president.

The council of Flanders had a president.

There was also a president and council of the three orders, St. Jago, Alcantara, and Calatrava.

All these councils, saving the royal, and that of the wars, were compounded of bishops, swordsmen, and lawyers, according to the prince's pleasure; and every council had their secretaries, that attended only to them.

These councils, except the royal, remain'd fix'd in Madrid; and if the king was at the Escorial or Aranjues, or elsewhere, they sent their opinions by couriers to the place, where he was. Upon which the king himself resolv'd, and Don JOHN DE IDIAQUES, being continually at his elbow, wrote back, or for the most part the king with his own hand, his pleasure, which pass'd without delay.

Into all the councils aforesaid Don JUAN enter'd as he liked; and so did Don CHRISTOFORO when he would; and in effect none but these two were in the confidence of the king; Don JUAN for matters of dispatches and writings, and Don CHRISTOFORO for the chamber, wherein he commanded, and in the prince's, in which he slept, with whom, as soon as the king waked, he conferred, he being an old servant; for the honour of that king was not to be yielded familiar with new comers; neither were minions there in any vogue.

IDIAQUES and MORO were greatly hated by the Spanish nobility, who were call'd *Los grandes*; no one of whom, except the great prior, were of any of the councils, or admitted into the management of affairs; which they resented as much as they dared. These two, tho' hidalgos, were but mean in respect of the

grandees. Don JUAN was a Biscayan, and Moro a Portuguese; both of whom in outward shew and countenance seem'd very base and abject, without great trains or suitors following them; to which suitors they gave audience in their lodgings twice a day, with cap in hand for the most part.

Of the twenty-three dukes in Spain, none were then employed, except the duke of Sessa at Rome, and the duke of Pastrana now in Flanders.

The Infanta DONNA ELIZABETH or ISABELLA, was often made partaker of the affairs of the king her father, who being a great writer, and therein spending most part of his time, they two at one table wrote together; so that partly to make her acquainted with negotiations, and partly to occupy her youth, he kept her thus busied, wherein she was said to be very skilful. But neither she nor IDIAQUES nor Moro dar'd to move or demand any suit farther than they should perceive the king's inclination to farther it, having all three a watchful eye in this point, as that which had unhors'd cardinal GRANVELLE and ANTONIO PEREZ, and put them both out of credit, the gate of which being once out of hinges was found impossible to be repaired, the humour of the king being so extravagant in that point, that those, who had his ear and credit with him, walk'd warily, and were observ'd by their devotion, submissive manner, and retired life.

The empress¹, his sister, liv'd in the nunnery De las Descalzas in Madrid, with a convenient estate, and intermeddled no way with the government, at which she hang'd her lip. Her brother and she visited each other once a month, and her youngest daughter was a nun profess'd in that nunnery.

The impositions of Spain called Alcavarios were great, and perhaps more intolerable than in any other kingdom; which occasioned great disgust in people.

Since the breach with the English they had express'd more uneasiness at this intolerable burden than before, on account of their infinite losses at sea, in which Portugal and Seville had most suffered. To which purpose the emperor's ambassador one day assur'd Mr. ROLSTON, that from Alicant, or within the Straits unto St. Sebastian, all the towns and ports had given certificates of their losses since the year 1584, amounting to three millions four hundred and odd ducats, most of the spoil being fathered upon the English; and of some thereof the French and Flemings had their share.

All the affairs relating to England and Englishmen, which were to be transacted in the councils or the court, were to pass through the hands of Sir FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD, to whose report credit was given.

ROBERT PARSONS the jesuit, for his great learning and singular judgment in the affairs of the world, and his skill in the French, Italian, and Spanish (tho' the

¹ MARY, widow of MAXIMILIAN the emperor, who died 12 Octob. 1576. She had by him nine sons and six daughters.

least in French) had more credit in effect than Sir FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD, tho' in outward shew it appeared otherwise. He had free access to the king, when he thought proper, and was highly esteemed by the Spanish clergy; by which means he had lately founded the English college in Valladolid.

Since the troubles of the duke of Feria, and alliance with the duke of Infantazgo, by marriage with his daughter, the duchess his mother had no credit, nor meddled with English matters; nor was she so ill affected, as the times ran, to England, as most supposed.

HUGH OWEN, sometime secretary to FITZ-ALLEN, earl of Arundel, disposed of all English matters about the duke of Pastrana, being a master of the French, Italian, and Spanish languages.

					<i>l.</i>
The monks of the Chartreux	had	yearly	allow'd	them	800
The nuns of Sion					800
The nuns of Deptford					800
The college of Rheims					1200
The college at Valladolid					1200

Mr. ROLSTON sent over a list of eighty-seven English, who were entertained by the king of Spain in divers parts ^b.

In another letter to Mr. BACON on the 12th of February, 1594¹, he mention'd his having heard since his former letter of the 31st of January, that the pope had sent his nephew to the king of Spain, who was received with great pomp; his business being, as was said, to make a league against the Turk, who was preparing a powerful army of 500,000 men to invade Hungary that spring. That divers other princes of Italy had sent to join in that league with the king of Spain; but that the state of Venice refus'd to break with the Turk, unless the pope, the king of Spain, and the rest of the princes would join to make a naval army against him. That the king had sent for the constable of Castile, who was then governor of Milan, and would be in Spain before Easter. That in all that coast they were making speedy preparations for the sea; and it was reported, that before the end of March there would be sent 500 Italian soldiers from Barcelona into Bretagne. "But I rather believe, says Mr. ROLSTON, that they are to go for Scotland, where, we say, that earl Bothwell, Huntley, with the rest of that faction, have taken arms already; and the news is in print, and much liked of. PORRAS went hence upon Thursday last in post, and I am told he is gone to meet the Scot, either at the court, or in the way. His little bark is ready with victuals and other necessaries, saving artillery, of which he hath none at all. From France we have how that the king of France hath proclaimed war against Spain in Paris, and that our sovereign and the states of Flanders have made a league to make war by sea and land against this king; and to that end her majesty hath armed forty ships, and the States forty more; but what number the king

^a Vol. iv. fol. 41.

¹ Vol. iv. fol. 53.

“ of France armeth or meaneth to arm, we hear not certainly. This news maketh
 “ us startle, and to make speedy provision to provide for the worst. The com-
 “ mon opinion is, that all these ships will in the end go for to meet the Indian fleet,
 “ which is yet at Havannah, for ought we have to the contrary. At Seville ar-
 “ rived this other day a ship with advices from New Spain, that departed thence
 “ the 7th of October last, and bringeth news, how they in Havanna have had
 “ great lack of victuals ; and that many are dead there of sickness.”

Mr. Rolston adds, that the last cardinal of Toledo, when he died, left to the English college at Valladolid 1000. crowns yearly rent for ever ; which gift was confirm'd by the king : That father PARSONS was at Seville, and had left the court ; and his place being supplied by one CRESWELL.

The king of Scots having resolved to send Sir WILLIAM STUART of Houston to the States General, gave him instructions in French, dated the 14th of February, 1594^a, to represent to them the continuance of the practices of the Spaniard, in seducing a considerable number of the nobility of his kingdom of the first rank, which had been discovered within two years past, and tending not only to destroy the peace of that island in general, but even dangerous to the States themselves, and threatening the total subversion of religion : To lay before them likewise what measures his majesty had taken against the papists and their associates ; which not being yet effectual, to desire the advice and assistance of the States for the accomplishing so important a work, in which they were interested as well as himself.

Mr. Bacon being now admitted into the secret of all the earl of Essex's correspondences, began to be intrusted with that between his lordship and Mr. (afterwards Sir) THOMAS BODLEY, the queen's resident with the States General, which post he had discharged from the year 1588. This learned man, as well as able negotiator, whose name, separately from the distinctions which it has deserved in our political history, will be most immortaliz'd by one of the magnificent libraries, that was ever erected in any age or country, was descended from an antient family, of that name at Dunscombe near Crediton in Devonshire, and was son of JOHN BODLEY of the city of Exeter, by JOAN, daughter and heiress of ROBERT HONE, of Ottery St. Mary, about nine miles from that city. He was born at Exeter on the 2d of March, 1544^b, and educated at the grammar school there, till his father, being oblig'd to fly into Germany in the time of queen MARY, on account of his known zeal against popery, sent for his family thither, settling them first at Wesel, then at Francfort, and at last Geneva, where young Mr. BODLEY at twelve years of age became an auditor of CHEVALERIUS in Hebrew, BEROALDUS in Greek, CALVIN and BEZA in divinity, and of some other professors in that university, then newly founded, besides his domestic teachers in the house of PHILIBERT SARACENUS, an eminent physician, with whom he was boarded, where ROBERT CONSTANTINE, the author of the Greek lexicon, read HOMER to him. In this situation he continued above two years, till, upon the death of queen MARY, he re-

^a Vol. iv. fol. 56.

^b Life of Sir THOMAS BODLEY, written by himself, p. 1. prefix'd to his Genuine Remains,

edit. London 1703, in 8vo. and WOOD, Athen. Oxon. vol. I. col. 383.

turned with his father and family to England; and in 1559, was plac'd in Magdalen College in Oxford, under the tuition of Mr. LAURENCE HUMPHREY, afterwards professor of divinity, and president of that college, of which Mr. BODLEY, having taken the degree of bachelor of arts in July 1563, was the year following chosen a fellow, and in 1565 read a Greek lecture there. He was admitted master of arts in 1566, and in 1569 elected junior proctor of the University, in which he resided till 1574, when he obtained leave to travel, spending near four years in Italy, France, and Germany*. After his return to his college he prosecuted his studies of politics and history, till he was call'd to court, being made in 1586 esquire of the body to the queen, by whom, in 1585, soon after his marriage with ANNE daughter of Mr. CAREW, of Bristol, and widow of Mr. BALL†, he was employ'd to FREDERIC king of Denmark, JULIUS duke of Brunswick, WILLIAM landgrave of Hesse, and other German princes, in order to engage them to join their forces with the queen's for the assistance of HENRY then king of Navarre, and afterwards of France. His next employment was to HENRY III. at the time when that king forc'd the duke of Guise to abandon Paris; and this he executed with extraordinary secrecy, not being accompanied with a single servant (for so he was commanded) nor with any other letters than such, as were written with the queen's own hand to the king, and some select persons about him; the purpose of his message being of a most private nature, but tending greatly to the advantage not only of that king, but of all the protestants in France, and to the duke of Guise's apparent ruin, which follow'd soon upon it. Being sent to reside at the Hague in 1588, he was, in consequence of the agreement formerly made between her majesty and the States General, admitted into their council of state, taking place in their assemblies next to count MAURICE, and giving his suffrage upon every proposition. At his first arrival there, the people of that country stood in dangerous terms of discontent, partly for some courses, that were held in England, which they thought to their singular prejudice; but most of all in respect of the insolent demeanor of some of the queen's ministers, who had no regard but to their own private emolument, without any consideration of what her majesty had contracted with the States. This threaten'd an immediate dissolution of the amity between England and them, which was happily prevented by the address and diligence of Mr. BODLEY, without any direction from his superiors; her majesty testifying her approbation of his conduct by several letters; and from that time he scarce ever received any set instructions how to govern his proceedings, which were in a manner left to his own discretion. After an absence of near five years, he procur'd leave in 1593 to return to England, but was soon remanded to the Hague‡ upon the following business. In the treaty of accord between the Queen and the United Provinces, to which they obtained her royal assent the 10th of August, 1585, it was concluded first for them, that during their troubles, they should be supported with 5000 foot and 1000 horse at the charges of her majesty; and then for herself, that the monies so advanced should be faithfully restored, when the state of the country should be brought to tranquility. And for sufficient assurance, as well of that reimbursement, as of their farther trusty dealing, they agreed to deliver the town of Flushing in Zealand, with the castle of Rammekins, to be kept with a

* Life, p. 2, 3, 4.

† Wood, ubi supra.

‡ Life, p. 4—8.

§ See his account of it, printed in the notes to

Mr. THO. HEARNE's edition of CAMDEN'S ELIZABETH, vol. iii. p. 928 & seqq.

garrison of 700 English soldiers, and the town of the Brill in Holland, with the fortrefs adjoining, to be held in like manner with three English ensigns, each of them consisting of 150 men. For which, as for the rest, whatsoever should appear to be disbursed by her majesty, they left their towns in lieu of pawns, to answer it all in the end of the wars; of which the total yearly charge amounted to near the sum of 120,000 pounds sterling. The burden of this expence was so grievous to the queen and her subjects in general, that she thought it requisite to send Mr. BODLEY again to the Hague, about the end of January, 1594, to put the States General in remembrance, what courses she had taken to preserve their state from apparent captivity, of which the danger was so imminent, when Antwerp was besieged (at which they began to contract with her majesty) as then to be secured, and to manifest their confidence, together with their gratitude, they presented to her the sovereign title and dominion of all the United Provinces; which for certain respects she was unwilling to accept. He was directed likewise to represent the greatness of the assistance given them, which was such in every circumstance, as none of her progenitors, nor perhaps any prince in Christendom, had ever done the like for any nation whatsoever; the long continuance of that assistance from the year 1585 without interruption, the excessive diminution and waste of her treasure, she being now no longer able to sustain so great a burden; the daily complaints of her people at home for the loss of so many and so valiant English soldiers, in defence of foreign quarrels; and her present great necessity to quench the fire, that was begun to be kindled in Ireland, and to employ her best ability to meet with the Spaniard in his puissant, cruel, and subtle designs. He was farther to require them to consider, that by reason of the succours, which they had enjoyed so many years together, they had not only had the means to defend their own state, but to rectify and settle their form of government, which had been full of dangerous disorders before they treated with her majesty; to better their traffic and commerce abroad; to fortify and enlarge their cities and towns; to fill them with rich inhabitants of the enemies provinces; to increase in every quarter those general means, with which they defrayed the charge of their wars; to offend the enemy greatly; to conquer many places of notable strength in the view of his army, and to rescue and relieve their distress'd neighbours and allies with men, money, and munition, to a very great proportion. For these and other like most weighty considerations Mr. BODLEY was ordered to persuade and press them very earnestly, first to advise upon some course, by which her majesty might be eased of her present entertainments; secondly, to send her some part of satisfaction for that, which was already expended in their country; and lastly to depute some qualified persons to join with such, as she should nominate, for the casting up and perfecting the general reckoning; thereby afterwards to take order for the payment of the whole.

Mr. BODLEY, soon after his arrival at the Hague, wrote on the 14th of February, 1594, to the earl of Essex, who took all occasions to divert his attachment from the lord treasurer BURGHLEY, and to fix his dependance upon himself. In this letter he inclosed a copy of another of his of the same date to the lord treasurer,

² Ibid. p. 9.

¹ Vol. iv. fol. 63.

^u Fol. 65.

of which, as the former is only a supplement to it, it will be proper to give the substance first. He observes in it, that upon conference had with Monsieur BARNEVELT, and some others of the States, for the advancement of his service, he saw, that the message of her majesty troubled them exceedingly; for they seemed very loth to return a naked answer, and to give her good content. They pleaded inability. But their greatest doubt was this, whether in that conjuncture (as they termed it) and as the present state stood both with them and the enemy, and those, who now endeavour'd to draw them to a peace; and considering that this year's contribution was not accorded by the provinces, it were convenient to impart to the people her majesty's demands: For they said, they could do nothing without their approbation for contenting her majesty; and to publish to them what her majesty required, they held dangerous in this present concurrence of so many great and weighty affairs. They had been often together to determine upon it, but came to no conclusion. He expected every day, when some should be deputed to come to a conference with him; and by that, he thought, he should guess somewhat near, both how they will frame their present answer, and what success in the end he was like to have. Colonel STUART, who had been sent to the States by the king of Scots, had been with Mr. BODLEY, and in communication declar'd, that his coming was for no other cause, but first to renew an alliance between that king and those countries, such as had been established in former times; secondly, to acquaint them thoroughly with the present state of Scotland; and lastly, to request their advice, together with their succour, without proposing wherein, but according to their power, and so as they should find the necessity of the king, which touch'd them in like manner, if his enemies should prevail. And this the colonel pretended to be a course; which the king was forc'd to take; for, said he, since his majesty cannot be supported by the queen of England, by whom he saw his estate but slenderly regarded, to whom should he seek but the people of these provinces? Mr. BODLEY, thro' the help of those discourses, which he had receiv'd from Sir ROBERT CECIL, was furnished with good matter to answer colonel STUART's complaint, which the latter utter'd notwithstanding without any passion, and with a preface full of dutiful words of respect to her majesty. But Mr. BODLEY saw by that little, and by other conjectures, that the colonel used other phrases in other companies abroad. Mr. BODLEY had done what he could to feel the disposition of the States with respect to gratifying the king, but could not yet perceive, that they were bent to it, not for want of affection (for undoubtedly that way they were forward) but if they should relieve him, it must be only with money; which they could not spare, since if they had it in their coffers, or could devise to come by it, Mr. BODLEY did not doubt but that some good portion of it would be granted to her majesty; and to content the king besides, there was no manner of probability, that they would be any way able. It was likewise signified by the colonel to Mr. BODLEY, that to strengthen the league between the king and States, he had in charge to motion a match between the earl of Orkney and the lady EMILIA, count MAURICE's sister *, which, Mr. BODLEY heard the Dutch say, was labour lost; for that the earl's dwelling was far off, and he, as it was said, had no assurance of the

* She afterwards married EMANUEL of Portugal, son of ANTONIO, king of Portugal, dispossessed of that kingdom by PHILIP II. of Spain.

Orcades, because they had been claimed by the king of Denmark ; and the queen of Scots had lately said, that she hoped her son should enjoy those isles.

With regard to what the lord treasurer had mentioned to Mr. BODLEY in his letter of the 25th of January, with respect to the merchants' adventurers taxing of their cloths, and the abuse of those of Middleburg, which points had been carefully followed by Mr. GILPIN before, Mr. BODLEY watch'd an opportunity to recommend the former, being certain, that it would be unreasonable to cause the States to assemble at that time for a matter of that quality.

In answer to his lordship's inquiry about the numbers remaining of the English regiment in the States pay, Mr. BODLEY found by their commissary, by whom they had been very lately muster'd, that he reckon'd 900 or more very able and soldier-like men ; and that of the residue many were run away, and many again with license, and also divers consumed with sickness and in service.

He mentions, that they were now no longer in doubt, but that the castle and town of Huy in the country of Liege, were surpriz'd*, and kept with 600 foot, and 200 horse of the States, HERAUGIERES, the governor of Breda, commanding in the castle, and another captain in the town : and that if the place was so strong by nature, as every man reported, or could be strengthened by art and industry, being situated upon so famous a river, and in the midst of so many rich provinces, it would undoubtedly be brought to yield a large revenue, by means of new contributions and divers kinds of impositions, that might be raised in time upon the country and the river. Besides which, the passage to and fro between the enemy and Italy would now in a manner be closed up, and the sooner thro' the aid of the duke of BOUILLON, who had his army there at hand within sixteen Dutch miles. In effect it was thought, that the taking of this place would cause a great alteration in the actions of that country, and Mr. BODLEY hop'd, that it would advance that, which he was to negotiate. The bishop of Liege had sent his ambassadors to the States to expostulate this taking of Huy, being a neutral place ; but they had yet had no audience.

The king of Scots had given commission to the consul of the Scots merchants residing in Terveer in Zeland, whom they otherwise term'd conservator of their privileges, to continue there as his ambassador lieger with the States. His name was ROBERT DENNISON, and he had been educated in the study of the civil law, and had travelled.

The agent of the States in Scotland had advertised his masters, that the king had of late set his monies at a higher rate than their value, and procur'd by his merchants out of Zealand 10,000l. sterling, to be convey'd to him in coin ; which some in Holland interpreted to be a special token of a great alteration like to ensue.

* It was taken February 8, 1594, N. S. METEEN, fol. 370.

Mr. BODLEY in his letter to the earl of Essex observes, that since his last of the 5th of February, he had spoken with colonel STUART¹, referring for what pass'd between them to his letter to the lord treasurer, adding, that he thought it apparent by the general confession of the causes of the colonel's coming, that his errand tended to that, which the earl knew already, and in which Mr. BODLEY was confirmed by some talk, that he had had with colonel MURRAY, colonel of the Scots regiment in the service of the States, a gentleman of a chief family in Scotland, well inform'd of the situation of his own country, and a particular and good friend to Mr. BODLEY, but not at all well affected to colonel STUART, on which account he had been the freer in delivering his mind. He assur'd Mr. BODLEY, that STUART was employed in this message of his own earnest suit, and by the means and friendship of the chancellor; for that the king was unwilling, and had no liking to him; so that he supposed (and so it was written by his friends to him) that the charge of colonel STUART's voyage was borne by himself, or partly by himself, and in part by the earl of Orkney, in whose behalf he was to treat for count MAURICE's sister. Colonel MURRAY told Mr. BODLEY likewise, tho' he knew not so much by colonel STUART himself, that he had advertisements by letters out of Scotland, that STUART was directed to desire 1000 foot and 500 horse for six months, or rather for a sum of money for the levy and pay of so many men. But as for men, colonel MURRAY said, they were not to be had there, nor saw he any likelihood of obtaining the money. And tho' it should be delivered, there were such about the king, as would practise to get it, and publicly convert it to their private uses. For whereas it was pretended, that it should be employed against the earl of Huntley and his associates, colonel MURRAY made no manner of doubt, but that if the king were dispos'd, he might of himself subdue them out of hand. But that it was the counsel of some about him, and especially of the chancellor, that things should be carried in that kind, to see, if queen ELIZABETH, for fear of the sequel, would yield the king's demands some better satisfaction. However colonel MURRAY was advertised by the earl of Mar, who wrote often to him, that there was a plot laid for displacing the chancellor with the king's good liking. Mr. BODLEY concludes with observing, that he had written this to the earl alone, because he was unwilling, that the name of colonel MURRAY should come into any question thro' his speeches to him.

Mr. BODLEY wrote again to the lord treasurer on the 22d of February, 1594, from the Hague², informing his lordship, that for the purpose, concerning which he had written on the 14th, there had been deputed in the meeting of the States certain of them to come in conference with him about his proposition; and that they had delivered this from the rest of the assembly, that they were greatly perplex'd thro' those demands of restitution, not knowing how to frame the course of their proceeding. For tho' they could but acknowledge, and did it most willingly, that thro' her majesty's succours, next to God's, they were in far better state of security than they had been heretofore for many years together; yet they had not attained to the ability and power, as they could therewithall discharge their debts unto her majesty. They alledg'd many impediments, but nothing so much, as the in-

¹ Sir WILLIAM STUART of Houston.

² Vol. iv. fol. 159.

tolerable burthen of their extraordinary subsidies, which had grown upon them more and more for four or five years past, and were rais'd of late to a very high sum, occasioned in part by their offensive exploits, and partly by their often and chargeable relieving of the French king in his manifold distresses; by reason of which they inferr'd, that the chief contributing provinces were far in arrearages, and paid excessive sums of money for the use of what they had borrowed. And tho' it might be surmised, that they had aided the king, not so much in regard of his urgent necessity, as *de gayeté de cœur*, and to win his affection for hidden respects; yet they protested with very great vehemency, that they were always far from such jollity, and would not have him to enjoy a foot of ground in that country. For that, which drew them on to assist him, was the general consideration of his condition and their own: and they made this account, that since her majesty did support him with her forces, if they in like manner should strain their estate to uphold him a little, it would both be a means to save him from falling, and to divert the enemy from themselves. Whereas otherwise, if those of the league had prevailed against him, the United Provinces at last must have borne alone the weight of the wars, and then been subject in the end, and her majesty no less, to an apparently great number of most perilous inconveniences. And whereas it might be argued, that their late reduction of so many good towns had both greatly assured the state of their provinces, and richly augmented the general means, whereby they were enabled to some portion of *remboursement*; they made remonstrance of the contrary, that in every one of those provinces they had rather been surcharg'd than eased hitherto: and this by reason of the excessive charge of the new garrisons; of necessary reparations, fortifications, and other extraordinary occasions; and because the boors contribution was very little bettered from what it was in former times. They said likewise, that they found it in debating very doubtful and dangerous, in what sort they should proceed for the answering of her majesty with respect to Mr. BODLEY's proposition. For in a matter of that quality to make a resolute answer, without the privity and good liking of the provinces and people, they durst not of themselves; and it would not stand for good. And then to acquaint the vulgar sort with her majesty's demand, were to make it also known to all the enemies provinces, and so to all men in general. Whereupon it would be bruited, that her majesty had withdrawn her accustomed assistance, and had regain'd present payment of the money disbursed, which they were all mightily afraid would turn very quickly to their infinite detriment; as well for that the enemy, who was now in all appearance at a very great after-deal, would be harden'd thereby, and put in practice new designs, and multiply his forces by all possible means; as because, on the other side, the people of the countries would be cast down in courage, and despair of withstanding the puissance of the Spaniard. For whereas they might have hoped after so many years endeavours, so large contributions and so many late victories, to reap some solace and ease of their burdens and travels; if now they should perceive, that for many years hereafter their taxes and exactions would fall a great deal more heavy than they had been heretofore, first by means of their ordinary and extraordinary charges of the wars, and then by the loss of her majesty's forces, and most of all by this *remboursement*, it were greatly to be doubted, that they would run a wrong course in the heat of their dislike. For that was it, which they said to be a principal

cipal cause of the late entertaining of the English regiment, that the actions of their wars might be countenanc'd always with the name, and opinion, and report of assistance continued to them by her majesty; insomuch as they perceiv'd, that the greatest part of the meaner multitude were no otherwise yet inform'd, but that this regiment serv'd as a part of auxiliary forces, that were in the pay of her majesty, so as always they had found in all the time of these troubles, that they had made wars, and annoyed the enemy, not only with the aid of men and money, but with very opinions and conceits, that they were favoured and protected by the greatness of her majesty.

These things being thus delivered, they said; they were also charged to communicate to Mr. BODLEY the king of Scots letter, and his request by colonel STUART, whereof they told him the contents, and then read the letter to him, and the colonel's instructions translated into French. Their speech to him upon it was this in substance, that they for themselves were nothing well instructed of the state of that king, nor of those proceedings of his rebels: But if it were so as those writings imported, and they should farther understand by the colonel's relation, there was great reason offered to move her majesty and them, and as many, as were embarked in this cause together, to heed it in good season, and to afford the king a round assistance. For since the enemy sped no better in his former attempts, all men might conjecture, that he would not let slip a fit opportunity to make a breach by Scotland, for the assaulting of England, and so to compass at ease, both in the United Provinces and France, all his other designs. For their own parts, they for their ability were willing to do any thing to meet with these dangers; not stirr'd to it, as some men might imagine, for some secret purpose, but only in regard of the general cause; which provoked them at first to assist the king of France, and mov'd them at that time to tender the state of the king of Scots. And if her majesty in like manner in her Irish commotions should have any occasion to use their means or service there, they would stretch their strength to the uttermost to accomplish her desires. And this they uttered with words of great assuredness and earnestness. They concluded in fine, that first for the matter of *remboursement*, they would lay their allegations open to her majesty before such time, as they would publish her message to the provinces, and would beseech her to balance the weight of their reasons with her princely consideration. They expected within that fennight the coming of the deputies of Gueldres and Overysse, who were busied in those quarters in persuading the people, to this year's contribution. As soon as they were return'd, Mr. BODLEY should presently receive their answers in writing. They pray'd him in the mean while to intimate so much by letter to her majesty, lest perhaps it should be deemed, that they had an intention to use some delay. And then, secondly, they requested him in the name of the States, since they could not well determine what course to embrace in the motion of the king of Scots, that Mr. BODLEY in that respect would frankly communicate his counsel to them, what he thought would best accord with her majesty's acceptance, and the pleasuring of that king, because it was their full desire to proceed in those actions in full correspondence, and not otherwise.

Mr. BODLEY made answer to this effect, that as touching those points, which they had proposed to manifest, first, their want and inability to satisfy her majesty, and then the danger of dealing with the people therein, they might very well presume, that her majesty had examined those reasons already; and that their agent in England had pleaded them often; and that she thought them insufficient to dissuade her from her purpose. For whereas they complain'd, that the annual burden of their extraordinary contributions lay so heavy upon the country, it was easy to demonstrate, that the country was in case to perform a greater matter. They had now in contribution, which they had not heretofore, when they treated with her majesty, the greatest part of Brabant and Flanders, the Ommelandes, the Drent, Twent, Laighen, the lands of Limburg and Valkenburg, and sundry other quarters, which yielded them every month a very great revenue. Besides that Guelderland, and Zutphen, and all Overijssel paid a far greater subsidy than in former times. They were also enrich'd exceedingly by reason of their impost in towns lately taken, as in Nimeguen, Zutphen, Deventer, Steenewick, Breda, Hulst, Steenberghen, Groningen, with other forts and places of special importance. Moreover they had of late years a wonderful augmentation of their customs and tolls, by means of their fishing and traffic by sea, which was never so great as it was at present. Nor was the country ever so full of inhabitants, nor frequented of foreigners; so that houses could scarce be hired for money. These were evident and known means, as there were many more besides, to shew the wealth of their countries, that if the revenues thereof were not greater than the charges, yet they were undoubtedly equivalent.

That they could not judge otherwise (however some discours'd) but that her majesty both spoke and thought very honourably of their succours sent for France. However, it was a great presumption, that it came of great abundance, when any country should make war, and win upon the enemy, and yet spare of the store to help other princes. Her majesty had therefore very good cause, after so many years aid, the consumption of so much treasure, and the loss of the lives of so many of her subjects for defence of these countries, to call for restitution. But how much she would demand to be presently restored, Mr. BODLEY could not say upon certainty, tho' he thought it might be less than they peradventure made account; for so that order might be taken for good payment hereafter, it would suffice for the present, by some little good beginning to shew their thankful inclination to give her good satisfaction. And whereas they made it a question, whether it were expedient, as their present state stood, to impart so much to the people, it did but carry a shew of a dilatory answer. For her majesty's demand was justly made and kindly presented; and if the deputies of the provinces would accompany the same with such kind of persuasions, as they knew in their wisdoms how to appropriate, it would either be accorded, or nothing ill interpreted.

As concerning those affairs, which colonel STUART negotiated, Mr. BODLEY observ'd, that it was no part of his commission to say any thing to them, and for ought he could conjecture, they were unsignified to her majesty. And, therefore, if they pleased to accept of his advice, as privately given, and not otherwise, he
knew

knew not how they could do better than write to her majesty of it, and to crave her good direction; as also for the future not to deal with Scotland in any cause of consequence but with her majesty's knowledge and continual correspondence.

The deputies promised to signify Mr. BODLEY's answer in that point, and the rest of his speeches concerning the restitution, to their public assembly, seeming to him every way to allow of his advice, as fit for them to follow for the matters of Scotland.

Colonel STUART in private communication had intreated him to further his message to the States, declaring how near it concern'd her majesty as well as the king; and that questionless Mr. BODLEY's service would be grateful to them both, with other pertinent inducements. Upon which Mr. BODLEY inquir'd, whether the king had imparted that matter to her majesty. The colonel's answer was, that her majesty was acquainted with the state of the king, and saw, that he would be forced to crave the aid of his friends; for which she could not but allow of his proposal to the States. But yet otherwise also he thought, that she knew it long ago. Mr. BODLEY replied to this, that he was sure, that she had notice of the colonel's public employment before himself came out of England; but he verily believed, that his errand to the States was unknown to her majesty. But that however this might be, not having charge to deal in the colonel's affairs, he was to pray him to excuse him, if he were not very forward: only this he would promise, that if the States, by way of talk, should ask him, he would wish them to write and take advice of her majesty, and that for many respects, but most of all to prevent misconstructions and jealousies. For the colonel knew well enough, that neighbour princes, though they liv'd in good amity, would conceive a little jealousy of one another's actions. And whether her majesty now in this present case, all kind of circumstances weigh'd (which he would leave to the colonel's discretion to examine thoroughly) might not think somewhat strange of the king's proceedings, and more peradventure of the States, if they should yield to his demands, and never ask any question of her majesty's liking, he himself might be judge. "As for me, says Mr. BODLEY, my endeavours should tend to do good offices, and there could not be a better to my little insight, than to minister all occasions of mutual intelligence between her majesty and them, and the States of these countries. I cannot tell very well, how he liked of my counsel; but yet methought but indifferently. Nevertheless he bare me in hand, that both it pleased him well, and he would presently dispatch to move the king and the chancellor to address to that effect some letters to her majesty, which he also affirmed to be required by the States, whose remonstrance unto him was chiefly directed to shew how much, it would please the generality here, to understand the king would frame himself in all his purposes to give her majesty good contentment. I had this talk with colonel STUART somewhat after I had spoken with those, that were present from the States unto me; who, as I am persuaded, told him presently what I had signified unto them, with such token of approbation, as it caused him to yield to me the sooner in my former speech. Being asked since of a friend, how he went forward in his suit, he said, he could not tell, for

“ for that he found himself crossed. Whether he meant it of me, I am not certain, but I suspect it by divers conjectures. I am told by some about him, that he hath promised to bring ten thousand Scots to serve against the Turk, if the princes of Germany will give him entertainment; for which he and his friends are earnest solicitors; and, as I am inform’d, have a grant in a manner, so that now he doth but treat about the assurance of his pay, for which he requireth bonds of some of the Hans Towns.” Mr. BODLEY added, that he supposed his lordship had notice of the death of the archduke ERNESTUS*, governor of the Low Countries, as soon as they had it at the Hague, since the first intelligence came by letters out of Zeland: and that it gave great occasion of discouraging, whether, every thing considered, it would prove beneficial or hurtful to the United Provinces. But the most were glad of it, and they took it for a blessing; the rather, because it came in a time, when the Italian mutineers were discontented afresh, and others since had begun to follow their example in divers places of the frontiers. Besides that it was every where said, that as well the commons as nobility were never more distasted of the Spanish government. “ Such opportunities, *says he*, as these are not offered oftentimes to ruin downright such an enemy as the Spaniard. And if the power of these people were but half so much more, as it is at this present, they would think to effect it in a very short time. That, which I advertised in my last to your lordship, of the carriage of money out of Zeland into Scotland, was signified unto me by one of the States. But inquiring of it since, it hath been told me by others, that the money was taken up in royals of plate by the merchants of the mint, to whom the minting of money is granted in Scotland; and that it was for their own use.”

Mr. BODLEY likewise in his letter to the earl of Essex* observ’d, that colonel MURRAY, of whom he had written in his last, tho’ he bore the affection of a dutiful subject to the king of Scots, and relied very much upon his favour to him, yet made it a clear case, that if the succour of money, required by colonel STUART, should be drawn from the States, it would be wholly divided among some about that king, being such as partly needed it, and partly, as the chancellor, had lent money to him: and therefore, as a practice, by abusing the king to make their private benefit, colonel MURRAY would not willingly have it speed. He still persisted in his former assertion, and affirmed upon knowledge, that the king had no need of such aid, as the States were made to believe. For were it so, that it were his desire, or had been so heretofore, to suppress the popish earls, they had either been taken, or slain, or chased out of Scotland, a great while before. But what cause he alledg’d, why it was not effected, Mr. BODLEY shewed the earl in his last; whom it would be too long to detain with the rehearsal of discourses, which Mr. BODLEY had had with divers persons, and with BARNEVELT in special, about the Scottish demands. But tho’ he found them very forward to gratify the king, yet he hop’d, that he had obtain’d by way of good persuasions and intimations of some perils, that they would neither take the king’s part in any dangerous practice,

* He died at Brussels, in the night between the 20th and 21st of February, 1594. N. S. MESTEREN, l. xvii. fol. 374. • Vol. iv. fol. 62.

nor second him otherwise in any action at all, if it were important, unless they notified it to her majesty before.

Signor GUICCIARDIN, continuing his intelligence from Italy, wrote to the earl of Essex from Florence, on the 18th of February, 1597^b, of the great difficulties, which Spain labour'd under for want of money; and that at Rome the Spaniards fought with all diligence and industry to hinder HENRY IV's absolution, holding it for an infallible consequence, that, if he should not be absolved, he could not be peaceably established king of France. The pope fearing to displease either party, rested doubtful what to do. If the king persevered, he would quickly incline that way, and already seemed every day more and more desirous to receive him into the church. The best and speediest means to determine this ambiguity of the pope, and to prevent the designs of the king's enemies, was thought at Florence, to be for him to march speedily with his army to Lyons; to which resolution there were many necessary causes to move him, of which one of the most important was the establishing of his affairs in Provence; which was the mark, that the Spaniards so diligently aim'd at; their only end being to get into their hands the city of Marseilles, with those parts, which would yield them very great commodity of harbour for their ships and gallies; and which was the prey so greedily sought after formerly by the emperor CHARLES V. when he sought to bridle both France and Italy. This measure of the king's speedy march to Lyons, which was consider'd as of such consequence to his interests, by removing the obstacles to his absolution, obviating the designs of his enemies, and facilitating his own proceedings, was impatiently expected by his friends at Florence, who already prognosticated to him success, being confirm'd in that hope by the good service of LESDIGUIERS in the taking of Echelles^c, a place of great strength and importance upon the confines of France and Savoy, in which enterprize the Spaniards at Echelles shew'd very little valour, to the great discouragement of the Savoyards.

Signor GUICCIARDIN adds, that it was written to Florence from Spain, that DON ALONSO DE VARGAS, who serv'd PHILIP II. in his late expedition against the Arragonefe, was banish'd the country; the cause of which was reported to be his exclaiming against the present government of Spain, saying, that the principal charges were given to *Madricios*, as the charge of general of the horse in the state of Milan to DON ALO SO DE IDIADES, a youth of no experience. It was said likewise, that preparation was making by the constable of Castille^d, governor of Milan, to march towards Lyons; which preparation however went on very slowly and weakly.

Mr. BODLEY, on the 26th of February, 1597^e, sent to the earl of Essex, as well as to the lord treasurer, copies of two intercepted letters, going from Brussels to Rome, and written by one WILLIAM CREYTON, a Scots jesuit, a man of credit and experience, and the chiefest plotter in Scotland. One of the letters was address'd to cardinal CAETAN; and the other to the general of the jesuits.

^b Vol. iv. fol. 39.

^c See Histoire de Connestable de LESDIGUIERES, par LOUIS VIDEL, secretaire du dit Connestable, l. iv.

^d c. i. p. 219, 220, 221. 3d. edit. Grenoble, 1650.

^e FERDINAND DE VELASCO.

^f Vol. iv. fol. 64.

THOMAS TYRIE, who is represented in them as the man, who could do them much good, was nephew to JAMES TYRIE, formerly a famous professor among the jesuits of Paris, but then residing in Rome. The lord HUME and the wife of THO. TYRIE were brother's and sister's children. The intercepted letter of father CREYTTON to CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA, general of the jesuits at Rome, was written in Italian, and dated at Brussels the 10th of February, 1595^e, and complains of the persecution of the catholics by the heretics in Scotland, and of the jesuits being banish'd from France, as they were on account of HENRY IV's being wounded by JOHN CHASTEL, a scholar of theirs, on the 17th of December, 1594. And father CREYTTON's letter to cardinal CAETAN, protector of the English and Scots nations at Rome, was of the same date^f. Besides these two letters Mr. BODLEY sent on the 4th of March to the lord treasurer and the earl of Essex another letter of CREYTTON to father TYRIE at Rome of that date^g, written part in Latin and part in English, figures being us'd to express the names of most of the persons referr'd to. In this letter the king of Scots is mention'd as pusillanimous, and tho' good in a peacefull time, yet during such storms as the present, absolutely dejected in mind. *Rex est pusillanimus, & quamvis pacifico tempore sit bonus, tamen in talibus tempestatibus est animo prorsus prostrato.* At the close of this letter is this remarkable passage: "It is a special providence of God, that ours are banished out of France; for neither the authority of the father general, nor any satisfaction you could have made, would ever have been sufficient to purge them of the indiscrete answer made to the plea made against them at Paris, and that by the general himself. Yea, had they remain'd, they had made a schism, and struck in with Navarre against the pope; for sundry of them said, that since he has asked his absolution, and done his duty, he is not obliged to more, and they may with safe conscience obey him, and swear him fidelity. If the pope put not *** by the nomination of a king by his own plene power, France is lost, and all heretic or *** pass; for his proceeding is not against the persons of our company, but against the religion that they profess, and the diligence they use to bring up the youth in the catholic religion; which is stiled by him corruption of the youth."

Mr. BODLEY's letter to the earl of Essex on the 2d of March, 1594^h, from the Hague^b, inform'd him, that Mr. DENNISON, the Scottish ambassador lieger, had been with him on purpose to ease his stomach of his dislike of the coming thither of colonel STUART, as well in respect of his demand of assistance, which, if it were money, he thought it would be lost, as of the marriage solicited by him between the earl of Orkney and count MAURICE's sister, under colour of which Mr. DENNISON said, that colonel STUART practis'd somewhat else; and yet, for ought Mr. BODLEY could perceive, Mr. DENNISON seem'd to be ignorant of the colonel's private instructions; and thus utter'd his fancy, not only to Mr. BODLEY, but in secret communication to divers of the states. Notwithstanding which Mr. BODLEY was inform'd, that he was a creature of the chancellor of Scotland as well as the colonel, who, both by Mr. DENNISON and the rest of the Scots in Holland, was reputed a papist and a Spaniard in heart, and of a busy disposition,

^e Vol. v. fol. 14. and 38.

^f Vol. v. fol. 39.

^g Ibid. fol. 15.

^h Vol. iv. fol. 101.
not,

not, as they affirm'd, beloved by the king, nor of many men in Scotland. Mr. BODLEY found somewhat of spleen in them against the colonel; but as so many concurr'd in one common conceit of him, he took it for a caveat to observe his proceeding: but he could not perceive by any circumstance there, that the colonel had imparted his private instructions to any one of the states; which made Mr. BODLEY conclude, that his charge was to proceed in such sort, as he should find men's dispositions; wherein Mr. BODLEY thought him deceived. Mr. BODLEY then observes, that as in one of the intercepted letters sent the earl on the 26th of February, there was a note of a special personage, that would be won, as father CREYTON thought, to do a singular piece of service, if means might be found to recompence his losses, himself had been inquisitive to know amongst the Scots, who that party might be by their conjecture; but they were all in a maze, not knowing whom to guess at; tho' their chiefest suspicion ran upon lord HUME, by reason of the alliance between him and THOMAS TYRIE. Colonel STUART in his discourse rather guess'd the lord ATHOL, partly for the affection, which he bore to BOTHWELL, and partly for a pique, which, he said, was grown of late between that lord and the earl of Argyle.

Two days after, March the 4th, Mr. BODLEY, in another short letter to the earl of Essex¹, mention'd his having just understood the particular discourse of the late conspiracy in Scotland from colonel STUART, and that he had the same from Mr. DENNISON, the Scots lieger ambassador, both of whom reported it alike, as far as concern'd the commission of BAWERIE². But the colonel upon it exaggerated the matter in soliciting the States for some present assistance, as if the king of Scots for his security had never more need; whereas the ambassador told Mr. BODLEY plainly, but under many *benedicites*, that the king's necessity was less than before; and shew'd him, that HUNTLY and ERROL had given caution to depart the country; and that BOTHWELL was also going. *And thus*, adds Mr. BODLEY, *I have found a rowland to oppose against oliver, and one ambassador against another*. He sent likewise to the earl a copy of the intercepted letter abovemention'd of father CREYTON to father JAMES TYRIE, the original of which he inclos'd at the same time in a letter to the lord treasurer³, observing, that this and the two other letters of CREYTON had been sent among divers others from Brussels, and intercepted at the Hague, and did not seem to be regarded by those, who kept those letters: but that he found that to father TYRIE worth reading for many respects, because it manifested, that there were many brabbles and discontentments among those of the Scots nation in Brussels and elsewhere; and that they were in despair of good success in the enemy's actions both in the Low Countries and France: and that it was easy to perceive by pursuing the words interlaced with the figures, that there was matter there signified of such special importance, that if it could not be decypher'd by any person in England, he was of opinion, that a copy of it being sent to some man of capacity, and employ'd by his lordship in Brussels and Antwerp, if he were but acquainted with the Scots

¹ Vol. iv. fol. 102.

² Archbishop SPOTSWOOD, l. vi. p. 409. tells us, that Sir JAMES SCOT of Balwery produc'd be-

fore the council in Scotland the bond made between BOTHWELL and the popish lords.

³ Vol. iv. fol. 106.

there and the factions among them, it would be presently discovered. For those of that nation, who were in Holland, for want of knowledge of their countrymen at Brussels, and how they stood for affection to one another, could give Mr. BODLEY no light.

As for his negotiation, the return of the deputies of Guelderland and Overijssel were then daily expected; and the States, he was certain, would deliver their answer without putting him off to a farther delay. “We have, *adds he*, assured intelligence from divers places of the enemy’s countries, that the vulgar people every where cry openly against their miseries, shewing manifest token, that they desire to be joined to the rest of this union. And as far as I can judge of the States inclination, if the motion proceed from the other side to them, thereafter as it is, they are fully bent to entertain it to the best advantage of their cause. But whether it were expedient, that we should strike at this iron, while it is hot, and be the first, that should send to the enemy’s provinces, that doth rest in deliberation; albeit I do perceive, that most men are of mind we should not stir in this case, but as occasions are presented from them to us. For this is alledged for it, that before they send to the enemy in a matter of that importance, they must first of force here at home have recourse to every province to purchase authority; whereby it will be imparted to every town, and so come abroad among the people, who, as every man doubts, may prove so over-headlong in such a plausible motion, as perhaps when they see it once set a foot, they will violently thorough, without regard to their own security. The fear of this humour in the multitude doth stay them from proceeding as they are otherwise willing. It is commonly reported, that the enemy prepareth for the siege of Huy, which he will find a very hot and a costly exploit. For HAURAUGIERES, the commander, is a most valiant expert soldier, and will undoubtedly perform as much as can be required.”

Mr. BODLEY sent a letter likewise to Mr. BACON on the 10th of March^a, to assure him, that he was not at all forgetful of him or his desire, nor of the promise made by himself to salute that gentleman now and then: but that he was always very careful, that his first salutations should bring somewhat else worth the sending so far; which, because he had nothing, had prevented his writing ever since his return to Holland; the time still affording nothing of moment either done or doing, except that the town and castle of Huy, which the Dutch took by surprise about six weeks before, was then besieged by LA MORTE with towards 5000 foot and 500 horse. But the governor of the castle (for the town was but weak, and commanded by the castle) was an old beaten soldier, and sufficiently furnish’d both of men and of victual, with powder and munition for a very long siege. That his own motion to the States General to make restitution of her majesty’s monies stuck so in their teeth, that they know not what answer they might frame to him. “And yet, *says he*, to tell you my opinion, tho’ they come at the first with *ifs* and *ands*, and put many questions, the conclusion will be, if the queen do insist, that they will strain to do somewhat: and their intention

^a Vol. iv. fol. 93.

“ therein

“ therein will be seen e’er be long. The message of STUART is the same, that
 “ you could tell me; and the king had reason to employ him, for in truth he
 “ can carry his matters very cunningly, and doth as much as possible for the ef-
 “ fecting of his purpose. The foreknowledge of his errand hath freed me ex-
 “ ceedingly; for in dealing with some of the principal here I have filled their
 “ heads so full of crickets, as I am persuaded they will neither in this, nor in
 “ any proposal made by the king, if it be of importance, proceed without the
 “ queen. But if I find myself deceived, that they work underhand, and give
 “ him his askings (which they bear me fair they will not do, and can hardly
 “ bring to pass, but I shall have means to sift it out) then the queen must look
 “ about her, and bestir herself in time, to prevent a shrewd turn.”

He wrote likewise to the lord treasurer^a, that the long absence of the deputies of Guelderland and Overijssel was greatly wonder’d at at the Hague; and till all the deputies were met, the States could take no resolution upon his proposition. It was very much feared, that some alteration of things at home had stay’d their coming; or at the least their present passage, by reason of the great inundations in sundry places of those provinces, as the like was never seen, of the rivers and land-waters, in the memory of any; for all the Battuse and Bommels wert were overflown, and a great part of the country round about Utrecht and Amersfort: so that the very gates of the town of Amersfort, the suburbs of Vianen, and many dorpes and villages were carried clean away, and a multitude of people, to the number, it was thought, of 3000, drowned. And the like was reported of the land about Colen, where the waters were risen higher by six foot than had been hitherto known by any records; which was supposed to proceed from the great abundance of rain and snow, that had fallen in these and the upper countries, and of the long continuance of the boisterous winds at west, which had forced the rivers to swell out of measure.

Mr. BODLEY found, by conferring with some of the Scottish nation, that they were informed out of Scotland, that colonel STUART was enjoin’d by some secret instructions to solicit the States for 1000 foot and 500 horse for six months, or rather for the loan of so much money, as might serve for the levies of so many men, requesting three months pay to be delivered out of hand; which was imparted to Mr. BODLEY by such persons of credit, as he had reason to believe it. However the colonel himself would not notify so much, not only to Mr. BODLEY, but, as far as he could perceive, to none of the States, proposing all as yet in general terms, and reserving to themselves to yield what succour they should think best; which was suppos’d to be done upon a hope, that the colonel had, that they of themselves would offer more than he had in charge to press them to.
 “ For mine own part, *says Mr. BODLEY*, the more I consider of his employment
 “ hither, and of the quality of his message, the more methinks it doth tend to
 “ some design to be disliked. For in proceeding with the provinces, the king
 “ hath gone by such degrees to win upon their amity, as I fear somewhat else than
 “ this purpose pretended of joining in alliance, and of craving their assistance.

^a Vol. iv. fol. 104.

“ If your lordship call to mind, in February last was two years, the States were
 “ moved by STUART, being sent by the king, to entertain, from time to time, a
 “ reciprocal intelligence in all affairs, that should concern the religion and weal
 “ of his and their countries, which was presently obtained. They were after sought
 “ unto to renew the antient league, that had been in former times between Scot-
 “ land and them; whereunto they yielded by their deputies at the time of the
 “ baptism of the young prince. Now thirdly they are intreated to assist him with
 “ men or money, whereof the sum is so small, not amounting to 8000 l. ster-
 “ ling for three months, as he might very well presume, that they would not
 “ refuse him. And when this shall be accorded, whether it be not to be thought,
 “ that he hath yet an intention to get some farther footing in their love and af-
 “ fection, and to serve some other turns with their aid and support, as his occa-
 “ sions shall require, and as it will be very easy, when the people of these coun-
 “ tries are once engaged in his actions, I leave it as a motion to your lordship’s
 “ wisdom.” The colonel pretended, that the state of the king must be presently
 relieved; and if it should be neglected by his friends and allies, it would engender
 before it was long some irreparable inconvenience both to him and them. And
 this he inculcated in every company, where he came, with a fearful declaration
 of the wants of the king and of the strength of his enemies; so that the States,
 by what Mr. BODLEY could gather, would willingly do for him, if that gentleman’s
 answer to them, of which the lord treasurer had notice in a letter of the 22d of
 February, did not stop their proceedings: for the colonel told him, that he thought
 the States resolution would depend very much upon the queen’s allowance, or only
 upon Mr. BODLEY; and that if the latter would but signify, that her majesty
 would be pleased with their aiding of the king, there would be no stop; and the
 colonel saw no just cause for Mr. BODLEY to be scrupulous, since every man might
 see the extremity of the king, and that part of the benefit would redound to her
 majesty, and all the burden of the aid lie upon the people of the United Provinces.
 The effect of Mr. BODLEY’s answer was to desire the colonel to pardon his re-
 fusal, unless his warrant were better: “ For, *said Mr. BODLEY*, to speak of mat-
 “ ters roundly and familiarly between us, I may very well presume upon the rea-
 “ sons you alledge, that her majesty would be willing to advance the king’s de-
 “ sire: but yet it may be perhaps, that she will so much mislike of his form of
 “ proceeding, as she would have the States made acquainted with her manifold
 “ endeavours to free the king of his troubles. Let it be as you give out, that
 “ as his state is reduced to points of extremity (whereof I know very little either
 “ one way or other) tho’ there be, that will avouch that both his peril is not
 “ such, and that it might have been less, if he himself had lifted; how can you
 “ report it here, but they will presently ask the question, Why the king having
 “ so largely and so long tasted of her majesty’s bounty, and the danger being
 “ nearer to England than to them, he should not rather in this case have re-
 “ course unto her highness; or at least make her privy, and request her advice,
 “ before he sent and moved the States? In your answer hereunto I know not
 “ how you will acquit yourself; but you must without offence give me leave to
 “ suspect, that you will speak very little in her majesty’s behalf, but rather se-
 “ cretly complain, in the managing of your business, that she hath not nor will
 “ not do the part of a neighbour; which may be so amplified in places, where
 “ you

“ you come, as I doubt it may also tend to work some alienation in the hearts
 “ of this people from their devotion to her highness. And these are such suspicions,
 “ or causes of suspicions, as they force me to forbear, and not to meddle off or
 “ on, unless I had commission ; and then only, as before, I wish the States in these
 “ proposals to hold a sound correspondence by advising with her highness. As a
 “ man touched near, and guilty, as it seemed, of some sinister dealing (whereof
 “ I hear but too much) he made a frivolous reply, full of speeches at random ;
 “ which not being worthy of your lordship’s reading I leave unrehearsed, very
 “ humbly beseeching, that if you think it expedient, I may know by your di-
 “ rection, what course I must observe, when I speak in these affairs, to give her
 “ majesty good content.”

Mr. BODLEY found by a letter of the French king to Monsieur BUZENVAL, his resident with the States General, that he had sent her majesty certain letters intercepted, written in cypher by father GORDON, and another *Scot*, to their correspondents in Spain, which that king had caused to be decypher’d. This GORDON was one often named in father CREYTON’s Latin letter ; and Mr. BODLEY conjectur’d, that the notice of such matter, as he had written into Spain, might easily lead to decypher that letter of CREYTON ; and if this was not already done, if the lord treasurer thought fit to send a copy of GORDON’s letter and the other, Mr. BODLEY would use his best endeavours to discover that of CREYTON, which he very much presum’d, upon certain conjectures, to contain important matter, as the conferring some princely state or dignity, or country, upon some special person, upon whom the chief of those fugitives depended ; wherein also it seemed, that certain great persons were nominated actors.

Mr. BODLEY, in his letter to the earl of Essex, of the 14th of March, 1594°, acquainted his lordship, that the point being known and told him by divers persons, of colonel STUART’s secret charge, relating to the succour, which he must require, tho’ the colonel himself conceal’d it altogether, Mr. BODLEY thought it convenient to signify so much to the lord treasurer, lest some other should prevent him, to whom perhaps in like manner the same intelligence might be given ; for he found it advertised by divers out of Scotland, and particularly from Sir WILLIAM KEITH and Mr. DAVID FOULIS, to the Scots ambassador leiger, at the Hague, who that very day came on purpose to tell Mr. BODLEY, that colonel STUART would communicate but very little unto him ; but bore him still in hand, that he had very high matters committed unto him by secret instruction : “ And methinks,
 “ *said he*, to draw some money from the States, he would put them in head of
 “ I know not what policy, as if in their wisdom they were to take such a course,
 “ as the king might acknowledge, that whatsoever great good he shall attain
 “ hereafter, cometh only from them, and their assistance. And besides he prattled
 “ much of the queen of England, by way of extenuation of her princely bene-
 “ ficence towards the king, with many shifts and devices to bring his purpose
 “ to pass ; insomuch as he told him, that if the king his master would be ruled
 “ by him, he should be able to bridle both the queen and the States, and care for

“ neither of both. But how he meant it should be done, he could not signify directly, unless it were by some accord with the forfeited lords.” The colonel told Mr. DENNISON, the ambassador leiger, likewise, that he was very well assur’d, that the queen had of purpose sent Mr. BODLEY, to the States, to demand the reimbursement of her monies, that it might be a bar to his request; in which he made no doubt of obtaining his suit, if Mr. BODLEY had not come, or had not put into their heads, that it behov’d them to deal with her majesty’s advice; which was too great an indignity to the king his master, that he should not use the aid of his friends without the privity and liking of the queen of England. This the ambassador leiger told Mr. BODLEY “ with very special entreaty, *says that* “ *gentleman*, because it touch’d him near, that I would know it, and not reveal it, “ where his name might come in question, being very desirous, as by his speeches “ I could gather, to accommodate every matter between her majesty and his “ master. Upon this and the rest, that I have written to your lordship, my last “ bearing date the 2d and 4th of this month, I do long very much to understand somewhat from your lordship, how her majesty is affected, and how she “ will enjoin me to tune my voice in this song.” After writing this part of his letter, Mr. BODLEY was inform’d by a special friend, who spake it upon knowledge, that the king of Scots had written a private letter to Monsieur BARNEVELT with his own hand: “ And I am, *adds he*, fully persuaded he hath done the like “ to Monsieur BREDERODE, Monsieur VALK, and others, with whom your lordship may consider what force the letters of that king will have above others, “ coming, as I assure myself they did, full freighted with fair words and kind “ promises. This art of writing to private persons here is very much used by “ the French king, and hath been one of his chiefeft means to compass his demands; tho’ now and then they be remembred with some better thing in hand, “ to quicken their affections.”

Mr. ROLSTON wrote frequently intelligence from Spain; but few of his letters occur among the papers of Mr. BACON, whom he inform’d in one of the 20th of March, 1594, from Fontarabia*, that tho’ he had written to him on the 14th of that month, as well as on the 21st of February, he could not but now advertise him, that SABIATUR’s journey was stay’d, in order to bring artillery from Lisbon, being made general of the army preparing in Passage, and to have in his Squadron in all 28 ships, that is, 25 already in Passage, and the rest from Castro San Anderos, and other sea-towns upon that coast. It was said and believed, that he was to go for Lisbon; but Mr. ROLSTON doubted, that in the end he should go for Scotland: but whither, or when he should go, he could not be ready in two months at soonest. He was to have with him from Guipisca 1000 mariners, besides the ordinary mariners already with him. There were come likewise to Fontarabia 22 companies of infantry, that were to go in those 28 ships. It was thought, that Don ALONZO DE BAZAN should be general of the whole army. The king of Spain had appointed fifty captains of infantry for this voyage; and the rest, that came not by way of Fontarabia, march’d towards Lisbon with their companies. Three hundred mariners more were levied in Galicia, and were to

go also to Lisbon. Don JUAN VELASQUES was going from Fontarabia to St. Sebastian, to hasten this preparation by his presence. JOHN FRANCISCO ALDOBRANDINO, the pope's nephew, was upon his return from Spain; and it was said, that the pope was sending a great number of soldiers to the emperor, to aid him against the Turk. SABIAUR was to take with from Fontarabia 300 quintals of powder, and 200 quintals of weapons of war. The two Scots men, mentioned in Mr. ROLSTON's last letter, went thence to Passage, to speak with SUBIAUR, besides their going to the court, and remained all night there with him. But Mr. ROLSTON had not yet understood what conference they had had together.

Mr. BACON three days after, the 23d of March, 1594, wrote to Mr. ROLSTON⁹, to excuse his own silence, of which, as he observed, he might alledge many just causes, as his own indisposition, which had been extreme that winter, and the earl of Essex's late ague, of which he was now perfectly recovered, &c. but that it should suffice between them, that it did not proceed of forgetfulness, and he requested, that tho' sometimes, upon such extraordinary impediment, Mr. ROLSTON should not hear from him "so oft, *says he*, as I would, and you otherwise should, yet "that you will not in any wise omit any opportunity to continue and increase the "good opinion the earl hath of your care and diligence to advertise the most and "best particularities you can learn; whose most honourable favour towards you, "and her majesty's gracious acceptance of your dutiful endeavours in that kind, "shall be sufficiently confirmed and sealed unto you by what it hath pleased your "lordship to write in this my letter with his own hand; which special honour I "doubt not but you will force yourself to the uttermost to acknowledge by all "true services possible."

The earl's postscript to this letter was in these words: "You shall receive in "an unknown hand, and from a person as unknown to you, assurance of what "your friend and mine hath told you; for which I do make myself security."

Mr. JAMES HUDSON, upon the receipt of a letter from Scotland, sent it to Mr. BACON on the 28th of March, 1595, inclos'd in one of his own^{*}, on account of the *great good news* which it contain'd, "because, *says he*, I know how grateful it "will be to you, to see so settled a sun-shine after so threatening clouds, and "hoping now for such calm, as I shall not so often trouble you with the like "matter."

The same day Mr. ROGER ASTON wrote a long letter to Mr. HUDSON from Holyrood-house[†], acquainting him, that upon the Monday preceding there arriv'd a ship out of Flanders, wherein was a jesuit call'd Mr. JOHN MORTON, brother of the lord of Commose in Fife. By information given to Mr. DAVID LINDSEY, he was apprehended at his landing at Leith. He did his best to have convey'd away his instructions by tearing them, but they were preserved, tho' in.

⁹ Vol. iv. fol. 68.

[†] Mr. BACON in his letter to his mother of the 11th of March, 1594, vol. iv. fol. 92. observes,

that the earl had been assail'd with certain fits of an ague, but was then quite rid of it.

^{*} Vol. v. fol. 27.

[†] Vol. v. fol. 55.

sundry

undry pieces. He came from Rome, and had the pope's blessing. His directions were to Mr. JAMES GORDON. He was kept close prisoner in the Tolbooth, and had been several times examined, but had as yet confess'd no great matter farther than his instructions bore. He own'd, that he came thither to persuade and confirm all, who would hear him, and believe him. His instructions to Mr. JAMES GORDON found great fault with the latter for the distribution of the last gold, that came in. It appeared by all the informations, that they gave assurances to all, that the king was a papist; and this jesuit MORTON was fully persuaded, that he should find his majesty of that mind. For his better tryal there was commission given to the prior of Blantyre, Sir ROBERT MELVIL, the clerk register, Mr. WILLIAM HART, and Mr. GODY, to examine him, and after that to give him the lie, according to the act of parliament, which was to be hang'd; which course Mr. ASTON hop'd would be follow'd. It was ordered, that all things should be done by the advice of the ministers. It was thought, that this jesuit had farther commission than he had yet declar'd. He was very proud and obstinate, and pray'd to God to give him constancy in his profession. It appeared by letters intercepted and sent out of the Low Countries, that THO. TYRIE was well received with the papists, and had given them confirmation, that the king was a favourer of the catholics. He was greatly esteemed by them, for by him they thought to work great matters. Mr. ASTON added, that colonel STUART's negotiation took little effect; the proposal concerning the marriage of the earl of Orkney being denied; and with regard to the demand of money, the States excusing themselves, that they had so great sums to pay to her majesty, that they were unable to advance any to the king. There was certificate come, that the papist lords and Bothwell were embarked in several ships; Errol at Peterhead, Huntley at Aberdeen, and Bothwell in Caithness; but whither gone, was yet unknown. Mr. JAMES GORDON went with Huntley. The king was that day to go to Stirling, where he purposed to stay till after Easter, and thence to remove to Falkland. The queen was to come to Stirling within three or four days. The council were all retired home. "I wrote to you, in my last, concludes Mr. ASTON, to send me your opinion concerning mine estate. I would gladly know, how my services are interpreted. I write the simple truth of all, not without pain, charge, and hazard. How it is interpreted, I know not; but my meaning is upright and just. Give me your opinion what course I shall follow. This day I wrote to you by GEORGE KER, who is upon his journey towards France. I have recommended him to you to further him to a passport. He hath behaved himself here very well, not meddling with any matters of state, but as a soldier and good fellow. The king hath written by him to the French king."

The same day Dr. MORISON wrote to Mr. BACON^t, in French, the language, which he commonly used in his letters, informing him, that the *Chevalier*, meaning the king, as Mr. BACON decyphered it, assur'd him, that Huntley and Errol would pass by the English dominions to go to Spain or Rome: but Angus, it was said, would follow the advice of his friend, and endeavour his reconciliation; tho' the ministers would be very cautious in that point. That a jesuit named JOHN

^t Vol. v. fol. 61.

MORTON, formerly Dr. MORISON's schoolfellow, was arrived there from Rome, *cum plenis indulgentis*. The king was at first desirous to examine him, but changing his mind in that respect, was gone to Stirling. They wanted to have a particular confession of the jesuit; but he desired to make it to the king. The boots had been shewn him. He said, that at Rome, whence he came, the king was consider'd as a Catholic *ipso facto*. Huntley and Errol were gone, but Bothwell had not yet left Caithness, and threatned greatly. The duke of Lenox and his brother-in-law the earl of Mar govern'd every thing. The chancellor was, as he always used to be, prudent; but the secretary *mala bestia*, as before, tho' Dr. MORISON's good friend, if he had credit: but his uncle promised the doctor all possible services, as the doctor did to Mr. BACON, devoting himself to him.

The next day, March 29, 1595, the earl of Mar, in a letter to the earl of Essex from Stirling, acknowledg'd to have receiv'd from the bearer two several dispatches, the last being most ample, and testifying in his lordship's behalf all the parts of a loving and assured friend, not only by his own care had of the earl of Mar, which that earl consider'd as an high obligation, but likewise by recommending his present condition to the queen, who had return'd a gracious answer; of which his honourable service (which next to his sovereign she should command) was the only and main recompence, that he could yield. As to the points, wherein the earl of Essex crav'd particular satisfaction, "you shall, *says the earl of Mar*, receive these answers following. I cannot but give your lordship most heartily thanks for the great care I find ye have of me: but I thank God, I stand so far in my prince's favour, and presently have such proof thereof, as farther I cannot wish. If I had found myself over-match'd, I had e'er now begun at your lordship before all my other friends; and if hereafter I be pressed, your lordship shall be the first I shall acquaint therewith.

"As to his majesty's mind, unalterably inclin'd to quiet and re-establish his own estate by good government, if he were followed, naturally an enemy to all the factious and seditious sort, difficult to be altered from whosoever he has had great trial of, his chief repose always on the best sort of his nobility and antient barons most affectionate to the religion. As to the managing of his affairs, I am ashamed to write how they go. I carry a better mind for the amendment of his managery than yet I can accomplish by my travel: but I hope time will do mickle.

"For colonel STUART's employment in the Low Countries, by my privacy he was not directed, but so far as I can learn (and I think I may assure you) he has only to talk for the marriage of count MAURICE's sister to the earl of Orkney, and for some supply of money, in case Mr. WALTER LINDSEY's commission be effectual where he is gone.

"As to the negotiation of LINDSEY, I think as yet the directors of him have received small or no comfort of his message. They or none, as I understand,

“ have interest in it, saving only the three earls themselves, and Bothwell, who is
 “ now confederate with them.

“ As to the last, which chiefly touches myself in my duty to my prince, and
 “ consequently in my own honour, I think I may write well assuredly to your lord-
 “ ship therein. For howsoever I be caluminated either at home or abroad, to be
 “ a favourer or mediator for these forfeited earls; altho’ to none other, yet to
 “ your lordship will I clear me, and upon the honour of a gentleman will assure
 “ you, that my heart never yet thought to be a mediator for them. And there-
 “ fore whatsoever your lordship has said, or will say on my behalf in that errand, I
 “ will very honestly take it off your lordship’s hands, and disburden you thereof.
 “ It is truth, that the number of his majesty’s rebels being so great, he has re-
 “ solved to suffer these earls, I mean Huntley and Errol, to pass forth of his realm;
 “ but without any conditions either of life or living. This have they given
 “ surety to do, in hope, as I judge, of a part of his majesty’s clemency unto their
 “ wives and children in their absence. We are certainly advertised, that they
 “ made sail on the 19th of this instant. Now I misknow not, your lordship has
 “ more vulgar intelligence from this, and I doubt not, among others, ye have
 “ heard of somewhat, which within these few days has been devised for my dis-
 “ grace. This, amongst many other things, I omit to write, trusting in time
 “ to find the opportunity of a faithful messenger. Always whatsoever has been
 “ in this matter, his majesty has so countenanced me, that the devisers are become
 “ recreant, denying their suspected complots with many attestations.”

The earl of Mar concludes with entreating the earl of Essex, by all good means possible to further the increase of the queen’s benevolence towards his master; and that her aids and advices be sent him more frequently than before, “ the rather,
 “ *says he*, because their enemies are now common, and such, as seek her un-
 “ doing, would first wound him. These things should endamage the queen
 “ little, and greatly strengthen his estate, and finally close the mouths of all such
 “ busy heads, as never desire amity should be between them.”

Mr. HUDSON, on the first of April, 1595, by a letter from Godly in Surrey, acquainted Mr. BACON, that the lord of Loggie had propounded a suit to Sir ROBERT CECIL, first by Mr. ARCHIBALD DOUGLASS, and next by himself, earnestly requiring him to embrace it, and to move the queen in his behalf. Sir ROBERT made some difficulty of this, desiring a day’s respite to consider of it, and appointing Mr. HUDSON the next day to come to him, when he would give him an answer for that lord, which was to this purpose, that her majesty thought well of him; but because he had been of BOTHWELL’s friendship, she could not, for grieving of the king, consent to his suit. “ This was all, *says Mr. HUDSON*, save his
 “ commendations, which, but for form’s sake, might at the first have been given
 “ himself, and have saved my labour. Now, Sir, at the first I have sufficiently
 “ advertised you of this matter; yet because I find this day at the delivery of
 “ this answer, that the lord doth intend a new onset, to get her majesty sub-

The same day lady BACON sent a letter to her son ANTHONY^y, that she had the day before written to lady WALSINGHAM, and by her to the countess of Essex her daughter, who took it well and thank'd her, the countess being then very near her travelling time. Lady BACON warns him to beware of the lord HENRY HOWARD, afterwards earl of Northampton, and lord privy seal, and then an intimate friend of the earl of Essex. "He is, *says she*, a dangerous intelligencing man; no doubt a subtle papist inwardly, and lieth in wait. Peradventure he hath some close working with Σταυδεν^a, and the Σπανιαρδε^b and ταιῆτοις^c. Be not too open. He will betray you to divers, and to your Αυντε Ρουσσελ^d among others. The duke^e had been alive but by his practising and still solliciting him, to the duke's ruin and the Έαρλε of Αρυνδελ^f. Avoid his familiarity, as you love the truth and yourself. A very instrument of the Spanish papists. For he pretending courtesy, worketh mischief perilously. I have long known him, and observed him. His workings have been stark naught. *Procul esto*." In the postscript written in Greek she expresses her great concern on account of the earl of Essex's unchast manner of life. And in another letter of the 14th of April^g; she again advises her son to be *wary of lord HOWARD as of a subtle serpent*.

About this time the queen of Scots began to grow extremely troublesome both to the king and some of his ministers, especially the earl of Mar, who had the custody of the prince her son, whom she was desirous to get into her own hands, having engag'd the chancellor and divers of the council to promise their assistance. But the king's firmness to the earl defeated that design^r. Sir WILLIAM KEITH seems to touch upon this affair in his letter to Mr. HUDSON, whom he styles bro-

* SPOTSWOOD, l. vi. p. 410.

ther, of the 11th of April 1595^b, in which he says, "Whereas you think that
 "matter so well patched up on the queen's part, as she hath disposed her suit, or
 "will leave it off, albeit for a while she hath, at the king's command, which I
 "am sorry fell out so, I must tell you, that in the mean time, notwithstanding
 "all agreements past, the whole burden is laid on the chancellor. I came from
 "Stirling for a dolour I have had in my head two days since. The queen is now
 "gone thither, partly against her will, albeit it may fall out better. All these
 "things ye of England, as it appeareth, do like of, and will entertain, albeit ye
 "cannot say in conscience but his majesty useth all means to quiet religion here,
 "and to perform every good work, that ought to be done. And I will assure you.
 "hold you on, you will make some, already half in doubt of your evil practises,
 "to be wholly confirmed therein; for besides many other things, you cross his
 "majesty in all places and countries, and now at the States hands, who, I know
 "in their hearts make no comparison, but love us far better than you; and,
 "except as wise men upon necessities, they will kaith it in time and place; for
 "the more ye mean to suppress the clean fire (unless ye have means sufficient to
 "slacken it, which ye have not) the more clear and bright it will burn. And, as I
 "said in my last letter, albeit they may be of years many and experience, yet will it
 "prove no point of will in them. This way our master is handled, and like to
 "be. It may be objected, we are poor, and can do nothing in that respect. Well,
 "a hungry man eateth fast and greedily. Then would you have us meddle with
 "you by way of deed, and by that to cause us tyn the hearts of that nation.
 "The breeder of such wills as these will at last, and not long too, feel the smart of
 "it, whereof the means may be easily had amongst you, as the proverb here is,
 "sharp men get over an honest and profitable appointment. I write not these
 "things directed by his majesty, or any he or she living. And now I am not at
 "court, neither am I factious, but rather, if any evil men are about his majesty,
 "they think me over-inclin'd to move his highness to concord and quietness with
 "that country, as indeed I have ever been. But I write of this effect now twice
 "unto you, and fear there be over-much cause, which, would to God, were not.
 "I pray you, as I said of it before, help what you can to the means of this; and
 "I shall make the best I can of your letter, when I see his majesty, which will
 "be one of these two days."

Mr. ROGER ASTON likewise in a letter to Mr. HUDSON from Edinburgh, on the 16th of April^c, acquainted him of the king's having remained at Stirling since the date of his last letters of the 28th of March; and that the queen had also been there, tho' to little contentment, in respect that such of her servants, as affected her obedience most, might not resort to her for fear of their adversaries, who in that town were as it were in their kingdom. So that, if to the king's indignation, of which they were sure, there had been join'd the incommodity of the place, they were persuaded they had not escap'd danger. Mr. WILLIAM FOULIS was forc'd to stay at Edinburgh for the same cause, and the laird of Baclugh since his majesty's going to Stirling had not resorted to court. "For tho' says Mr. ASTON, his means and friendship might almost assure him, yet his ruin is

^b Vol. v. fol. 47.^c Vol. v.

“ so highly embraced, his majesty not being ignorant thereof, that he will have to do with them, he assays always to assure his own standing by counsel, friendship, and his majesty’s favour. He is in so evil conceit with his majesty, that many think, that banishment shall be his nearest relief. His adversaries, to the end they may have some occasion to challenge him, wherein he may give the proof of his disobedience, have found a new way by a revocation made by the duke of Lennox, as now major, of all things done in his minority, and in special of the disposition of the earl Bothwell’s lands made at his majesty’s request unto BACLUGH, and suffered for his majesty to the effect he might have BACLUGH and his brother the more earnest in BOTHWELL’S pursuit, and diligent in keeping the borders, made the duke dispose unto them BOTHWELL’S lands, wherein the duke saith he findeth him hurt, and as major revokes the same. But those lands lie in such parts, that neither the duke nor any other is able to make his profit thereby, if the said possessors resist, and his majesty look equally on them. But if his majesty incline to the duke, as it is their adversaries design, and they resist, as it is probable, except they would use the reward of their service against BOTHWELL, it will give occasion of the challenging and trying their obedience.” Mr. ASTON observes, that there had been no farther proceedings against MORTON the jesuit, since his last letter, tho’ the king had given a *new commission to put him to an assize.*

Mr. ASTON, in a postscript to another letter to Mr. HUDSON, of the 23d of April^k, took notice, that the lord of Loggie wrote a great deal of news from England to Scotland, but chiefly of the great favour, which he found at queen ELIZABETH’S hands. “ It is here interpreted, *says Mr. ASTON*, otherwise than I know her majesty meaneth. Let Mr. BOWES know thus much, but no man else. I would have written of it to him, but I thought it not worth.”

ANTONIO PEREZ was still in England, tho’ expected soon to return to France, as appears from the following letter of Mr. STANDEN to Mr. BACON, written about this time, tho’ the date is not marked^l.

“ Right Worshipful,

“ As we were at supper, my lady RICH^m, signor PEREZ, Sir NICHOLAS CLYFFORD, and myself, there came upon a sudden into the chamber my lord and Sir ROBERT SIDNEY, and there was it resolved, that signor PEREZ must be to morrow morning at eight of the clock with my lord in court; after which my lord means to dine at Walsingham [house] and in the way to visit Mr. ANTHONY BACON: which my lady RICH understanding, said, she would go also to dine with them at Walsingham. And my lord asking, how she would be conveyed thither, she answered, that she would go in their companies, and in coach with them, and arrived at Mr. BACON’S house, and there disembarked my lord her brother, Sir ROBERT should bring her to Walsingham, and return back with the coach for my lord her brother. All which I write unto you, Sir,

^k Vol. v. fol. 50:

^l Vol. v. fol. 68.

^m PENELOPE, sister to the earl of Essex, mar-

ried to ROBERT lord RICH, created earl of Warwick, in 1618, a few months before his death.

“ by

“ by way of advice, to the end you be not taken unarmed. Womens discretions
 “ being uncertain, it may be she will not dismount, and the contrary also will
 “ fall out. Now it is resolved, that Mr. PEREZ shall not depart, for that my
 “ lord hath provided him here of the same office those eunuchs have in Turkey,
 “ which is to have the custody of the fairest dames; so that he wills me to write,
 “ that for the bond he hath with my lord, he cannot refuse that office.

“ *Servus, A. S.*”

Mr. THOMAS BODLEY's letter of the 23d of April, 1595, from the Hague*, inform'd the lord treasurer, that the contrary wind had kept from him his lordship's letter of the 22d of March, till the 14th of the present month, when he also received one from the queen to the States General by the address of Sir ROBERT CECIL, in favour of the debt due from them to Sir HORATIO PALLAVICINI; which letter of her majesty he had exhibited immediately, pleading Sir HORATIO's cause as well as he could. The States return'd an answer to it, and to his general proposition about the matter of reimbursement, but said nothing in that answer to that effect, which, when he wrote his last of the 13th of April, he hop'd to have heard, in regard of a farther offer of some actual satisfaction to be made to her majesty. For tho' they were in talk how somewhat might be done, yet doubting in part how the country would perform it, and partly also how her majesty would accept of a little, they came to no conclusion. All their answer in a manner, except in some certain points, was the same, that Mr. BODLEY had signified on the 22d of February, when he reported likewise his own reply. He was now persuaded, that nothing would prevail, whatever he should say besides, because the matter was so fit for replies and rejoinders, that there would be no end of disputing upon it. What they alledg'd of their detriments received by means of floods and water-breaches, he supposed to be no less than they seem'd to insinuate. For there had been some persons commission'd to take particular information of all the harm, that had been done in every part of their provinces; and their losses amounted to very great sums; which was a principal cause of their slackness in assenting to that year's contribution. For the provinces commonly pass'd their consents by the last day of January, or immediately upon it; and now it fell out, that only three provinces, Holland, Utrecht, and Guelderland, had accorded their proportions. In their answer they desired Mr. BODLEY to signify what they had said by word of mouth, and was omitted in their writing; and tho' he took no pleasure in telling their tale, yet in discharge of his duty, the following was all that he could remember, that remain'd unsignified. They said, that they had oftentimes debated this matter of his message, and were exceedingly perplex'd in devising how to deal, that both her majesty might be pleased, and their own state preserved. But though they had been busied as never so much in any other matter, yet they found it impossible to do that, which was required; and they thought very much to be press'd to it. “ We do all, *said they*, confess, that we are bound to her majesty next to God, for
 “ this shew of assurance, wherein our country is reduced; for which it doth not
 “ become us to contest with her in words about the equity of our cause. But

* Vol. v. fol. 71.

“ yet

" yet to say as the truth is, and every man knows, we are far from that tranquillity, whereupon we concluded our treaty with her highness. It is also to be shewed, that since the very first year we could never enjoy those forces and numbers, for which we have contracted and pawned our towns. And that, which paineth us most, is to see, that her highness doth continually disburse very great sums of money for the payment of her people; and yet matters are so carried, that neither she nor the country hath that use of their service, as in reason were behoveful. For many more might be spared from the Cautionary towns, and from that of Ostend, than we could ever yet obtain by any instant intreaty; and of those, that have been sent us, we were evermore uncertain what account to make of them thro' their often revocations, and casting, and countermands, and other doubtfull messages, which put us clean out of course of an orderly proceeding, both for casting our plots, and atchieving our attempts. Again, her highness may remember, that in the year 85, before the treaty was concluded, we did flatly then refuse, as the preface thereunto doth exprefs very plainly, to contract for a lesser aid than 5000 foot and 1000 horse. For we knew a less number would but draw our wars at length, and cause the people to despair, when they saw, that their troubles would never have an end; whereof we looked for no other but a sudden composition and agreement with the enemy. All this notwithstanding, we cannot at this present, nor could not these two years bring 2000 men of her majesty's companies to the service of the field."

These and other the like speeches were deliver'd to Mr. BODLEY by word of mouth, but in very humble terms and dutiful sort. And he, after he had spoken what was proper for her majesty, let them understand, that words and writings were good cheap; and that it was necessary for them to determine to make some other payment. For tho' their state was not so good, as was commonly supposed, they were not yet to seek of a competent means to gratify her majesty. And if they should not by somewhat shew their thankfulness unto her, he doubted of the sequel, in regard of her displeasure. But whatever he could alledge, they were wonderfully vehement in all their protestations, that they were destitute of means to satisfy her majesty, and that could yield unto her, not only the sum of 100,000 pounds, which the lord treasurer requir'd to be paid every year, but not a far less sum, without incurring the peril of their utter confusion. And as they understood, that Mr. BODLEY meant to convey their answer to her majesty, and not to carry it himself, as they had imagin'd he would, soon after it was deliver'd in writing to him, they sent of purpose to call him to their public assembly; and there they intreated or rather conjured him (they spoke with such affection) that in a matter of that moment, whereon so much depended for her majesty's good, as well as their's, he would take the pains himself to return with their answer, and not only lay before her majesty those reasons, which advanc'd their demand, but, since he knew in like manner, how it stood with those countries, acquaint her also of himself directly and sincerely with the full state of their affairs, and that in every particular, which could not be exprefs'd to be perfectly conceived but by verbal demonstration; which would cause her, they were certain, to run some other course than such, as might occasion the flat subversion of the country. They would

would willingly have sent some deputy of their own, but that it could not be done, without writing to the provinces, which could not but make a long work, and was not so convenient. Mr. BODLEY having made his excuse for divers causes, but chiefly for want of her majesty's license, they urg'd him earnestly, and promis'd him to write so effectually to the queen, that she should not need to doubt, but that it would be well construed. Upon this their instant desire, and considering, that he could do but little there, till he saw how her majesty would proceed upon their answer, and that he might at her pleasure return thither as soon as any messenger, he thought it fittest for her service not to stand upon denial. But that, which mov'd him most to it, was an overture made to him in private communication by a deputy of Holland, which whether it proceeded from the party alone, or with some notice of the States, Mr. BODLEY was not well assur'd; for the deputy protested to him with earnest assertion, that he did it altogether without the privity of his colleagues. And tho' Mr. BODLEY believ'd it, yet he could not but conjecture, that somewhat had been spoken in the meeting among them, whereby the deputy had good knowledge how the rest were affected, and directed himself accordingly. His drift in this overture was to proportion her majesty's demand with the country's ability, so that it might be brought to pass with the liking of the inhabitants, and both be very honourable and beneficial to her majesty. But because the matter was but rawly imparted to Mr. BODLEY, and had many points in it to be duly consider'd, it might perhaps detain him there some seven or eight days before he took his voyage. In the mean while he sent over the States answer before with their letters to the queen and the lords of the council, of which one concern'd Sir HORATIO PALLAVICINI's debt.

The lord treasurer having been advertised by Mr. GEORGE GILPIN of the troubles at Embden^k, Mr. BODLEY sent inclosed in his own letter the proposition of their deputy to the States General, containing the reasons of their taking arms. It seem'd by the deputy's speech with Mr. BODLEY, that the town was resolv'd to write to her majesty, to crave her favour in their cause, or at least to intreat her not to hearken to the count of East-Friseland, who prepar'd, as they said, to subdue them by force.

By a very good hand among the Scotsmen in Holland, Mr. BODLEY was certainly advertis'd, that their king had been mov'd by colonel STUART to pray her majesty to injoin Mr. BODLEY not to cross his request. However it was thought, that the king would not write. "I know not, *says Mr. BODLEY*, how the colonel meant it, whether indeed as concerning that I oppose against him, or whether it be but a practise to make trial, how her highness is affected in his suit, not by way of a plain request (which perhaps he is loth to use) but indirectly and by circumstance. Once to me he will not seem to think amiss of my proceedings, as in truth he hath no cause, not having been thwarted in any other sort, but that I wish'd the States to deal in that matter with the privity of her

^k The citizens of Embden in 1594 and 1595 ejected out of it EDWARD count of Embden, and East-Friseland, and demolish'd the castle. WOOD'S Memorials, vol. ii. p. 113. See likewise MATERN, l. xviii. fol. 374. verso. & 375.

highness. And since I have made it known, that she can be well pleased, that the king should be assisted. Nevertheless I am sure, that they have made him no grant. But of this kind of dealing, and other like matter, I will signify somewhat more at my coming to your lordship; which I trust I shall not find displeasing to her highness, both because my abode shall need to be but short, whereby her business is not letted, and because I am assured it will benefit her service."

The same day Mr. BODLEY wrote to the earl of Essex¹, that in the matter of Sir HORATIO PALAVICINI he had travell'd with many by particular persuasions, and accompanied the letter, which had been sent him from her majesty, with all his poor eloquence in their public assembly; but that they made the cause so clear for the acquittal of themselves, that he saw not how to argue to disprove their assertions. He mentions likewise his having been over-intreated, as his lordship might see by his inclosed letter to the lord treasurer, to carry their answer to her majesty, and to acquaint her fully with their state, which could by no means afford that yearly reimbursement of 100,000 pounds requir'd by the lord treasurer: and that since his purpose was no other but to go and return, he did not stand in doubt of her majesty's allowance, *tho' my trust, says he, be in the favour, which your lordship will shew me, if there be any need.*

The States General on the 6th of May, 1595, N. S. return'd their answer² to colonel STUART's proposition, which had been exhibited to their assembly in February preceding, in virtue of his letter of credence, dated the 15th of January; excusing themselves, on account of their necessities, from granting at present to the king of Scots the assistance desir'd by him.

The colonel, upon the receipt of this answer, wrote to Mr. HUDSON³, that he was apprehensive, that it would be diversely interpreted: "Yet, *says he*, I shall do what lies in my power to make the best of it for many good causes, as God bear record. At my home-coming I will be able to write more hereof than now. I had shewn to Mr. BODLEY, who is presently to come home, how needfull it is, that her majesty should have a most singular care of the king, my sovereign, his person, and estate of his country, for upon his safety depends all our quietness. I have been very plain with her majesty's ambassador, for that I have found him both wise and most well-instructed in the common cause. If ye take occasion to see him, ye will understand farther; and if ye write unto me, I shall answer it the best I may."

Mr. THOMAS EDMONDES, the queen's agent in France, who kept up a frequent correspondence with the earl of Essex, sent his lordship from Fontainebleau on the 6th of May, 1595, a letter⁴, informing him, that now at last the French king was ready to depart within three or four days, to perform his journey, which he had so long threatned, towards Lyons, and was to go from Fontainebleau to Troyes, where he determin'd to sojourn certain days, and advise according to

¹ Vol. v. fol. 72.

² Ibid. fol. 76.

³ Ibid. fol. 78 and 108.

⁴ Ibid. fol. 100.

the news, which he should receive out of the Franche-Comté of the enemy's proceedings, what course he was to shape, to take the way, either directly thither, or otherwise into Burgundy, and towards Lyons. He had an account, that the constable of Castille had taken the town of Vesoul, which he had been forc'd to carry by assault, in which he had lost many men; and that TREMBLECOURT¹ was retir'd into the castle, which was now held the same as lost. For the forces, appointed by the king to go from about Fontainebleau to the succour of it, could not arrive in season; and the marshal DE BIRON², who was near, was not able to help the besieg'd, because the Swiss would not march for want of their pay. In the mean time the marshal, in hopes of diverting the enemy from that enterprise, employ'd himself with the troops of French to take certain small places in Bresse, the duke of Savoy's country, where he had taken near Mâcon certain castles and small towns call'd Baye, Pont de Velle, Pont de Vaux, and Louans, which were of no present great importance, but to be fortified with time. He had also of late defeated there a troop of 100 horse of the duke of Nemours, which came to have surpris'd a quarter, where part of his company lodg'd, by which means the duke was reduc'd to a very poor state, and retir'd to his house in Savoy. The duke of Savoy, in recompence hereof, had lately taken Cahors in Piedmont, by reason that Monsieur LESDROUVIERES³ arriv'd too late to succour it. The king was much mov'd at the loss of it, as its importance deserv'd, being now depriv'd of all the advantage, which they held upon the duke of Savoy to force him to reason. Mont-Biron in Forest, and St. Pourcin, which is upon the way of Lyons, were treating with the king himself, as soon as he should arrive in that parts.

The treaty with the duke DE MAYENNE was prosecuted by his friends with great earnestness; which if he did not conclude, the king was strangely borne in hand, that upon his arrival in Burgundy, the towns would force themselves to shake off that duke's yoke.

The composition was now made with the baron of Sennegay⁴ for Auvergne, to whom was granted the lieutenancy of Burgundy, and recompence given to Monsieur DE TAVANNES the elder, who had it before. There was also the like hope conceived for the reducing of Autun. They were likewise assur'd by the duke DE MEXCOURT, who was in ill terms with the Spaniards, that he would not engage himself any farther with them, so as the king did not else oppress him with foreign forces to oblige him to cast himself into their hands. But in order to urge him more directly to treat, they were presently dealing to divide Bors-Dauphin⁵ from him, to whom they made offer of the second marshal's place, that

¹ LEWIS DE BRAUVAN, sene de Tremblecourt, a gentleman of Lorraine.

² CHARLES DE GONZAUT, duke de Biron, admiral and marshal of France, son of ARMAND DE GONZAUT, marshal of France. He was beheaded in the Bastille, the 21st of July, 1602.

³ FRANCIS DE BONDY, who rais'd himself from a very inferior rank in the army to that of marshal of France in 1607, and of duke and peer, and

at last in 1621 of constable of that kingdom. He died in October, 1626, at above eighty years of age.

⁴ CLAUDE DE BEAUFREMONT, baron de Sennegay. He died in 1596.

⁵ URBAIN DE LAVAL, marquis de Bois-Dauphin, was one of the four marshals of France created by the duke DE MAYENNE, and confirm'd afterwards by HENRY IV.

should fall void, without having promis'd the first to Monsieur LAVARDIN^{*}, and a great sum of money. He already carried that title by the provision of the league, and demanded a present confirmation of it, and an immediate payment of the money offer'd him, which they had not to satisfy him with.

The treaty of the marquis of Bellife was also still labour'd; and if they both should succeed, the duke DE MERCOEUA would be greatly weaken'd in his party.

There had been of late at the French court a gentleman of Arragon, of good credit in those parts, and of special power with the banditti of the mountains, who had tender'd the means both of money and otherwise, to give very great annoyance to the king of Spain that way. He was then return'd, and it was expected to hear shortly farther from him in the manifestation of his proposal.

With the deputies of the Swiss, who had come to Fontainebleau from the general cantons to deal for the cessation of the war of Franche-Comté, an equerry of the king of Spain's, who had been sent to negotiate with them in that point, would needs pass thither in their company, to see how they discharg'd themselves of that endeavour. But being by the way examin'd for his passports, and not producing any other warrant than the company of the Swiss, he was detain'd prisoner at Troyes.

The French court had yet no farther knowledge what ALDOBRANDINO had effected in Spain, other than that he was returned with the reward of a commanderie of 16000 ducats revenue, and the arrearages of many years rent thereof, and the promise to furnish 4000 men for the war against the Turk. But it was not known what answer he carried to the matter of the reconciliation with France, but it was given out to be evil. This ALDOBRANDINO was to be general of the forces in Italy, which the pope promis'd to make 8000 foot and 2000 horse. The advertisement at Fontainebleau was, that the Turk was coming to the war in his own person, and making an exceedingly great preparation, which it was thought might now move the king of Poland to put himself into the league.

The bishop of Evreux^{*} was now departing from Rome, his commission being said to have been restrain'd both to have limited him for the time of his stay there to receive the king's absolution, as also not to deal in any thing but only ecclesiastical matters.

The earl of Bothwell was lately arriv'd at Paris, where he presented himself to the king, and offer'd to justify himself to him from the accusations laid to his charge. And it was likely, that he would labour the employment of his favour to work his reconciliation.

^{*} JOHN DE BEAUMANOIR, marquis de Lavardin. He was born a protestant, but chang'd his religion. He was made marshal of France by HENRY IV. and died at Paris in 1614, soon after his return from England, where he had been ambassador extraordinary.

^{*} JAMES DAVY DU PERRON, born Novemb. 25. 1556. of protestant parents, whose religion he afterwards abandon'd. He became bishop of Evreux in 1593, and cardinal in 1604, and died Sept. 5. 1618.

The Spaniards had lately attempted an enterprize upon Sedan by a new bulwark, which the duke of Bouillon was making there; but they fail'd in it.

Mr. Aston on the 8th of May, 1595, wrote from Edinburgh to Mr. Hudson^v, that the king was then at Lithgow, where he had been for ten days, and had appointed to have return'd to Edinburgh that day; but because the chancellor had excused himself, that he could not come so soon, his majesty would stay two days longer only to hunt and hawk. What would be the success of that convention, was not known. It was suspected, that the queen would renew her suit for the prince, and was coming to Edinburgh to that effect. If she should insist upon it, it would occasion much disturbance. The king could not bear to hear of it. The earl of Mar came thither that night well accompanied. There were jealousies between that earl and the chancellor; and this and other things were like to produce mischief. "The king's only care, adds Mr. Aston, is to have quietness; that he may hunt and hawk in security. But, you know, the nature of these people cannot be idle; and rather than they * * * * *, they will hazard all, without respect to king or common weal."

Mr. Bodley having, in compliance with the request of the States General, return'd to England with their proposition, wrote a letter from London on the 14th of May, 1595, to the queen^v, who was displeas'd with his return; and he inclos'd in it the substance of their overture, alledging the reasons of his own coming over in person, as most expedient as well for winning of time, as the clearing of doubts, and framing of the overture fully to her majesty's satisfaction, which he made no doubt of doing, and that when the matter was once on foot, he should obtain their consents for the augmentation of their offer. That it was true, it was known but to some few of the States (for so the project and the nature of their government requir'd) but yet those were the chiefest, and their word in that case had the force of a warrant. The common sort thought no other, but that he went to make a report of the state of their affairs, and to come back again with her majesty's final resolution; for that was their desire, and he gladly yielded to it, to give some colour to his departure. And whereas her majesty supposed, that they would impute it to him for a very simple part, that he would be their messenger, and that it might be some touch to her wisdom for sending to them so weak a person, her majesty might, if she pleas'd, vouchsafe with good reason a more favourable construction. For first, the principal among them were acquainted altogether of the sudden cause of his return, and esteem'd it so requisite, that it could not but redound to her majesty's singular satisfaction. And for the generality, they did not so much hope (tho' it was not specified in their letters to her majesty) that their answer would persuade her to accept their refusal, as that she might the sooner be induc'd by it to qualify her demands: whereby they had not that content, that he was only return'd with their answer to her majesty, but by means of their answer, and his return, she might apply her resolution to the state of their provinces. They had made a long tryal for many years together of his proceedings in her service, of which he was assured their

^v Vol. v. fol. 90.

^v Ibid. fol. 115.

persuasion was good. And when they should see that effected, which her majesty intended in this matter of such moment, he trusted, that it would increase his credit among them, and bind them, he was certain, to incline hereafter more easily to all his motions for her majesty. "But were it so, *says he*, most gracious sovereign, that I had erred in the form of this my coming now unto you, if I present you so good and so honourable matter, as will put you in possession of that, which you desire, I had undoubtedly just cause to conceive and assuredly hope, that both in regard of this present endeavour, and ten years together of my very best age consumed in your service, and that without any recompense, with the utter neglect of my domestical estate, I should not in this matter have found my welcome so bitter, so far from your usage to others of your servants, and from your highness's wonted manner, both in your letters and speeches, used to myself. Wherein nothing moves me more, than that your highness should account me too great a friend unto the States; whose causes when I further, it is to serve your turn the better, and was never yet to prejudice any jot of your designs. And for my courses in such cases I could remember your highness of my very last carriage in the king of Scots proposal to the General States; wherein if I adventured, for the advantage of your service, tho' I had no just commission, to purchase his displeasure (whereof I am advertised, as in truth I did expect it) it were too gross a fault in policy to prefer the pleasuring of the States (who, this matter ended, must be strangers to me) above your majesty's contentation, whose liking or disliking is all my making or undoing. For which I fall before your majesty with all humbleness of duty; and I beseech you most submissly, to use your excellent insight in discerning what is told or discoursed against me, and to put it out of question; that if it derogate any whit to my diligence and care to serve your majesty sincerely, there is either joined with it an ill affection to my person, or want of knowledge how to deal in the causes of that country, or that usual imperfection, which is readier to distrust, than to allow of others actions. And so in hope, that your majesty, of your singular bounty, will examine my proceeding, with a gracious respect to my deserts heretofore, and to my present painful service, I take my humblest leave."

ANTONIO PEREZ was still in England, and wrote to the earl of Essex on the 20th of May, 1595, a letter in Latin, the language employ'd in their correspondence. This letter is written in that affected style observable in those of his printed among his works; and generally casting an obscurity over the subject, upon which he writes. It was in the following terms.

"My Lord,

"Anglus ille adolescens venit hoc vesperi ad me, declaravit quæ sibi commissâ fuere in Hispaniâ contra hanc inutilem personam, quæ muta & surda persona est, quæque machinabantur in Ægypto PHARAONI & illi, ut apud reginam suspiciosus fierem. Tu ea intelliges ab illo. Dedit mihi istam chartam, ut tibi remitterem. Desiderat te alloqui de quodam Hiberno, de suâ expeditione, quam existimo non debere differri, ut possit aliquid servitii vobis præstare, & ne dis-

" fidens reddatur. In meam curam sumpsi hæc ad te scribere, existimans non tibi
 " ingratum futurum, nisi quod a me sunt scripta.

" Sed, my lord, quid de iste tempestuoso mari? Quid de JUNONE, quæ ÆOLUM
 " & ventos contra te convocat & commovet? Quid de hac reipublicæ nostræ
 " navi? Tota enim periclitatur, immo peribit, si tu ejus clavum non habueris in
 " manu, & dum tuum clavum (clavam potius, tu enim HERCULES) aventi non ex-
 " posueris, petenti non tradideris, ardentem illum illo non combusseris, habes
 " enim trabalem clavum sicut audiivi (quid miraris illius ardorem?) potentem,
 " inquam, fortunam tuam animumq; figere, & si figi non potest, saltem claudas,
 " quod ** implens, quod impleri possit, illo. Et si mihi non credideris, credito
 " saltem proverbio, clavus clavo truditur. Vale, clavipotens à clavo impotenti;
 " & tu vel mihi tuam clavum tradito, vel meam pristinam carnem & præteritam
 " indue, & tibi serviam, vel illi satisfaciam."

This letter refers to the earl's ill situation at that time at court, probably from the
 queen's displeasure at his share in the marriage of his cousin Mrs. ELIZABETH WENNON
 to his friend HENRY earl of Southampton, without her majesty's knowledge. This
 is confirm'd by a letter of the same date, in which Mr. STANDEN inform'd Mr.
 BACON * what he had learned the night before among the court ladies, that the lady
 RICH, the earl of Essex's sister, having visited the lady * of Sir ROBERT CECIL, at her
 house, understood, that the countess of Southampton and her *ill good man* had waited
 on Sunday two hours to have spoken with the queen, but could not. At last the
 countess sent in word, that she desired her majesty's resolution; to which the queen
 answered, that she was sufficiently resolved; but that the next day she would talk with
 her farther: " About this matter, says Mr. STANDEN, imposed upon the earl for
 " gendering, the lady SOUDAMORE and Dr. GIFFORD are also in the class. Most,
 " that talk, do judge this not to be the principal cause, neither that of the new-coined
 " countess; but that some other matter hath been discovered unto the queen not
 " known to the vulgar, which doth pinch nearer. And this is mightily imprinted in
 " mens' breasts thro' the multitude of traitors they have seen him heretofore straitly
 " besieged with. I am heartily sorry to hear us made a football in the world;
 " and yet if he were subject to counsel, there is doubtless a remedy, which con-
 " sisteth in the diligence about and observing of her; which two points put in
 " practise would restore his greatness, and yield his foes flat at his feet."

Mr. THOMAS EDMONDSS attending the French king in his march towards Lyons,
 wrote to the lord treasurer from Troyes, on the 21st of May, 1595", that since
 his last letter that king was advanc'd no farther than that town, having made some
 stay by the way, and being oblig'd to return to Paris, to bring away the count DE
 SOISSONS, who had gone back thither discontented, and had refus'd to take the
 journey with him, pretending want of money, the real cause of his chagrin being
 the king's refusal to give him a government. And tho' the count had not the
 means of himself to do great hurt, yet the king durst not trust his stirring spirit
 among the people of Paris, whom he left much discontented from the many great
 impositions laid upon them. Some jealousy was likewise conceiv'd for the oppor-

* Vol. v. fol. 74. * ELIZABETH, daughter of WILLIAM BROOKE, lord Cobham. * Vol. v. fol. 96.

sunity of too great an intelligence between the count and madam the king's sister. But the count being now furnished with money by the king, attended him in the journey.

In the way to Troyes, HENRY IV. was advertised of the reduction of Autun in Burgundy, by the intelligence of the greatest part of the inhabitants with the marshal DE BIRON, whom they called to their assistance therein; and of that of Nuys, a small town within three leagues of Dijon, in the like manner. He was inform'd likewise on the morning of the day, on which Mr. EDMOND'S letter was written, that the like was perform'd by the people of Dijon, which however was not effected without a combat, by reason that the duke of MAYENNE had a party in that city. The marshal DE BIRON having receiv'd a small hurt in the arm by a harquebuss shot, the king, upon news of it, went immediately to his assistance in the besieging of the castle, which he had already invested. It was a place of good strength, especially towards the town, and like to amuse him some time. It was said, that the viscount of Tavannes had put himself into it. There was expectation, that the constable of Castille should come to the succour of it, in respect of its being of so great importance; but it was said, that the duke DE MAYENNE, who had made himself very contemptible towards the Spaniards, had not power to prevail so far. He was with them in their army little respected, and made great instance towards the king to be received into treaty, of which he was now esteemed to be no more worthy. He held yet Chalons, a great town, and Tallan, a stronger castle near Dijon.

The constable of Castille had now at last, within a few days past, carried Vesoul in Franche-Comté, which TREMBLECOURT had very well defended, until he had neither water nor munition remaining. From thence it was supposed the constable would go to take Jouvelle, and the other small places held by TREMBLECOURT, to clear the province, unless other occasions should divert him. He waited the coming of his brother Don BERNARDINO with troops from Milan for his reinforcement, and the king was advertised, that there was likewise a levy of Swis making for him. The king's purpose was, before he receiv'd the news of the reduction of Dijon, to have gone into Franche-Comté, to have provoked the constable to fight; of which notwithstanding he did not yet lose the hope, if the constable should either come to the succour of the castle of Dijon, or otherwise engage himself in any siege of importance; and for that purpose he had sent for all the forces of the parts about Troyes; among which he expected the duke of Guise with his, amounting to twelve or fifteen hundred men, and the count D'AUVERGNE, and others with good numbers. The army with marshal DE BIRON already consisted of 3000 Swis, and as many French foot, and three or four hundred horse. The constable of Castille was reputed to have eight or nine thousand foot, and twelve or fifteen hundred horse.

The deputies, which were at Troyes from the Cantons of the Swis, had made instance to the king, that the Franche-Comté might be restored to be neuter:

* L'Etoile, journal du regne d'HENRY IV. tom. ii. p. 210, 211. THUANUS, l. cxii. cap. iv. &

and that he would transfer his war into Savoy. But they made it also appear, that if he were victorious in the Franche-Comté, they would be content, that he should assign them the one half of the contribution of the country, to pay themselves the arrearages of the debts, which he owed them.

The companies of the Netherlanders, which were sent by the States to serve under the duke of Bouillon, had quitted him, pretending, that they could not brook the air of the country, and that their limited time was expired; upon the advantage of which VERDUGO and LA MORTE were gone with good forces to recover the places taken by the duke of Bouillon in Luxembourg, and were already masters of the castle of Chenancy, and were then besieging La Forte, which it was feared they would also carry. The duke lodg'd by them with 2000 foot and 400 horse, and by reason of the great disproportion of his weakness was not able to make head against them. He expected soon the coming of thirty companies of foot out of Gascony, which he had sent a good while before to levy, and were to be entertained by the States in lieu of the Netherlanders.

They were at the French court labour'd with vehement solicitations from Rome to hasten the sending of the bishop of Evreux thither, in the affectation of which the pope shew'd himself so passionate, that SFONDRATA and two other cardinals had withdrawn themselves from Rome, because they would not be present at that bishop's arrival, to see so unpleasing a proceeding. The bishop was to depart from Troyes the next day, in whose company was likewise sent Monsieur DE MAISSE*, to the duke of Florence, and the rest of the princes in Italy, to treat for the loan of money. There was also news, that the king of Spain had delivered to ALDOBRANDINO his resolution of prosecuting the war against France. But men of the best judgement at the French court believed out of probable circumstances, that this was but the exterior language, and that ALDOBRANDINO had secretly drawn other better contentment from him of yielding to refer himself therein to the pope to manage the same by his authority. And it was not to be doubted, but the pope would earnestly employ himself therein; and the more as he should see the French king's affairs prosper.

It was advis'd out of Spain, that PHILIP II. had sent divers passengers to hasten the return of his Indian Fleet.

The revolt of Toulouse still continued thro' the sedition of the priests.

A composition had been lately made with the governor of Mezieures, for a sum of money to acknowledge the king.

Mr. EDMONDES, in a letter the same date to the earl of Essex*, inform'd him, that he had sent his lordship's letter to the duke of Bouillon, of whom he was sorry to have occasion to write so bad news, as his general letter express'd. But that the loss was not so great, but the duke would be able to recover it, when he

* He was afterwards in 1597 sent ambassador to England.

* Vol. v. fol. 101.

should be better supplied with forces. If the Netherlanders would have had some farther patience, the coming of his troops out of Gascony would have kept him from that mischief. The thing, which his friends at court most fear'd, and his enemies desired, was, that in his desire to draw the enemies to fight, he might engage himself therein upon too great disadvantage. "Your lordship, *says he*, "will see by my letters how miraculously we are here beholding to the benefit "of favour, the which notwithstanding is nothing to that, which might have "been effected, if we had done our endeavours upon the commodities, which presented. For if we had come a month sooner out of Paris, we had beaten the "constable of Castille in the Franche-Comté, and kept there that, which was "gotten, which would have been of great importance, and given the king much "reputation, especially for the authorising of his affairs in Italy. Therewith also "he had driven Monsieur DE MAYENNE out of Burgundy much more easily "than he hath now done, and in the countenance and favour of them both forced "Monsieur D'ESPERNON to submit himself to reason for Provence, who is the only "dangerous enemy he hath now remaining. Yet is there still likelihood things "will almost receive the same issue."

Monsieur DE BRAUVOIR LE NOCLE, who had been embassador in England, was in pain to procure his secretary to be sent thither, to possess the place, till he could be ready to return, which he infinitely affected, finding his life in France not at all agreeable to his humour. He had obtained a grant of the king of 55,500 and odd crowns, as well in consideration of his services, as also for the arrearages due to him for his entertainment: but he was to seek how and where to recover a penny of that money. It would cost him that summer's time to procure order for it: and having furnished himself with means to pay his debts, he made his reckoning to return to England towards the winter; but otherwise to traverse it, and to send Monsieur LA NOUE*. He desir'd Mr. EDMONDES with great earnestness to signify to the earl of Essex, that he had exercised the patience, which his lordship had counsel'd him at his departure, having that morning waited an hour at the door of Monsieur DE SANCY†, against whom and the duke of Bouillon he much inveigh'd.

Sir RICHARD COCKBURN, secretary to the king of Scots, in his letter of the 22d of May, 1595, from Edinburgh to Mr. HUDSON‡, observ'd to him, that tho' the intermitted correspondence betwixt the two princes gave occasion to inferiors of little correspondence, yet he could not omit to let him understand something for himself, that the king upon some true advertisement made by Mr. HUDSON to one of his friends in Scotland thought as well of him, as himself, or his best friends could wish; "wherein, *says Sir RICHARD*, you have done wisely and "honestly, and will receive the fruit, that can be expected to arise thereof. For "your advertisement to my lord chancellor, my uncle, you are to receive thanks "by his own letter; who continuing of that disposition always he is described to

* ODET DE LA NOUE, son of BRAS DE FER.

† NICHOLAS HARLAY, seigneur DE SANCY. He declar'd himself a Roman catholic at Orleans in 1572, during the massacre there, but soon after re-

turn'd to the protestant religion, which he again abandoned in 1593, when the king left it. He was superintendant of the finances.

‡ Vol. v. fol. 51.

“ be of by you, will be found towards yourself without change or alteration in
 “ any sort: which good opinion of you both in his majesty and him shall be
 “ nourished and increased by me at all occasions.” Sir RICHARD then remarks,
 that that particular situation of their court, *and ever-troubled state*, was so frequently
 advertised into England by intelligencers, as it would be superfluous to write the
 same. “ Ye know, *adds he*, according to your custom, that parties of greatest
 “ credit amongst us are entertained by you as long as the king’s favour continues;
 “ which diminishing or declining, the sequel is known. But by the spirit of pro-
 “ phesy I must be excused to say thus far, which will be found true, that when-
 “ soever the party contradictory to my uncle prevails, whereof there is no likeli-
 “ hood, neither their virtues nor honesty will be answerable to their present pro-
 “ fession; and in the change you shall have the worst, and no such offices done
 “ gratis, as have been performed heretofore; and peradventure not escape *colle-*
 “ *ing* and *crofnage*, as well known and detected here, as, if you please, may be
 “ decypher’d there. Whensoever any comes here for the receipt of the annuity,
 “ your affignation shall be remembered with the first. In the mean time, as you
 “ can, try how that suit will be heard, and what sum in your opinion will be re-
 “ ceived. Upon the advertisement, the messenger, I think no ambassador, shall
 “ be hastned.”

ANNE of Denmark, queen consort of Scotland, whose true character was little known to our historians, and therefore has been more favourably treated by them than it deserv’d from her ambitious and turbulent temper, and her secret attachment to the interests of the church of Rome, was at this time endeavouring to form a party in Scotland of her own creatures, and to strengthen it by procuring the prince her son to be remov’d from the custody of the earl of Mar into her own. She was incited to this, according to the archbishop SPOTSWOOD^a, by some, who envied that earl’s credit and authority; and she drew the chancellor MAITLAND and several of the council to promise their assistance in executing her design of possessing herself of the person of her son. The circumstances of which intrigue will appear in the course of the correspondences from Scotland, which will be inserted in these *Memoirs*.

Mr. BANNATYNE wrote to Mr. HUDSON from Edinburgh on the 23d of May, 1595^b, mentioning, that he had directed to him by divers occasions by sea and land several letters, without any answer or assurance of their receipt; but that since his last, all things in Scotland had been in such hazard of alteration, that he could have written nothing certain, except this, that all things were in an uncertainty. Both the factions had dealt with the king for taking up of their differences, tho’ their actions in the mean time had proved their minds to have been masked, by increasing their forces with new friendships, and drawing from their adversaries such, as either in counsel or means might serve their turn.

The master of Glamis, who was the queen’s and BACLUON’s assistant, had been earnestly dealt with to leave her majesty; and in order to compel him to this, they

^a P. 410.

^b Vol. v. fol. 147.

had drawn the lord Glamis to their faction, and more straitly bound him by his marriage with ARNAS MURRAY, daughter to TILBORNE, and cousin to the earl of Mar. This new alliance by the master's consent had not persuaded him to leave BACLUGH, but he remain'd constant. The chancellor had also been attempted by MICHAEL ELPHINSTON, to abandon BACLUGH, but in vain.

The earl of Montrose, who was thought at the beginning to have been embark- ed in this course, had left it, tho' he profess'd otherwise by letter. They had no dealing with BACLUGH; so that they dissembled not, that they embrac'd his ruin. And the king among his domestics at some times uttered such words, as might betray his alteration toward BACLUGH, though her majesty for all these accidents was so far from discontinuing of her suit for the prince, which was one of the principal causes of these discontents, that with all convenient occasion she renew'd the same; and lately before the king's going to Lithgow, about the 15th instant, the queen took occasion in her bed to remember that purpose, where she hourly regretted, that her constant affection to his majesty, the leaving her friends beyond sea, and following of him, with the estate of her brother the king of Denmark, and his ready mind to his majesty, were so ill return'd, that in a suit founded upon reason and naturalty, he would prefer a subject, who neither in rank nor behaviour to his majesty was to be accounted amongst the best. It was replied by the king, that princes turns ought not to be measured by affection, but by that, which was meetest for the quietness of their own estate, and eschewing of inconveniences: and tho' he doubted nothing of her behaviour, yet the preparative was evil, and might give occasion, that his son should be used against him, as he was used against his mother. Here the queen thought to have had the advantage by the diversity of the cause, she being a stranger, whose greatest felicity was in his majesty's honour; and so insisted, till such time as the king said, that it was a thing contrary to the advice of his wisest counsellors, among whom he nam'd the chancellor, with the tutor of Glamis, and some others her followers in this turn, thereby, as it was thought, to make her suspect them. She ask'd of the king leave to speak in particular, if they had given such advice; which was denied to her, and so gave her occasion to crave as a singular favour, that his majesty would refer the matter to his council, seeing she was never minded to ask any thing of his majesty, which should not be thought meet by his wisest subjects; and that his majesty ought in such great turns to subject himself to their judgments. So with great instance this was obtained, and she appear'd to be contented, and by the greatest part of her associates the cause was thought to be won. But the king continuing in an evil disposition towards BACLUGH upon some other suspicions, it render'd not a little doubtful how they should proceed in this; for there was a commission directed from his majesty to the council at Edinburgh, commanding them to direct letters to BACLUGH for his appearing the last day of that month of May. This commission was the more feared by his friends, that mention only was made of directing letters to BACLUGH, and not to CRESFORD, who had been hitherto partaker of all the other's counsels. So that it was feared, that if BACLUGH should be imprison'd or otherwise ill treated (as, if he should appear, was suspected) CRESFORD, who was of no facil nature, and not so well acquainted with turns, either would be afraid by his fellow's peril, and so leave him, or by

the offer of the commandment of the whole borders, which he had formerly desired; join himself with BACLUGH's and his own adversaries, if he should rightly consider, that the queen's suit was come of late to be thought more tolerable, if not of itself, yet for the ill opinion they had of the earl of Mar. For at their conventions, which were in putting order to the disorders of the Highlands, he had oppos'd himself, and had shewn himself a patron of such noblemen, whose friends or themselves were in danger thro' their misbehaviour. And if at any time they had been imprisoned or any otherwise punished, he had excited them to revenge against those, who had been instrumental in such punishments. Besides, it was thought a thing intolerable, that the prince and two of the principal strengths of the country should be in one man's hands. But there was nothing able to do him so much harm, as the suspicion of his collusion with the popish earls, which was great increas'd by their proceedings. But the secrets of the turn were not yet disclos'd, nor would be till it should be seen what would be the issue of BACLUGH's challenge.

There was a French ambassador, nam'd Monsieur VITRY, look'd for daily in Scotland; and it was thought, that the king would deal (by the renewing of some old privileges) in particular with him touching his own estate. But there was nothing to be fear'd that way.

Colonel STUART had given new hopes to the earl of Orkney with relation to his marriage with count MAURICE's sister; but the king began to dislike the embassy.

The next day, May 24th, the chancellor of Scotland sent to Mr. HUDSON from Edinburgh an answer^a to his letter of the 21st of April, which he had not received till the 20th of May, thanking Mr. HUDSON for his advertisements, and adding, "The more that I am disliked by such, as practise the subversion of the true religion, and to disturb the good peace and quietness requisite betwixt the two crowns, the more I rejoice, being glad to be so truly described by them to be such, as I am indeed, and shall always continue, resolved not to alter my course and disposition. Towards yourself in particular, you may rest assured of my good will and affection in such sort, as your own good behaviour has merited, and my profession been to you; whereof I shall be ready and glad to give effectual proof in whatsoever requires my furtherance."

Mr. BODLEY's return from Holland with the proposal brought by him exasperated the queen to so high a degree, that he wrote to Mr. BACON on the 24th of May, 1595^b, that he had not stirr'd abroad for ten days past, nor knew when he should, since he saw so little hope of better usage at court; "where, *says he*, I hear for my comfort, that the queen on Monday last did wish I had been hang'd. And if withal I might have leave, that I should be discharged, I would say, *Benedetto si el giorno, el mese, & l'anno*. The inclosed I received this morning out of Zealand, which hath nothing of moment, but yet it may serve to

^a Vol. v. fol. 84.

^b Vol. v. fol. 86.

"entertain

"entertain half an hour, as I would come to do the like, if I durst go out; for which I am certain you will hold me excused."

The earl of Essex began now to recover the queen's favour, with whom he had been for some days upon ill terms, as well as with the lord treasurer and Sir ROBERT CECIL; as is evident from the following letter of his to lord HENRY HOWARD *.

"Noble Lord,

"For Sir WILLIAM WOODHOUSE, I cannot mislike, that your lordship should do any good office, especially such a one as this is, which he seeks. He doth both profess and express a great respect towards me.

"For our court matters, I can send you no certainty, but the father and son are both yet out of countenance, and the queen hath used me much better yesternight and to day, than she hath done a long time.

"I wish your lordship all the good I can think of, and rest your lordship's cousin and friend most faithfully assured.

"Pardon my slowness, as well as my haste, for I could neither write sooner nor longer."

And this farther appears from a letter of Mr. ANTHONY STANDEN to Mr. BACON **, written, according to the indorsement in May, 1595, informing him, that the earl was just come to Essex-house from Walsingham-house, intending to sup and lie there. "Whereby, *says he*, you may aim how the world goeth. The book, altho' faithfully promised, not yet signed; and I think he will not to the court untill that be done. I learn he hath given out speeches at Walsingham, that he will to the Indies. It is too much compassion to see how they set him on the tenter-hooks." To this letter ANTONIO PEREZ added a postscript, desiring Mr. BACON to acquaint signor BASADONNA, that the earl was to lodge at Essex-house, and to know of him, whether he lov'd him now he was departing. *Te obsecro, ut certiore facias D. BASADONNAM mylordum nostrum hic dormire. Illud etiam, ut sciam, an me ames discedentem.*

Mr. EDMONDES, on the 30th of May, 1595, sent from Dijon a letter to the lord treasurer, with a copy of it to the earl of Essex, concerning the action between HENRY IV. and the Spaniards at Fontaine-Françoise, one of the bravest and most hazardous of his whole life *. Mr. EDMONDES, after having remark'd, that in his last letter of the 21st of that month from Troyes cited above, he had signified the reduction of Dijon, now proceeds to observe, that upon the news of it the king departed presently thither to the assistance of Marshal DE BIRON, doubting lest the constable of Castille, by reason of his nearness, being at Grey

* Vol. v fol. 97.

** Vol. v. fol. 105.

* Vol. v. fol. 141.

* See le GRAIN, decade contenant la vie et gestes de HENRY le grand, l. vi. p. 615. et seqq.

edit de Rouen, 1632, 4to Prefixe, Hist. de HENRY IV. THUANUS l. cxii. cap. iv. p. 402, 463. et l'Etoile, tom. ii. p. 211, 212.

in Franche-Comté, only 7 or 8 leagues from thence, should seek to surprize the marshal, and by the castle to enter men into the town. By the way he received news from the marshal, that the constable, at the sollicitation of the duke DE MAYENNE, was pass'd the river to such intent, beseeching his majesty therefore to advance with speed to his relief, which he satisfied in due time, and the next day went to the war, towards the place of the enemies lodging with seven or eight hundred men, and certain harquebusses on horseback. He approach'd that night within two leagues of them; and understanding the next day, that 300 of their horse were advanced to come to the war, he meant to meet them with the like number or more, giving orders, that the rest of the troops should stay at a village behind him to assure his retreat, lest the enemy, upon notice of his being there, should send part of their army to cut betwixt him and home. The marshal DE BIRON took upon him the charge of 50 or 60 horse to advance to discover, and unexpectedly fell suddenly upon the enemy, who charg'd him as soon with good numbers, part carabines, part lances, and beat him back upon the king, the marshal having received a dangerous wound in the head, by reason of not having on his casque. The king was therefore forced to go to the charge to the marshal's relief; and as he followed the chace upon the first number, he found likewise unexpected in the head of them other 600 horse in four squadrons, of which two, the one after the other, charged with great resolution his own troop in head, and the other two the other troops. The encounter was so rude, that many of the king's troops turn'd head, and began to abandon him, till the king accompanied with some 50 or 60 resolute gentlemen, after having sustained the effort of their first and second charge, led the way (as the enemies troop turned) to charge them in flank, whereby breaking in upon them, he put them presently to rout, and followed the chace upon them home to the foot of the hill, behind which was all their army, and on the top of the hill the duke DE MAYENNE with a squadron of 300 horse, who only bestowed the looking on them; whereas if he had descended to have sustained the others, it had been impossible for the king and his followers to have saved themselves. The king made his retreat afterwards with the honour of holding the field, and the dead bodies of the enemies, which were about 40, continued the next day unfetch'd away, many more being held to be hurt, who had saved themselves. Afterwards the rest of his troop came to his reinforcement; but all was before ended. The success was in every man's judgment miraculous, in respect of what might have been the event, if the enemy had acquitted themselves in any sort to their means of so great advantage; for by all mens confession the king never ran a greater danger of perishing. He lost nine or ten gentlemen of his own cornet, and one nam'd Monsieur RAMPON, who had been lately made governor of Beaulne. The next morning the enemy repass'd the river with most of his troops; and the king was inform'd, that the constable of Castille accused bitterly the duke DE MAYENNE, that he was their deceiver, or an ignorant, to assure him, that the king was not arriv'd, since it appeared otherwise. It was most certain, that the enemies came in that confidence to surprize the marshal; for the prisoners all confess'd, that they knew nothing of the king's coming. Now they gave out, that they attended for their reinforcement the coming of the forces of the duke of Savoy out of Piedmont, and the forces, which were with VERDUGO in Luxembourg, with which the duke DE MAYENNE gave hope to those of the castle, that

that he would come to their relief; but few believed him. The opportunity was good, if they could have taken it before the king's coming; but the longer they temporiz'd, the more advantage they gave to the king to assemble his forces. And it was not believ'd, whatever the duke DE MAYENNE promis'd, that the constable meant to return, but rather that he would seek to clear the places, which remain'd untaken in the Franche-Comté. The approaches were not yet made on the one side of the castle, to give them shew of a battery, whereby it was not yet discovered how they would resolve themselves. The governor call'd capt. FRANCESQUE, and many others, were said to have great wealth in it; which gave hope, that he would not defend it with too great obstinacy. The viscount of Tavannes, who had put himself into Talan, a strong castle seated on the top of a hill, distant from Dijon the length of a cannon shot, had made offer to the king to render that place, upon condition to have the government of it, and of that town, the rank of marshal, and a considerable sum of money. But the rendering of the castle of Dijon would make him fall off his pace.

In the reduction of that town two things had been particularly stipulated; the first, that the punishment of the jesuits, who were there, should be referr'd to the king's pleasure, who ordered them to follow their fellows; and secondly, that the edict of 1571, publish'd in favour of those of the religion, should not have place there.

The king expected there the constable of France from Lyons.

The day before the writing of this letter, the Swiss ambassadors departed with an answer from the king, that the war in the Franche-Comté was not begun by him; but the breach of the neutrality first made by them; of which he was content to refer the judgment to the general cantons, as also of the injuries done him by the king of Spain; and desired to give them contentment for the withdrawing of his forces thence; but that he must seek his enemies where he can find them.

The French court was advertis'd by their ambassadors at Constantinople, that Mr. EDWARD BARTON, the queen's ambassador, employ'd her majesty's authority to prevent the Turks arming by sea; which did not at all please them.

Mr. EDMONDES added, that the emperor had bestowed upon count CHARLES[†] the dignity of a prince; and in his postscript, that since the writing of his letter the viscount of Tavannes had again sent to the king to treat for Talan; with whom it was almost concluded to give him a marshal's place, and a sum of money. He was to come that afternoon to the king. The baron of Veteaux had also sent to compound for Noyers, and one or two other castles, which he held. The king had likewise just received news, that the enemy was that morning dislodg'd farther off.

[†] MANFIELD. He was made lieutenant of the on the 14th of August, 1583, N. S. METZEN, archduke MATTHIAS against the Turks; but died I. xviii. fol. 374.

With

With the copy of this letter Mr. EDMONDES sent a short one of the same date to the earl of Essex¹, that *God miraculously continued* towards the French king *the effects of his favour*, “giving, *says he*, a strange happy success to a strange mad attempt, as all men here call it; of the folly whereof the marshal of BIRON is only accusable; first, for going to the charge, without informing himself of the enemies numbers; and next for sending as precipitately to the king, to engage him to come to his relief. If the king in so great an extremity had not valued himself by a desperate resolution, I assure your lordship, himself and all the rest had been lost, for the most of his clincant noblesse ran bravely from him. The king gave exceeding great honour to Sir CHARLES², and Sir HENRY DAVERS³, to have very worthily served.”

Mr. ASTON, in a letter of the 28th of May, 1595, acquainted Mr. HUDSON⁴, that he was on his way to hasten the queen of Scots coming to Stirling, and to receive her at Lithgow; and that the king had been at Falkland passing his time, and was then gone to Stirling to the banquet of his mistress, who was to be married the next day in her father's house at Galt. The banquet was to begin on Sunday in the countess of Mar's new house. “I find, *adds Mr. Aston*, a great bruit in this town of some change at court; and they cannot tell by what means but by the queen, who, so far as I can perceive, will do nothing to offend the king, who can no ways abide to hear of any alteration. I see the queen's affection is something drawn from such, as stir her up. The lairds of Baclugh and Cesford are great, and they think the house of Mar is stirred up by Mr. JOHN COLVIL, to work their desire; and that moves the chancellor to lie off; for he thinks, so long as the earl of Mar entertains Mr. JOHN, he cannot be in sure friendship with him. To be short, Mr. JOHN gets all the blame.

“After the banquet the king and queen go to Falkland, where they will remain all this summer; which I hope we shall bestow in quietness by all appearance. The queen is with bairn. The prince grows not in strength so well as need were. The change of his nurse hath been the cause. Upon the closing, colonel STUART landed, as I hear, is come in speed. ANDREW CROWE is upon his dispatch to France, to deal against Bothwell. He comes by land.”

Mr. BODLEY, who still continued under the queen's displeasure, in a letter to the earl of Essex on the 5th of June⁵, acquainted his lordship, that the night before Sir ROBERT SIDNEY had come to visit him, whether only of good will to see him; or to feel his disposition for returning into Holland, or to inform himself of somewhat else, Mr. BODLEY could not very well conceive: “But to signify, *says he*, my suspicion, I thought it either proceeded of that, which I had written in a schedule to your lordship, which I surmised you might shew; or upon his own desire to be employed in that business; whereto I am persuaded my lord treasurer will be willing; for all his speeches sounded, as if he sought for some instruction

¹ Vol. v. fol. 137.

² Afterwards beheaded for the earl of Essex's insurrection.

³ His name is usually written DANVERS; he was

younger brother to Sir CHARLES, and afterwards created earl of Danby.

⁴ Vol. v. fol.

⁵ Vol. v. fol. 148.

“ to prepare himself to such a purpose. Howbeit I would not seem to find it, tho’
 “ I cast out a word (whereto he answered nothing) that I knew no fitter than him-
 “ self to perform that service with the States. If there be such a matter towards,
 “ and your lordship pleased with it, I would be glad to help it forward with all
 “ encouragements unto him, as occasions are presented, being fully bent for
 “ myself to go onwards with my course to wind myself out of the briars; which
 “ I thought not impertinent to signify to your lordship.”

The earl’s answer was in the following terms “.

“ S I R,

“ None living saw the schedule or inclosed paper but myself, nor none was ever
 “ acquainted with the argument of it, it being instantly upon the reading com-
 “ mitted to the fire. But the suspicion of his coming to you is just; for he hath
 “ had a desire of that employment; and yet, as familiar as he is with me, never
 “ would break it immediately with my self, but made LAKE², the clerk of the
 “ signet, break it with me by another third person. I answer’d, that I would not
 “ wrong one friend to pleasure another. I knew, if you went, it was a wrong
 “ to have any man joined with you; and if you went not, I would neither make
 “ nor meddle in it. Hereupon I guess he came to found you, whether you
 “ would be content to be joined or to be excluded. For my constancy, if my
 “ love towards you did not hold me, I will never seek to grace any man by that,
 “ which you have with ill satisfaction given over. And so I rest

“ Your most assured friend.”

Mr. BODLEY the same day sent to Mr. BACON a copy of his own letter to the earl, and his lordship’s answer, inclos’d in one to that gentleman¹; desiring him to read and return them; adding, *if you cannot laugh, you shall be HERACLITUS.*

Mr. STANDEN having been long neglected by the lord treasurer, thought proper on the 8th of June 1595², to write a letter to him, to this purpose, that two years were now over-run since his return to England, and the receipt of the gracious dew of the queen’s favour, being introduced to both, as he freely confess’d, by his lordship’s only good means; which as he should ever acknowledge, so must he by all ways endeavour to be thankful for it. “ There resteth, *says he*, only to
 “ the accomplishment of this your lordship’s begun good work, to confirm the
 “ same by procuring of her gracious majesty some bread, whereby this life may
 “ be entertained, and this carcase nourished, which I have vowed to all readiness
 “ at your lordship’s call. Some convenient pension is my humble pretence, no
 “ longer to be a burden to her majesty’s coffers, than that an office meet for me
 “ to exercise in her royal service may fall, which attained, the pension presently
 “ to surcease. This, good lord, is my petition; the consideration I wholly re-

¹ Vol. v. fol. 142.

² Afterwards Sir THOMAS LAKE, and secretary of state.

³ Vol. v. fol. 127.

⁴ Vol. v. fol. 122.

"mit to your good lordship, as from whom; and from none else (her majesty excepted) my resolution is to expect this good turn."

Mr. EDMONDES, on the 14th of that month of June, wrote from Dijon a letter to the lord treasurer, of which he sent a copy to the earl of Essex^a, giving an account of the surrender of Talan to the king by the viscount DE TAVANNES, upon condition to have the reversion of a marshal's place, and to have present *seance* in council, as in that right, and also present payment of the fees and entertainments thereof. He was continued governor of that place, and had besides the sum of 12000 crowns given him, which the inhabitants of Langres paid, in respect that he was to render to them to be razed a castle call'd Montsaugon, which for the nearness thereof to them held them in bridle. The king also restor'd to him a strong castle of his near Mascon. FRANCESQUE, the governor of that castle, followed his example, after having endur'd his defences to be beaten, and seeing preparations making to proceed to the great battery. He had twelve days term given him to attend the coming of the duke DE MAYENNE to their succour, which would expire on the 18th instant; and the sum of 18000 crowns, and a month's time after to advise, whether they would serve the king. The duke DE MAYENNE assur'd the person, who went to acquaint him with the capitulation, that he would come to their relief; but nobody believed him. The enemies army was strongly encamp'd about Grey. The king was now much reforc'd by the coming of the duke of Guise and other troops to him. The duke DE MAYENNE had renew'd his treaty with so great earnestness, as he engag'd very many in the belief, that it would be concluded. But time must give a better proof of it. Mention had been made of giving him the government of the Isle of France, since the marshal DE BIRON, who was in possession of Burgundy, would not resign it to him; but the king was not yet come to that offer with him. The duke himself demanded the government of Guienne, on account of his having his means there in right of his wife. He now held in Burgundy only Chalons and Seurre, a small town but strong, and Soissons in the Isle of France. He must now speedily shew what he would do; for his state would endure no longer temporising; and he ought now to do it in favour of their present army. The king daily attended the coming of the constable of France from Lyons, upon whose arrival would be determined the way he should take from Dijon, which was yet uncertain. In his own disposition he affected to return towards Paris; but the constable would, if he could, draw him to Lyons, to accommodate the duke D'ESPERNON's difference, who, whether colourably to give the king the alarm, or seriously, they understood not well, had lately given greater suspicion of contracting with the Spaniard.

The constable was resolved at his coming, as Mr. EDMONDES was inform'd by very good authority, to press the king very earnestly to send for the prince of Conde^b, to be committed to the custody of Madam D'ANGOULEMNE at Bois de

^a Vol. v. fol. 136

^b HENRY II. DE BOURBON, grandson of LEWIS prince of Condé, kill'd at the battle of Jarnac, in

1563, and son of HENRY prince of Condé, by CATHARINE CHARLOTTE DE LE TREMOUILLE. He was born on the 1st of September, 1588, six

Vincennes; wherein concurr'd Monsieur DE LA TREMOUILLE and others, in respect of particular interest.

The count DE SOISSONS being on his way to Dijon as far as Troyes, received there his discontentment; and since was return'd back to his house, at Nogent le Retrou beyond Chartres, having written to the king, that as he was so unhappy, as not to merit to serve him, he would retire, and serve him with his prayers. The king return'd for answer, that he knew not what cause of discontentment he took, having dealt as well with him as with any prince of his blood, himself and his mother enjoying by his gift above 40000 crowns yearly. And if he should dispose himself to trouble the quiet of his service, he would very well make it appear to him, that he had the means to chastise him. The king added also in speech by message, that whereas the count said, that he would pray for him, to make his prayers the more effectual, they must be accompanied with fasting; and therefore he would take his entertainment from him. There was now a jealousy, lest the count should withdraw himself to the duke DE JOYEUSE at Toulouse, and marry his daughter, who was heiress of that house, and a good party, and join in that revolt, and in correspondency with the duke D'ESPERNON and the Spaniard. But the time was not now so proper for such a design.

They had news at Dijon, that the Indian fleet was arrived with eighteen millions, of which the king of Spain had made a distribution of four millions for the wars of his realm, and of the Low Countries; and was sending the cardinal of Austria to govern in the Low Countries, who was bringing with him 3000 Spaniards and 300 Italians.

The baron DE VITEAUX was compounding with the king for Noyers and the castle of Viteaux; and the king was sending back to Bois-DAUPHIN to conclude with him.

They had received at Dijon, within two days past, letters from Constantinople, with which they acquainted Mr. EDMONDES, containing a reiteration of the complaint by the king's minister there against Mr. BARTON, who, he said, forcibly dealt to impeach the arming of the Turk, and to mediate a peace between him and the emperor, and how in proof, that he was authorised by her majesty, he was content to acquaint him with the copies of two letters written in that behalf by her majesty to the Turk and his mother, of which he related the substance, tending to the persuasion of a general peace: And he said, that Mr. BARTON's proceedings therein greatly serv'd the king of Spain. Mr. EDMONDES told them, that he was ignorant of any such charge given Mr. BARTON, and did not believe, that in any thing, that might be directed, it was meant (howsoever otherwise handled) to favour the purposes of Spain. That he only knew, that her majesty being formerly taxed to have been the cause of calling the Turk into Christendom, sent to the emperor to manifest her contrary proceedings; and that it might be,

months after the death of his father. He married RENCY, daughter of the constable of France, in 1609. He died in 1646.

she desired still to make the same appear; which might be the said charge given to Mr. BARTON; but that he did assure himself, that it was without other reference. They made Mr. EDMONDES answer, that they believed so of her majesty's sincerity, having made reciprocal promise with the king under their public seals, not to enter into any treaty with the king of Spain, but with the mutual concurrence of each other. That however such proceedings of her majesty's ministers were very suspicious, and gave them cause of astonishment, which her majesty's late cold proceedings towards the king also confirmed; of which, they said, the made triumph to their advantage, the king of Spain's ministers having lately, as was advertised from Rome, inferred to the pope in seeking to deprave the king, and to prevent the granting of the absolution, that he was abandoned by her majesty, and that there was no more good intelligence between them. Mr. EDMONDES replied, that the Spaniard serv'd his turn by such inventions; but for matter of jealousy, that her majesty had rather cause to doubt, that the pope in receiving the king would value the same to work a reconciliation between him and the king of Spain. They rejoined, that they could, if they would, come to a peace with Spain; but that resolutely they would have none at that price. Mr. EDMONDES concluded this letter with beseeching the lord treasurer to let him know what he should answer to the point abovementioned, since he feared, that this diffidence bred no good blood in the French Court. He added in the postscript, that he had just learn'd, that the duke DE MAYENNE reviv'd his treaty, demanding for his son the government of the places, which both himself yet held, and those of his party, without acknowledging the marshal DE BIRON, which were Chalons and Seigne possessed by himself, and Noyers and Viteaux by the baron DE VITRAUX, and a castle called Mombar by FRANCESQUE the governor of Dijon, and Chastillon held by the baron of TONNECY, yet of the duke's party, but with whom there had been some time before a neutrality contracted for three years. And to the duke himself it was spoken to give the government of the Isle of France and 600,000 crowns.

Mr. Rolston's letter of the 13th of May, 1599, having on the 17th of June reached the hands of Mr. STANDEN, the latter the day following wrote an answer to it from London^a, assuring him of Mr. BACON's zeal for his safety and interest, and that this gentleman continually urged the earl of Essex to do good offices for Mr. Rolston with the queen. That eight days before the receipt of his letters there had been a certain account brought by Englishmen come from the Havanna which it, of the safe arrival of the Indian fleet in Spain, altho' in great disorder. That the English fleet of 45 sail, great and small, was ready to go to sea; whither, or which way, God best knew. That Mr. WRIGHT had been in London now ten days. "With what wonder, says Mr. STANDEN, mine eyes saw him, you may imagine. And truly I must be plain with you, he hazarded much. Howbeit falling into the hands of so noble a man and virtuous a gentleman; he can hope but well, as I do very well, that there shall be no violence used against him; and the earl handleth him with great respect, for he set him at his table; whereat myself assisted; whereof I hope by our next you shall hear better from him."

^a Vol. v. fol. 149.

He then desires Mr. Rolston to send an account what the Spaniards intended for Ireland, where there was at that time a dangerous rebellion; which occasion, it was to be apprehended, they would not omit.

Mr. EDMONDS, in his letter of the 22d of June, 1595, from Dijon to the lord treasurer acquainted his lordship, that since his last of the 14th, the duke DE MAYENNE taking the pretext, that the governor of Chalons and Seurre were solicited by the king for the rendering of those places, which were in danger to be lost, if by his own presence there he did not provide against it, he took his leave of the constable of Castille, and came to Chalons; where being arrived, he sent a trumpet to the king, to make offer to treat, and desire, that some persons for that purpose might be sent to him. Whereupon the king sent to him Monsieur DE ROQUELAURE, the master of his wardrobe, Monsieur DE VILLEROY, and the baron of Sennecey; to whom the duke proposed the granting a cessation of arms for four months, that he might give advertisement to his allies, the duke D'ESPERNON, and the duke DE MERCOEUR, and to dispose them to conformity with him, declaring, that he had bound himself by promise to the duke D'ESPERNON to make no agreement but with the concurrence of each other. It was answer'd him, that the king did not hold that duke to be other than his servant. But the duke DE MAYENNE shew'd them letters written to him by D'ESPERNON in that assurance; and demanded with great obstinacy to be restored to the government of his province, without which he could not preserve his honour. But the marshal DE BRAON had no disposition to resign to him; and the nobility and court of parliament, and people, which had revolted from him, and fear'd and hated him, made suit, that they might not return to his obedience. This point of the government was the only difficulty; for in all other things the king did not much differ from his demands, offering to give him the sum of 400,000 crowns; and in pensions and ecclesiastical livings to the revenue of 100,000 francs, and to restore him to the place of great chamberlain, with other entertainment; and to give him another recompense for his government, resolving to buy him, if he would be won at any price; as he conceiv'd, that it would be much profit to him to suppress the duke's reputation, tho' his means of power are but small. The president of Gravell was sent with the king's answer, whose return was shortly expected with the duke's resolution thereupon; of which there could be yet no judgment settled, in respect of his exceeding inconstancy, but what his mere necessity, which was also very great, must of force work with him. The marshal DE BRAON, on the other side, was grown so insolent, thro' the authority which he had gotten, that he was become impatient. He spoke with no other language but of disposing blows of the cudgel.

The garrison of Dijon had left the place, according to the composition, and part of it gone to Chalons to the duke DE MAYENNE; and the governor, FRANÇOIS, retired with the other part to Mombars, another castle of his government, not daring to repair to the duke, who was offended with him for not better defending the place. The marshal DE BRAON plac'd there Monsieur PAREAU, who was lieutenant of his company of horse.

The constable of Castille still lay with his army incamp'd about Grey, consisting of 3000 Spaniards, 2000 Neapolitans, 1000 Milanese, 1500 Lanskenets, and twelve or thirteen hundred horse. The infection call'd Calenture was said to reign greatly among them. They had also in other parts of those of the province, which they call'd Concois, 2000 foot, and four or five hundred horse. And the king was newly advertised, that ROTTICORTI, a Lorrainer, was marching with 1200 Lorrainers to their reinforcement. The king sent the duke of Guise and Monsieur DE VITRY to attend him in his passage. The constable of Castille offered 30,000 crowns to have obtain'd, that the Franche-Comté might be restored to a neutrality; intending, if this could be offered, to return to Milan, and the army to descend into the Low Countries. But the king refus'd to grant this, and march'd with his army the day, on which Mr. EDMONDES wrote this letter; into that province, to go to take a castle and bourg call'd Charmitte, a place of small strength, but undertaken in order to give reputation to the king's actions, to enterprize upon them at their home, and to draw money of such small places. The king was at present strong to the number of 10,000 foot and 2000 horse. After having spent some time there, he design'd to leave his army with the marshal DE BIRON, and to pass to Lyons, where it was referr'd to treat of the compounding of the duke D'ESPERRON's difference. In the mean time they had dispatch'd one to him to require of him the continuance of the truce with those of the province for other two months. That and other occasions, it was thought, would detain the king long-occupied there.

The constable of France arriv'd at Dijon seven or eight days before, who brought with him 400 very good horse, and certain harquebusses on horseback. The king went himself to meet him, under colour of going to hunt, and treated him with the greatest respect. Mr. EDMONDES visited the constable in the queen's behalf, letting him know, that he held himself bound to that duty, for the love which her majesty had ever borne to him and his house; and knowing, that she would receive great contentment to understand of his arrival at court, in the assurance she took, that he would apply himself to so much a straiter hand to nourish the good amity between her and the king. The constable answer'd, that he very much honour'd and reverenc'd her majesty, both for public respect, for the benefit it extended towards France, and particularly being especially bound to her for her love, with which it pleased her to honour his father, his brother and himself. That he should esteem himself happy to serve her, and therein very willingly employ himself; in assuring of which, and to desire to be continued in her good favour, he would write himself to her majesty; which he did, and Mr. EDMONDES inclos'd his letter in his own, desiring the lord treasurer to be a means of procuring an answer to it.

Mr. EDMONDES wrote again to his lordship, on the 30th of June from Dijon, that having been with the king in Franche-Comté, he found at his return the night before the inclos'd letters, which he had dispatch'd to his lordship at his departure, brought back by him, to whom he had committed them, by his mishap

of being taken prisoner by those of Noyers; from whom however he found means to save his letters; to which he now made an addition of what had pass'd since the writing of them: that on the Monday preceding, the 23d of June, the king march'd with his army to Charmitte, a castle and small town, mention'd in his preceding letter, and belonging to the governor of Provence. To which when he had made the approaches, and was ready the next day to batter it, they compounded with him for the sum of 8000 crowns in money, and munition of victuals, to be left neuter. Thence he went and lodg'd at Sensene within two leagues of Grey, where the enemy lay, intending the next day to go thither, and to present them the fight, and to see whether he could attempt any thing upon any of their quarters, since part of them lay intrench'd on this side the river. But the same night they dislodg'd all to the other side of it. The next day therefore he came back to Dijon, leaving the army with the constable and marshal DE BIRON, to take a castle called Autrey, within a league of Grey, belonging likewise to the count Charmitte; neither of which places were tenable, but only attack'd by way of bravery, and to draw money. The king was to depart within a few days from Dijon to go to Lyons, and order'd, that the army should pass the river to descend thro' Franche-Comté and Bresse.

The president DE GRAVEL was return'd from the duke DE MAYENNE with his answer, that seeing the king was resolv'd not to restore him to his government, he desired to know what other recompense he would give him; and therewith had given the president such other assurances on the duke's behalf, as perswaded the king, that he had an intention to conclude with him. But others doubted, that as by that demand he did not engage himself the more in promise, so, according as he should find the king's offers to invite him more or less, he might use it to value himself otherwise thereby the more towards the Spaniard. The king immediately return'd to the duke Monsieur DE ROQUELAURE, Monsieur DE VILLEROY, and the baron DE SENNECY, to make offer to him, for his recompense, of the government of the Isle of France, except Paris, and an intercourse of money. He sent for Mr. EDMONDES, upon the president's return, to acquaint him with the duke's answer, and told him, that he would not fail, as soon as matters should grow to any certainty with the duke, to advertise her majesty thereof, saying, that he believ'd, that the duke would now come in, for that his necessity gave him no longer evasion. The accomplishment of this was affected at the French court in the greatest degree.

The duke of Savoy had lately sent the count of Luzerne to Monsieur LESDIGUIERES, to treat with him to come to a truce, wherein the latter offering to refer the duke to deal with the king, the duke refused to embark himself so far, making it appear, that he desir'd for his necessity's sake, and his fear of the king's drawing in person into those parts, to conclude a treaty underhand with monsieur LEDIGUIERES by the king's allowance, but not willing, in respect of the king of Spain, to declare himself to entertain any treaty with the king. Order was sent to Monsieur LEDIGUIERES to amuse him, till the army could be ready to enter Bresse.

Monsieur DE SANCY was expected at Dijon within two days with money from Lyons for the payment of the Swiss; which, with waiting to receive an answer from the duke DE MAYENNE, was the reason of the king's not leaving that city for four or five days.

A company of 100 horse of the constable's, which he had left to follow him from Lyons, were a few days before surpris'd in their lodging by the duke DE MAYENNE's troops of Chalons, and intirely defeated.

The baron of Viteaux was now become the king's servant.

The king was much press'd to give relief to Picardy; but he knew not how to do it.

The esteem, which ANTONIO PEREZ had for the earl of Essex, was one cause of his extreme reluctance to the leaving of England; and this he express'd in a Latin letter to his lordship, written some time of the month of June, 1595, full of his usual conceits¹. It begins thus: *Discedere à te mihi mori est, quia manere tecum mihi visa fuit. Quid dixi? Melius mihi esset mori quam a te discedere. Mori- riendo semel dolori finis imponitur; vivendo autem dolor augetur; namque vivendo semper morior, & moriendo semper vivo. Sed discedendo forte vivam, eo quod ani- mam tuam, quæ quondam mea fuit, mecum deferò; at tuam, quæ mea est, prob dolor! relinquo.*

During the course of this month Mr. BANNATYNE wrote a long letter to Mr. HUDSON² concerning the state of the court of Scotland since his last, giving an account of the queen's departure towards Lithgow with BACLUGH; and that tho' the king had given a commission to command him to appear at Edinburgh, the purchasers of it were so far from following of it, that two days after the directing of it he was stay'd by his majesty, who would direct the council there, so acquaint BACLUGH with this alteration, in respect that his majesty was desirous to have a conjunction of the nobility, amongst whom BACLUGH was one, and for that purpose had directed the council to write to him. But the king, upon some other urgent advice, consider'd that the matter, which should have been treated at this conjunction, was not of importance enough, that, on account of it, *noblemen should be straitned by their diet*. Nor was BACLUGH so simple, as not to know the difference between a command, not expressing any cause, and a request, to be present with the conjunction. It appear'd evidently, that either they had some secret design, which they had not been able to compass, or that their mind had been only to terrify him thereby, to keep him at a distance. And tho' he was stay'd by the king, yet immediately the lord chancellor, the master of Glamis, with such others of the council, as were his friends, not without his majesty's knowledge, directed their letters to BACLUGH, desiring his presence for some border-affairs, as was pre- tended by them, and obey'd by him. But in effect the cause of his coming to Edinburgh was to devise what way might be us'd in following the queen's suit with

¹ Vol. v. fol. 107.

² Ibid. fol. 126.

relation to the prince, and obviating the earl of Mar's designs, who by troubling his majesty's ear had openly sought their ruin. Thus their secret meetings at Edinburgh, as well at court in the lord chancellor's house, gave occasion to some of the earl of Mar's followers (who were there on purpose to espy the event of their frequent meetings) and especially JAMES KIDD, to inform the earl by letters, that the meeting there was to see what way they might go betwixt him and his majesty's favour; and to subscribe a band to assist and concur with her majesty in the suit of the prince, and such other things, as they alledg'd touching his majesty's honour and the earl's person. Immediately after the receipt of their letters the earl, greatly afraid, went to the king at the hunting, and communicated to him such things, as he was inform'd of, premising a discourse of his first being brought up in his majesty's service, and his constant continuance therein, not doubting but that his majesty would have regard to him, and not suffer him to be abused by such, as had banded against his majesty's honour and his person. These speeches were otherwise taken, than was expected by the earl of Mar; his majesty asking the grounds of his suspicion, and, upon the letters being shewn, wondering, that upon a simple information, the earl should have spoken so largely, since he knew, that the chancellor in particular had no standing but by his favour, and therefore for his wonted wisdom and affection to his service would be loth to conspire in any thing, that might tend to his dishonour, and assured himself, that the name only of a band in indifferent things would be odious to the chancellor. The earl offer'd to produce his author, who being written for to court constantly affirm'd whatever he had written. This gave occasion to the king to direct Sir GEORGE HUME to the chancellor and the rest of that society, to give them to understand, that their proceedings were misconstrued by the earl, as if their meeting were to subscribe a band prejudicial to his majesty's honour, and the earl's weal. That his majesty himself was persuaded of their good disposition to his honour, and look'd, that by his advice they would enter into no course against any of his good subjects; nor would he credit the reports or writings, of any, till such time as he should be inform'd by themselves of their proceedings. The chancellor and the rest, to purge themselves of any suspicion, and to satisfy the king, directed on the 4th of June the chancellor's secretary to his majesty (in whose company Mr. BANNATINE observes, that himself had likewise got) as well to render an account of their meetings, as to confront their adversaries calumnies; and he, after gracious countenance received, shew'd, that the chancellor would give place to no subject in his majesty's favour, since he was defended by it in his greatest miseries against his most puissant adversaries, and guarded against the queen's evil disposition towards him; and expected from it, that the private enmity of an inferior subject should not be able to harm him: and as in favour he would be inferior to none, so in affection to his majesty's service he would be second to no man; and he besought his majesty to balance his demerits and his adversaries, and not to believe their calumnies. That he was contented, and earnestly craved, that his majesty would examine the earl of Mar and his followers reports from the beginning; and that so his majesty should know what wrong was done to him, and how his majesty's good nature was abused by his adversaries. That as for any band, as he was guilty of none, so he would abide the tryal, to which he earnestly wish'd his majesty to address himself. The king was satisfied (as appear'd) with this answer,

and shew'd, that the earl of Mar himself purg'd the chancellor of subscribing the band, but not of knowing and assenting to it. So the whole depended upon his majesty, whether he would try this information or not.

The king on the 28th of May directed letters to the queen in Stirling, desiring her, by her presence, to honour the banquet made for the lord GLAMIS's marriage, which was solemniz'd some days before. It was thought, that it was not so much her indisposition of body, as her little affection to the place and the earl of Mar, that made her excuse her coming. The king by new letters urg'd her, as if by change of air she might recover her health. Being thus press'd by the king's request, and desir'd by her followers, on the 30th of May she took her journey towards Stirling; but was so terrified by the leaping of her horse, that she was with difficulty carried to Lithgow, where she went to bed, and in two hours space directed three different posts to the king in Stirling, who at his coming found her sick and discontented, and in danger of miscarrying. This infirmity, as the rest of her proceedings, was misconstrued by the earl of Mar, as design'd of purpose to procure the alteration of his majesty's affection to him, and to make his majesty effectuate her desires more easily towards the prince. The earl, to shew his regard for her majesty rather as the king's wife than as queen, came to visit her in Lithgow, but was not admitted, her disease being pretended as the reason; and so he departed towards Stirling the same day he came, which was the 3d of June, and during the time of the secretary's abode there, remain'd at Stirling.

Mr. CASTOL, the French minister in London, on the 4th of July, 1595¹, sent Mr. BACON a manuscript discourse written by him, under this title, *Deux genealogies, une de la maison de Luxembourg continuée aux heritiers de l'aîné, & en la quelle se voit, que le duché est possédé de ceux, qui sont vrais successeurs; l'autre des plusieurs familles remarquables, lesquelles toutes fois pour la plus part sont ou doivent estre englouties es maisons de Bourbon & Longueville, qui les environnent, & sont dérivées de Louis le Saint.* In his letter he thank'd Mr. BACON for his endeavours to procure him letters of naturalisation, and hoped, that the favour, which the archbishop of Canterbury pretended to do him, and which consisted at present only in a promise, would be kept secret.

Among many others, who were desirous to oblige the earl of Essex with their letters of intelligence from abroad, was Mr. MATTHEW PRICE, who on the third day after his arrival at Prague in Bohemia, on the 4th of July, 1595, N. S. wrote to his lordship^m concerning the state of the war in Hungary; observing, that the Christian imperial forces were divided into two parts; the one encamp'd in Lower, and the other in Upper Hungary. The general of the former was the archduke MATTHIAS, and his lieutenant CHARLES count MANSFIELD. The archduke MAXIMILIAN was general of the latter, and his lieutenant HEER TREFFENBACH of Austria. MATTHIAS resided at Wien; but the care and charge of the service wholly referr'd to count MANSFIELD, who was then engag'd in the siege of Strigonium, the citadel of which he had already taken. The number of his

¹ Vol. v. fol. 200.

^m Ibid. fol. 157.

forces then gather'd was esteem'd to be 30000; and under the other general as many, unto which was expected an addition out of Italy of 14000 foot, and 2000 horse, under the conduct of FRANCISCO ALDOBRANDINO, of which there came news the day before to court, that six companies, of 200 horse each, were already arriv'd at Venice; the rest, or the most part, being yet about Trent, or newly pass'd thence. The Walloons, who follow'd count MANSFIELD, were 6000; of whom a third part was already arriv'd. There were to be levied likewise at the charge of the subjects of Bohemia 14000. But the whole number of the forces fell out less than was hop'd, by reason, that the three ecclesiastical electors had excus'd their contributions, and especially that of Colen, as likewise the Palfgrave of the Rhine, the duke of Cleves, and some other borderers upon the Low Countries.

Of any present enterprize in Upper Hungary there was no speech. The general was gone to conduct his niece, the daughter of archduke CHARLES, and now the wife of the prince of Transylvania, towards the country of that prince, who daily increas'd his greatness, and, besides indamaging the Turk, had lately made himself absolute patron of Walachia, having imprison'd the prince with his lady and children upon suspicion, or, as some said, upon certain discovery of private intelligence betwixt him and the Turk, and substituted one of his own people in the government. The Moravian was no less at his devotion. From Poland there were no troops expected.

Of the Turkish forces there were said to be already gather'd 200,000 under the conduct of FERRAT BASSA; but it was thought, that they would not hastily march towards Hungary.

Mr. EDMONDES on the 9th of July, 1595, sent the lord treasurer a letter, with a copy of it to the earl of Essex, from Auffonne^a, that the duke DE MAYENNE knowing with what earnestness the French court coveted the peace with him, did not fail to value himself strongly by the advantage of it; which made them change every day their opinion of him, having then as little hope of concluding with him, as before they seem'd to be confident of it, believing he would have met the king there, a lodging being reserv'd for him. Upon the arrival of the commissioners to him, he first desir'd a particular truce for eight days, to extend three leagues from Chalons, in order that he might treat with the more freedom, which in the former assurance was granted him; and the next day when entering into treaty they offer'd him the government of the Isle of France in recompense for that of Burgundy, he insisted upon new demands to have four places delivered him there for his surety, as Laon, Cassy, and two others; by which the commissioners perceiving, that he had no meaning to proceed directly, desir'd to retire. Upon this the duke requested them to give him the respite of the next day and night to resolve himself farther; and since had renew'd his treaty with them; but what it would prove, the king could not yet judge. In the mean time the truce about Chalons had serv'd the duke to accommodate it with victuals, and to ga-

^a Vol. v. fol. 171.

ther in the harvest. He said, that he was no better gentleman than the duke of Bourbon, who went out of France with five horse, if such should be also his necessity. That when the kings of France had conquered all the duke of Savoy's country, they were glad from necessity to restore it to him in the peace afterwards made, in respect of his being of the emperor's party; and that as the king of Spain's present greatness was not inferior to the emperor's and his then, and the French king's now not above the state of that time, he made no doubt, that the king of Spain would be able to make no less advantageous a peace for himself and those of his party. He much valued himself by his confederacy with the dukes d' ESPERNON, DE JOYEUSE, and DE MERCOEUR; and they said, that they were also assur'd of a prince of the blood, meaning the count DE SOISSONS, whereby to be able to kindle many new fires. But the opinion at Auffonne was, that the duke d' ESPERNON's difference would be compounded by the mediation of the constable of France. That duke offer'd at the king's coming to Lyons to meet the constable at Valance in Dauphiné, to treat of that point; and in the mean time he had yielded to the continuance of the truce in Provence for that month of July, as the king desir'd.

The king having, as Mr. EDMONDES mention'd in his last letter, left the army at his departure from Senfene with the constable and the marshal DE BIRON, to take the castle of Autrey near Grey, which surrender'd by composition, the marshal went afterwards with some troops of horse to the river side, to observe the order of the enemy's incamping, and to see whether the river were fordable to pass over to them, to gain upon some of their quarters. He presented himself before their first quarter, at a village call'd Apremont, where the river was in one place fordable, in which they had lodg'd divers companies of horse and foot for the defence of the passage, who maintain'd it for some time against him, till the marshal finding, that there was no means to pass against so great a strength, sent part of his forces to make shew to adventure the passage higher up, to give them cause also to send part of their's to withstand them: which they accordingly performing, he then forced the first passage, and follow'd the chace upon them home to the head of their army, in which was taken prisoner DON ALFONSO DE IDIAQUES, the general of their horse, son to the secretary of Spain, and some other captains. But the execution otherwise was not great. This ALFONSO ransom'd himself to Monsieur CHANLIVAUT, who took him, for 20,000 crowns and two Spanish horses. Of the king's side there was none hurt of any sort but only the count THORIGNY * with a harquebus-shot in the leg, being one of the first, who pass'd over.

Since the marshal's having been again at the war from Auffonne towards Grey, it was his hap to fall upon the tail of four or five hundred horse of the late companies of Lorrainers, who reach'd them just as they were dislodging from their quarter to draw nearer the camp, whom the marshal chac'd home to the intrenchments of their army, and slew some hundreds of them. Their army was lately much decay'd by sickness and their other losses, being not 5000 foot, and not

* CHARLES DE MATIGNON, count de Thorigny.

above 500 horse; and they had not in two months past dared to stir from Grey, where their want of provisions was very great. The king was to march immediately from Auffonne with the army to a small town and castle call'd Mesme, about three leagues distant from Auffonne, to draw from it a composition of money, and from thence to attempt the like upon Besançon, if he should find, that it would not be attended with too much difficulty; and from thence to descend to Sallines, and Lion le Sauvier, and so afterwards thro' Bresse to pass to Lyons.

The king was earnestly labour'd with contrariety of counsels for the course, which he was to hold; the marshal DE BIRON and some others persuading him violently to the prosecution of the war in the Franche-Comté, promising him an easy conquest of it, for that indeed only the two towns of Grey and Dole were of strength in it, but so good places, that they had not present means to attempt them. For which reason it was propos'd to dispatch immediately Monsieur DE SANCY to go to conclude the treaty of peace with the duke of Lorraine, and by force of it to procure that duke to satisfy the princes of Germany for the difference of Strasburg; which being effected, they promis'd themselves to draw from the duke of Wittemberg a present of assistance of 4000 foot and 1200 horse for the war. Next they propos'd to the king the like facility for the gaining of Bresse, the citadel of Bourg being the only place of strength in it; and afterwards of Savoy, where there were but two good places, Montmelian, and a fort, which the duke held within three leagues of Geneva. And they urg'd, that by any of these means, the king would be able to prevent the king of Spain's sending any more men into the Low Countries to offend Picardy. But others represented with as great vehemency to the king the present perilous state of Picardy, and the importance of it, if he did not return speedily to the succour of it: to which as he most inclin'd, and in consideration of that great necessity, it was thought, that a neutrality with Franche-Comté would be condescended to for a sum of money; and that after having accommodated matters at Lyons and with the duke d'ESPERNON, the king would return to Paris. But for the present things remain'd in this uncertainty. The city of Basil sent to Auffonne a person within three days past, to pray the king again to accord the observation of the neutrality with Franche-Comté, whom he return'd with answer, that the people of that Comté did not acknowledge him for king of France, but only as prince of Bearne; and that when they should better respect him, he would use them as his predecessors had done.

The money, which Monsieur DE SANCY brought from Lyons, which was not above 60000 crowns, had been all employ'd in the payment of the Swifs; and yet their due was to receive as much more, being by this payment satisfied only for one month of that year.

The king wrote to the states of the Low Countries to desire them to assist him with twelve or fifteen hundred men for the manning of the towns of Picardy, if the enemy should make more dangerous progress thither.

The dearness of living was so great at Auffonne, that by reason of it the king's nobility were daily forc'd to abandon him.

Mr.

Mr. EDMONDES added in his postscript, that letters were just come from the commissioners, signifying, that the duke DE MAYENNE was fallen to better terms; but that he proceeded so irresolutely, that they knew not yet what judgment to make of him.

The chancellor of Scotland being desirous to cultivate a good correspondence with the earl of Essex for the sake of his king and country, wrote on the 12th of July, 1595, the following letter to his lordship^p.

“ My very good Lord,

“ Since a strait amity and firm friendship between those two princes, whom one religion, one tongue, country, and tenderness of blood have naturally conjoined, is most necessary for the better maintenance of both their estates, and surety of true religion, harboured, and almost confined within this island; it is also very expedient, that such, as hold place of credit about them, have a mutual and sincere intelligence for the continuance and increase thereof. And hearing your lordship so zealously affected to prosecute so goodly and necessary a work, I could not but take hold thereof, and offer your lordship reciproque correspondence, and all my endeavours by such good offices, as my credit and small ability may reach unto, with full assurance there shall be no defect on the part of the king my sovereign: And if perhaps either of us be so distracted otherwise, as we cannot conveniently attend upon every occasion, that it will please your lordship to commit to Mr. ANTHONY BACON, as I shall to Sir RICHARD COCKBURN, my nephew, secretary of this state, a care of diligent intercourse of intelligence to be imparted to us at all occasions, that nothing be prætermitted, that time or incidents shall produce. Thus your good lordship's fame hath emboldened me to interpell you; which, I hope, your lordship will take in good part, and interpret to proceed (as it doth indeed) from one sincerely devoted to the amity happily begun between these two crowns, and that doth carry a due respect to your lordship's virtues and honourable dispositions, as time shall yield your lordship ample proof. In the mean while, after my heartiest commendations, I wish your lordship of God that, which your virtues do merit. From Edinburgh the 12th of July, 1595.

“ Your lordship's to command,

“ JO. THIRLESTANE.”

Mr. HUDSON's letter of the 16th of that month acquainted Mr. BACON^q with lord *Sanquhar's* arrival in Scotland, and that he had his hands fill'd; “ But to whom, *says he*, or how it will be employed, I know not. I wrote to my lord [Essex] or to you, that he sent to me for a passport, but time was driven so long, that he took another way, and when time was past, we were willing to send him a passport upon advertisement how he was furnished. Yet it seemeth he made request for his passport, rather to stay preparation for his taking by sea than otherwise, for he hath crafty counsellors.”

^p Vol. v. fol. 167, 168.

^q Ibid. fol. 140.

Mr. ROLSTON, in his letter to Mr. BACON the 19th of the same month from Fontarabia, inform'd him of the departure of ALBERT cardinal of Austria from Spain towards Flanders within 20 days, attended with many principal gentlemen, and carrying with him four millions of money to pay the soldiers in Flanders. That ZUBIAR, after his sailing from Port Passage with the seven ships, was forced by contrary weather to stay fifteen days at a place six leagues from Fontarabia call'd Guitary; but news was then come of his arrival at Blavet. The Scots gentleman had written to PORRAS, that the king of Spain had commanded him to entertain himself yet for two months, and then he should have his dispatch. A priest, nam'd CECIL, who, as it seem'd, had dealt in this Scottish action, was suspected to have had correspondence with the lord treasurer BURGHLEY and the earl of Essex; for which reason he was lately sent from Spain to Rome. It was said, that he had made a relation of that matter to those lords.

The duke of Cordena was made vice-roy of Navarre.

They had news at Fontarabia, that one father SOUTHWELL, a jesuit, had been put to death in England on the 23d of March past; on which account many there rail'd extremely both against the queen and the lords of her council. It was also reported there, that the king of France had been hurt in two places near Lyons, and many of his nobility slain; and that the English had plunder'd Brasil to the value of more than two millions; at which the Spaniards were greatly offended, and threaten'd to revenge the injuries, which they daily receiv'd from England.

All the bishops, lords, and principal men in Spain had gather'd amongst themselves nine millions, which they gave to the king of Spain to assist him in his war against England. Mr. ROLSTON was promis'd a list of their names, which he would send to Mr. BACON. They made great promises for war, as of all sorts of weapons, armour, powder, and victuals.

There arriv'd at Fontarabia a few days before two pinnaces of 50 tuns apiece, which had brought thither oyl and vinegar, which was kept with the rice mention'd in a former letter of Mr. ROLSTON, till the king should give other order how to bestow them. There were there three Alferes entertain'd with 12 crowns each monthly only for that summer, being afterwards, in the winter, to be made captains of infantry, and the soldiers lodg'd in Renteria and the neighbourhood still remain'd there. Three thousand horsemen were going from Andalusia and Corduba to Lisbon, if they were not already gone.

Mr. ROLSTON had heard it discours'd amongst the Spaniards, that it would be far better for the king to send his forces against England in winter than summer; their reason being, that in winter there was store of corn, hay, and all other kinds of victuals; and that all the queen's ships were then commonly in harbour.

* Vol. v. fol. 150.

* JOHN CECIL, an English priest, who had been sent by the popish earls of Angus, Errol, and Hunt-

ley, to Spain. See WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. i. p. 7, 8.

The prince of Ascoli and one Don ANTONIO MANRIQUES, with many other principal persons, were accus'd *del peccado nefando*; but the prince and Don ANTONIO were fled for fear of the fire, and the rest were to be burnt.

Mr. ROLSTON concluded this letter with desiring Mr. BACON to procure, that Mr. WRIGHT, the jesuit, who was not long before return'd to England, might have leave to write to him of his arrival, and likewise to the college, since otherwise himself would incur no small suspicion on Mr. WRIGHT's account.

B O O K IV.

ANTONIO PEREZ being ready to leave England, and return to France, towards the end of July, 1595, the earl of Essex wrote a letter by him to Monsieur DE SANCY, recommending ANTONIO to him, on account of that affection, which Monsieur DE SANCY had always professed for his lordship; and representing, that if they did not think proper in France to treat ANTONIO according to his merit, after they had sent for him thither, they ought to return him to England in safety, and not suffer him, thro' any causes of discontentment, that he might receive at the French court, to be intirely lost to England.

ANTONIO gave the queen, about this time, a memorial of such things, as he desired of, or recommended to her majesty; of which the first draught in French is extant in the hand-writing of Mr. ANTHONY BACON. This memorial seems to be the third, which he had drawn up, and will be proper to be inserted here in the words of the original^b.

“ Memoire 3^{me} pour communiquer avec sa majesté. Meilleure est ceste mienne
“ 3 volanté. Aussi est il un nombre parfait 3.

“ Qu'elle ne die rien du tout a personne de ma chiffre, & la correspondance
“ secrette. Car cela n' accroist point l'appetit, ni goust des viandes, de manger
“ devant plusieurs. Testmoing celuy, qui dit du corbeau, s'il se taisoit, *baberes*
“ *plus d'apis invidiaque minus*. Ouy bien des advis, & les affaires; car ceux, qui
“ meinent bonne merchandise, ne font point de difficulté de la laisser voir; &
“ ce faisant sa majeste esprouvera mieux la jugement de ses conseillers; qui est libre,
“ quand on ne coignoit la partie. Ainsi juge on au royaume de la Chine. Et celuy,
“ qui à dit, que les juges ne devoient point avoir des yeux, l' entendoit en ceste
“ façon.

“ Que sa majesté commande par quelque billet de 2 lignes ANTE BACON d' avoir
“ le soign, tant pour mon assurance & seureté, comme aussi pour le garant d'iceluy.
“ Car il est si fidele, que là ou il va de l' honneur de sa foy, c'est la mesme qu'on
“ aperçoit & cognoit mieux son service. Il se tient sur ses gardes, voire mesme au
“ point de vostre service.

“ Qu'elle ayme, estime, & favorise tels personages, comme je lui dis, qui
“ desrobent les cœurs & volent des hommes. Les aultres la vendent à elle-

^a Vol. vii. fol. 41.

^b Ibid. fol. 63.

“ mesme, en rachetant et rançonnant ses subjects et vassauls, imitants ces grands
 “ larrons, qui vendent ce qu'ils ont desrobé à son maistre.

“ Ce que j'ay entendu, que le secretaire VILLEROY me veult avoir pour hoste,
 “ que j'essayeray d'en tirer quelque profit pour le service de sa majesté.

“ La mort de Pierre WROTH.-----D'envoyer a Venise quelque autre.-----
 “ Faire cas de ce prince la---Qu'il est le principal d'Italie, & qui est respecté de
 “ tous, & devant qu'ils entreprennent aucune chose, un chacun regarde premiere-
 “ ment à la contenance d'iceluy.

“ Qu'il est profitable pour mille raisons.---Pour les intelligences, qui sont le
 “ vray commerce des princes.---Pour le commerce des vassauls.---Pour plus
 “ grande securité des marchandises de sa majesté avec les Turcs, & avec ceux du
 “ pais d'iceluy, & autres provinces.

“ Notes,---ce sera un benefice de sa majesté non seulement pour le contentement
 “ de ses subjects, mais mesme pour obliger eux mesmes à nouveaux services, & pour
 “ la seureté, que par le mesme sa majesté pourra occasionner le commerce de ses
 “ subjects in Espagne,---Que la fausse de ces viandes d'estat est le goust de l'entende-
 “ ment & l'affinement & excellence de l'habilité et capacité.

“ Que d'un costé l'ennemi soit infesté, & d'autre costé en faire son profit; comme
 “ d'amy par industrie, & cependant que les nez de honte luy croise; ou bien que
 “ ses ennemis se multiplient.

“ Que les republicques ressemblent beaucoup aux dames, qui s'obligent aysement,
 “ recevant par participation commune & particuliere comme au fait de l'estimation,
 “ & payant comme un prince par autorité.

“ Davantage que faire d'une dame gentile un amoureux (qui est un amour extra-
 “ ordinaire) c'est se faire aymer de tous.

“ Et qui plus est aux republicques jamais ne * * ny oblige, ny l'offense. Car y opere
 “ en espee, qui est incorruptible, & non en un individu tel ou tel, qui sont mortels.

“ Notes que par cy-devant je me tenoye peur mort, & maintenant plusque mort
 “ je me tiens pour vivant, & estime de vivre, voulant croire qu'il y a bien encores
 “ une aultre creation que celle des peres, sans generation, d'autant que se renouiller
 “ n'est autre chose que se creer derechef & de nouveau. Ce qu'a mon advis le mot
 “ de recreer nous enseigne, qui veut dire tourner a creer l'homme.

“ Que je feray bien desloger * * * * car je cours risque par sa facherie, ou
 “ de la reine par son indignation pour ma trop grande hardiesse.

“ Que l'amour par privilege commun est aveugle, & de la seconde resolution
 “ des dieux, ayant esté créé avec des yeux; mais en apres a la requeste, com-
 “ plainte,

“ plainte, & supplication des humbles & petits, il en a esté privé par arrest & decret
 “ immuable, a fin que un chacun se peut valoir & servir de sa fortune & bonne
 “ adventure; & a fin que les princes peuvent baïsser les yeux de leur affection avec
 “ excuse, & le berger les eslever jusques aux cimes & plus grands coupeaux en
 “ passent illec à son peril et hazard.

“ Pardonnez moi, pardonnez moi, madame, car nul ne parle icy si non le pauvre
 “ de l' imperatrice.”

The earl of Essex, in a letter to Monsieur DE BEAUVOIR LE NOCLE, who had been ambassador from France to England, referred him to ANTONIO PEREZ for the state of affairs in England; and took notice of the joy, which they had received from the news of the French king's late victory at Fontaine-Françoise; and that they were in hopes of hearing soon, that the constable of Castille and duke DE MAYENNE would be absolutely defeated; a success, which the king's magnanimity, the valour of his nobility, and the justice of his cause, gave the greatest reason to expect.

The earl wrote at the same time to the duke of Bouillon a letter, to be deliver'd him by ANTONIO PEREZ^d, on whose account it was written. His lordship observes in it, that the king having sent for ANTONIO, it concern'd his majesty's honour, that he should receive satisfaction at his arrival. That in England, which was a peaceable country, and surrounded with the sea, there would have been more security for his person, and nothing wanting to him as a speculative man. But that in France they ought not only to take great care to preserve him from the machinations of the enemy, and to entertain him suitably to his quality and merit, but likewise to give him all possible assistance for the establishment of his affairs, and such an employment, as might enable him to be useful to the public; since without these two advantages they would render his condition worse than it was in England. “ I use, as you see, *says he*, the frankness, which I have always profess'd; and I use it on this occasion, because there is no other beside yourself, to whom I can recommend the conservation of the person and honour of ANTONIO PEREZ, which I have had the charge of, and shall have an attention wherever he is. The discourse of affairs I refer to his very great abilities, to whom I have communicated some particulars for you.”

The duke of Bouillon had just before this, on the 22d of July, N. S. written to the earl from St. Ricquier^e; observing, that he had been too long without hearing of his lordship's state, in whose good or ill fortune he was desirous to take a share; for which reason he was desirous to have some account of him and of the queen, whose prosperity in all respects was intensely wished for by the duke. That divers false rumours had been spread, that her majesty's affairs had met with some misfortune in Ireland: but that if such an event should excite England to omit no measures for the ruin of the Spaniard, he should think, that God had made use of such little blows to instruct the nation what they ought to do. That his lordship must have heard of his, the duke's, departure, from the court; since which he had been

^e Vol. v. fol. 143.

^d Ibid. fol. 177.

^e Ibid. fol. 160.

disputing La Ferté with the enemy¹, who were oblig'd to raise the siege of it; but his necessities had oblig'd him to dismantle it. That the king had expressly commanded him to come into Picardy, to which he submitted, having abandon'd Yvois, and expos'd the whole country of Sedan to destruction, the enemies having burn'd it two days after his departure. That he had been just before to meet the count DE ST. POL, complying in that point with the king's pleasure, and being resolv'd to confute the calumnies of those, who envied him, and pretended, that his ambition was prejudicial to his majesty's affairs. That they had taken the city of Ham, and cut in pieces 1200 men², and that he had thrown himself into Corbie, which the enemy's army had made a shew of attacking, but march'd afterwards to Dourlens, where it had been eight days, but had not yet begun their battery. That the French army had that day pass'd the river Somme, and were then six leagues from the enemy, who consist'd of 1500 horse, 6000 foot, and 25 cannon, the French troops being at present near 1000 horse, and 2600 foot, and expecting the duke of Nevers with 200 horse, and 800 foot, and from the neighbourhood of Paris the same number of horse, and the whole within three days. The place was not strong, but there were in it 1500 foot, and 250 men at arms. If the enemy should make no progress, the French army would wait for their reinforcement; but if otherwise, they would attempt it with the forces, which they had, to preserve the place; the event of the siege being of very great consequence to the enemy and the French; for if the former should take it, they would cover all their frontier; but if they should fail, they would exhaust the vigour and strength of their army, destroy their hopes of the country of Artois, of being deliver'd from the ravages of the soldiers; and the discontent would be such in their town, as might occasion some change. That within four days, the affair would come to be determin'd by blows, when the enemy would either quit the place, or the French courage and resolution would be wearied out. "After this, *says the duke*, your friend will go and enjoy " a private life, in order that he may have leisure to examine his actions, and see " whether they deserv'd the blame cast upon them." He observes likewise the prejudice, which his profession of the reform'd religion was of to him, but hoped, that if it was an obstacle in one respect, it would at the same time afford him a support in another; tho', he found, on the other hand, that having sacrific'd himself for the common good, he was abandon'd by every body. This had determin'd him to a private life, in which he would serve God, and seize all opportunities, that should offer, of serving lord Essex, whom he desir'd to hear from at his leisure; and believed, that he should be more happy as a door-keeper in the house of God, than a great king elsewhere. "Adieu, therefore, *concludes he*, my true and " intimate friend. I kiss your hands a million of times. Your humble friend, " brother, and servant,

" HENRY DE LA TOUR."

The duke wrote another letter to the earl on the 2d of August, N. S.³, which he sent with the former written two days before the battle of Dourlens, in which

¹ THUANUS, tom. v. l. cxii. p. 456.

Bouillon, tom. ii. l. iv. p. 86--90.

² Id. p. 476, 477. & MARSOLLIER, Hist. de HENRY DE LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE, duc de.

³ Vol. v. fol. 160.

count DE FUENTES, the Spanish general, defeated the French¹, under that duke, and the duke of Nevers, and admiral VILLARS, the last of whom was put to death in cold blood. The duke of Bouillon inclos'd in his letter to his lordship a particular account of that unfortunate event; and in that letter mentions, that Dourlens was taken by assault, after the duke of Nevers had arriv'd and commanded the king's army, and with the loss of a great number of men, the Spaniards having spar'd no kind of cruelty. That this misfortune had reduc'd the frontier to a very dangerous situation; which kept the duke of Bouillon there, in order, at the peril of his own life, to take some measures for its defence. All the accounts agreed, that the enemies would attack Montreuil; for which reason he was now going thither with 300 Swiss and as many French; but so many things were wanting there, that he could not tell what to say about it. It was a very large town, ill fortified, and destitute of all sorts of munition; and France was in no condition to afford it any succours. On which account he had recourse to the earl of Essex, that on this occasion he would assist that kingdom and his friend; and he wrote at the same time a letter to the queen, which he desir'd his lordship to deliver to her, and to request of her majesty the supply, if possible, of 20000 weight of powder and 20000 crowns for the payment of the troops, and 2000 English foot, being wanted, and absolutely necessary, for horse enough might be had, "This whole assistance, *says the duke*, will be given to the king; but it will, at the same time, be preserving of the life and honour of your friend.—If there were not a necessity for this, I should not become a petitioner for it, considering how contrary such things are to my designs. But the exigence of the king's affairs leaves me no other way. If I did not undertake the preservation of this place, no person else would; and the loss of it would be of very ill consequence, and the enemy would advance into your neighbourhood on that side. What you can do, must be done immediately. Is it possible, that I should be refused, and put off with any reasons of importance for denying me what could not be refused to others? If men shall be granted, you should consider, whether you cannot draw them out of garrisons; for the levying of them would be too long and more expensive. I write to Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE, in order that he may confer with you; and I desire you to seal my letter to your queen. I must, before I take my sword, do this farther service, as I shall to you all that I can think of, to testify, that no person in the world can be so much.

"Your humble friend, brother; and servant."

Mr. STANDEN being at the court at Greenwich on the 26th of July, wrote in the evening of that day to Mr. BACON^k, that the arrival of the Spaniards, and their landing and burning in Cornwall^l, on the Wednesday morning preceding, at six of the clock, which labour they continued till sun-set that night, "bred in these courtly breasts diversities of passions: but the most part, *says he*, do take courage against them, in such sort, as they, that have heretofore seemed abated in spirit, do now lift up the crest. Sir ROGER [WILLIAMS] hath this night, in presence of all the court, received of her majesty a friendly public welcome.

^l THUANUS, L. cxii. p. 483, 484. & MARSHALLIER, ubi supra, p. 92—97.

^k Vo^l. v. fol. 178.

^l CAMDEN, p. 464.

"This

“ This afternoon, after the rising of the council, the lord admiral rode to Chatham
 “ to put order to the navy ; and in effect it is a stirring world.

“ After the overthrow of the duke of Bouillon, with the admiral and those forces
 “ before Dourlens, the Spanish forces beat the town with such fury, as they took
 “ it by mere force, and put to the sword man, woman, and child ; which hath
 “ been a disastrous news.

“ The Spanish navy was reported to be fifty ships, four galleasses, and eight
 “ gallies. My lord treasurer is stayed of his journey to Burghley, and came
 “ hither this day at noon.”

ANTONIO PEREZ left England about the end of July, 1595, for he was arrived
 at Dieppe before the 2d of August, on which day GODFREY ALEYN, whom Mr.
 BACON had recommended to the earl of Essex to attend ANTONIO as a servant,
 wrote to that gentlemen “ an account of it, and of the great honour, with which
 his master was received by the governor.

Mr. ROLSTON, on the 4th of August, in a letter to Mr. BACON * from Fontar-
 rabia, inform'd him of the coming of Don DIEGO BROCHERO from Bretagne,
 with ZUBIAUR to Port Passage, and his being desirous to go to the court of Spain ;
 but that the king would not permit him, ordering him to assist at Passage in hastening
 the going forth of the army there ; which, it was said, would be ready within
 thirty days, if not before. Mr. ROLSTON thought, that the number of the ships
 would be about twenty. Don DIEGO was to command as admiral real in them.
 Five hundred soldiers and fifteen hundred mariners were to go to Lisbon, there to
 join with the Adelantado of Castille, who was generalissimo of the Ocean-sea,
 nam'd so by the king. What men or ships were at Lisbon, Mr. ROLSTON did
 not know ; and they said, that the king had now ready 50,000 soldiers, and
 PORRAS told Mr. ROLSTON, that the king would send 10000 men to Scotland, and
 that himself and his brother were both to go as captains in the expedition. The
 cardinal of Austria went from Madrid the 22d of July towards Flanders, and
 took with him four millions, to pay all men there. The Scots men at the
 Spanish court were weary of their long delay. Don JUAN VELASQUES, and Don
 DIEGO were enemies, and did not speak to each other. It was said, that the four
 gallies at Blavet would go to the coast of England. One CARLOS DE MESSE com-
 manded in these then, and BURLAY and PUDINTON, two Englishmen, were in
 them.

Lady BACON, in a letter of the 5th of that month from Gorhambury to Mr.
 BACON †, declar'd her satisfaction, that the two countesses, sisters, who she found
 were coming to reside in his neighbourhood, were both ladies, *who fear'd God,*
and lov'd his word zealously, especially the younger sister. “ Yet, adds she, upon ad-
 “ vice and home-experience I would earnestly counsel you to be wary and circum-
 “ spect, and not be too open in wishing to prolong speech with the countess of

* Vol. v. fol. 216.

† Vol. v. fol. 179.

‡ Ibid. fol. 203.

“ Warwick.

“ Warwick °. She, after her father’s fashion, will search and sound, and lay up
 “ with diligent marking *quæ nec sentias aulica perferre ad reginam, et patriſſat in*
 “ *illâ re nimis*. . . . I am ſorry your brother with inward ſecret grief hindreth his
 “ health. Every body ſaith, he looketh and pale. . . I had rather ye both, with
 “ God’s bleſſed favour, had very good health, and well out of debt, than any
 “ office. Yet tho’ the earl ſhewed great affection, he marred all with violent
 “ courſes. I am heartily ſorry to hear, how he [the earl] ſweareth and gameth
 “ unreaſonably.”

Mr. FRANCIS BACON’s concern, referred to in this letter, was owing to his diſ-
 appointment about this time of the office of ſollicitor-general, in the purſuit of
 which he thought he had ſome reaſon to complain of the inſincerity of the lord
 keeper PUCKERING, who had not only given him great expectations, but an ab-
 ſolute promiſe to the earl of Eſſex °, that he would uſe his intereſt in his favour.
 This drew from Mr. FRANCIS BACON on the 28th of July, 1595, an expoſtu-
 latory letter to the lord keeper, in which he told him, that nothing had hap-
 pened to him in the courſe of his buſineſs more contrary to his expectation, than
 his lordſhip’s failing him, and croſſing him now in the concluſion, when friends are
 beſt tried. “ But now, ſays he, I deſire no more favour of your lordſhip, than I
 “ would do, if I were a ſuiter in chancery, which is this only, that you do me
 “ right. And I, for my part, tho’ I have much to alledge, yet nevertheleſs, if
 “ I ſee her majeſty ſettle her choice upon an able man, ſuch a one as Mr. ſerjeant
 “ FLEMING, I will make no means to alter. On the other ſide, if I perceive any
 “ inſufficient obſcure idole man offered to her majeſty, then I think myſelf doubly
 “ bound to uſe the beſt means I can for myſelf, which I humbly pray your lordſhip
 “ I may do with your favour, and that you will not diſable me farther in this caſe.”
 In another letter to the lord keeper on the 19th of Auguſt following, he juſtified
 his former, adding, “ If it pleaſe your lordſhip but to call to mind from whom I
 “ am deſcended, and by whom, next to God, her majeſty, and your own virtue,
 “ your lordſhip is aſcended, I know you will have a compunction of mind to do
 “ me any wrong. And therefore, good my lord, when your lordſhip favoureth
 “ others before me, do not lay the ſeparation of your love and favour upon my
 “ ſelf. For I will give no cauſe, neither can I acknowledge any, where none is,
 “ but humbly pray your lordſhip, to underſtand things as they are.”

Theſe two letters gave ſuch offence to the lord keeper, that the earl of Eſſex
 thought it neceſſary to ſoften his reſentment, which he did both in perſon and by
 the following letter to his lordſhip, which, tho’ already printed, yet being from
 ſo eminent a perſon, and in favour of another equally ſo, deſerves a place here.

“ My Lord, 31 Auguſt, 1595.
 “ In my laſt conference with your lordſhip, I did intreat you both to forbear
 “ hurting of Mr. FR. BACON’s cauſe, and to ſuſpend your judgment of his mind

° ANNE, eldeſt daughter of FRANCIS the ſecond
 earl of Bedford, and widow of AMBROSE DUDLEY
 earl of Warwick. She died the 9th of February,
 1601. She had two younger ſiſters, ELIZABETH,
 wife of WILLIAM BOURCHIER earl of Bath, and

MARGARET, married to GEORGE CLIFFORD, earl
 of Cumberland.

¶ See a letter of the earl to the lord keeper,
 printed in BACON’s works. vol. ii. p. 417. edit.
 1753.

“ towards your lordship, till I had spoken with him: I went since that time to
 “ Twickenham-park to confer with him, and had signified the effect of our con-
 “ ference by letter ere this, if I had not hoped to have met with your lordship, and
 “ so to have delivered it by speech. I told your lordship, when I last saw you,
 “ that this manner of his was only a natural freedom and plainness, which he had
 “ used with me, and in my knowledge with some other of his best friends, than
 “ any want of reverence towards your lordship; and therefore I was more curious
 “ to look into the moving cause of his style, than into the form of it, which now
 “ I find to be only a diffidence of your lordship’s favour and love towards him,
 “ and no alienation of that dutiful mind, which he hath borne towards your
 “ lordship. And therefore I am fully persuaded, that if your lordship would
 “ please to send for him, there would grow so good satisfaction, as hereafter he
 “ should enjoy your lordship’s honourable favour, and in as great measure as ever,
 “ and your lordship have the use of his service, who, I assure your lordship, is as
 “ strong in his kindness, as you find him in his jealousy. I will use no argument
 “ to persuade your lordship, that I should be glad of his being restored to your
 “ lordship’s wonted favour, since your lordship both knoweth how much my credit
 “ is engaged in his fortune, and may easily judge how sorry I should be, that a
 “ gentleman, whom I love so much, should lack the favour of a person, whom
 “ I honour so much. And thus commending your lordship to God’s best pro-
 “ tection, I rest

“ Your lordship’s very assured,

“ E S S E X.”

Mr. BACON wrote again on the 14th of October, 1595, to the lord keeper, that he conceiv’d the end to be already made, which he trusted would to himself be a beginning of good fortune, or at least of content. “ Her majesty, *adds he*,
 “ by God’s grace, shall live and reign long: she is not running away: I may
 “ trust her. Or whether she look towards me or no, I remain the same, not al-
 “ tered in my intention. If I had been an ambitious man, it would have over-
 “ thrown me; but minded as I am, *revertet benedictio mea in sinum meum.*”

The post of solicitor-general was at last on the 6th of the following month¹ given to serjeant THOMAS FLEMING, afterwards knighted, and in June, 1607, appointed lord chief justice of the King’s Bench. And upon this disappointment of Mr. FRANCIS BACON, the earl of Essex, who had been refus’d the place for him by the queen after his long and earnest solicitations, came over to him from the court at Richmond to Twickenham-park, and said to him, “ Mr. BACON,
 “ the queen hath denied me the place for you, and hath placed another. I know
 “ you are the least part of your own matter: but you fare ill, because you have
 “ chosen me for your mean and dependance. You have spent your time and
 “ thoughts in my matters. I die, if I do not somewhat towards your fortune.
 “ You shall not deny to accept a piece of land, which I will bestow upon you.”
 Mr. BACON’s answer was, that for his fortune, it was no great matter; but that

¹ DUGDALE’s Chronica Series. ² Letter of FRANCIS BACON to BLOUNT earl of Devonshire.
 Sc. ma Ccc.iana, p. 89 Edit. Lond. 1663, in 4to.

his lordship's offer made him call to mind what used to be said, when he was in France, of the duke of Guise, that he was the greatest usurer in that kingdom, because he had turn'd all his estate into obligations, having left himself nothing, and only bound numbers of people to himself. "Now, my lord, *said he*, I would not have you imitate this course, nor turn your estate thus by greatest gifts into obligations, for you will find many bad debtors." The earl bade him take no care for that, and press'd his offer; upon which Mr. BACON said, "I see, my lord, that I must be your homager, and hold land of your gift. But do you know the manner of doing homage in law? Always it is with a saving of his faith to the king and his other lords. And therefore, my lord, I can be no more yours than I was, and it must be with the antient savings; and if I grow to be a rich man, you will give me leave to give it back again to some of your unrewarded followers." This land, which he afterwards sold to Mr. REYNOLD NICHOLAS for 1800 l. and thought it worth more, was Twickenham-park and garden, which he appears to have been indulged by his lordship in the use of for several years before.

Mr. EDMONDES being in the French king's camp near Lion le Saunier, on the 6th of August, 1595, wrote a long letter to the lord treasurer, giving him an account, that, according to the resolution mentioned in his last, the king had continued ever since with this army in that country, beginning first with the taking of *Pesme*, a small town and castle between Gray and Auxonne, which surrendered by composition, without playing of the cannon, and in which he plac'd a garrison. Afterwards he went and took Rochefort, near Dole, a small weak place, which surrender'd in like manner, and in that he left a garrison. Thence he march'd to Besançon, and there staid some time in shew of a purpose to assail them, till he had drawn from them a composition of 30,000 crowns. Next he went to Sallines, in hopes to bring them to the like ransom; but they having receiv'd before a support of 1200 Swiss, refused to submit to any composition; so that tho' the place was otherwise of no strength, he was not able to attempt it, as he made shew, by reason of the weakness of his army now exceedingly diminished through famine and sickness. He went therefore from thence to Arbois, another small town and weak, which indur'd the cannon, and was expos'd to the pillage, and afterwards compounded for the rest of their goods for 10,000 crowns. He march'd next to Polliguy, a small town likewise, which compounded with him also for 20,000 crowns; and thence he was proceeding to Lion le Saunier, to draw from it the like ransom; which being done he intended to leave the army, and go to Lyons. The money thus raised was for the payment of the Swiss, to whom would be due on the 20th of that month of August, the sum of 70,000 crowns. The Cantons of Swiss had been so earnestly press'd by the province of Franche-Comté, on account of the alliance between them, to interpose themselves to mediate the king's withdrawing from it, that each of the thirteen Cantons had now sent new deputies to treat of the restoring of the neutrality; in which there was probability of their prevailing, if the province would consent to yield any composition of money, which was the motive, that most sway'd with the French court in their present great necessity. The king

¹ BURNEL's Abridgement, postscript, p. 1.

² Vol. v. fol. 204.

was advertised, that the duke of Savoy was making a levy of 8000 men to descend to the defence of Savoy and Bresse; of which the duke of Urbino furnished him with 2000, and the king of Spain with other numbers.

Monsieur LESDISQUIERES and signor ANTONIO CORSO had of late taken two castles from the duke of Savoy, and were gone to besiege another. It was also signified, that the duke's bastard brother, call'd Don AMADEUS, had been lately stabb'd in the duchess's chamber.

The duke DE NEMOURS remain'd at his house extremely sick. The constable of Castille was come with his army to Dole, but had made no head against the king.

Monsieur DE ROQUELAURE and Monsieur DE VILLEROY having reduc'd the duke DE MAYENNE to better reason than formerly in his demands, returned, accompanied with the duke's commissioners, to receive the king's resolution therein, with whom those demands were concluded, and Monsieur DE ROQUELAURE and Monsieur DE VILLEROY sent back with them to the duke, to receive his assurance and confirmation thereof, and to determine the smaller particularities yet undecided, and especially to entertain the time, to colour that nothing was yet concluded, and to give the duke the means, as he desired, to deliver himself of the strangers, which he had in his garrisons. The conditions granted him, as Mr. EDMONDES had learn'd, were the government of the Isle of France, the place of great chamberlain, the sum of 669,000 crowns, a pension of 50,000 franks, the government of the extent of the Bailiwick of Chalons for his eldest son, separated from the government of Burgundy, and a pension also for his son of 12000 franks, and the command of the places, which the duke held, to be left to him for three years for his security, without acknowledging the authority of the governors of the provinces. To his youngest son, design'd for the church, was granted the provision of divers ecclesiastical livings; and for the sons of his wife, the marquises of Villars and Mompessat certain liberties of advantage and favour. The duke was to be allowed the space of two months and a half before he should declare himself, in order that he might give advertisement to his allies. Mr. EDMONDES learned also, that he insisted on one article, to be authoris'd, in case his foreign allies should likewise seek their reconciliation with the king, that he might employ himself in it; which article was allowed of. While they held things thus accorded and assured, advertisement came from the commissioners, that the duke insisted upon new demands, that the exercise of the religion might not be permitted within the bailiwick of Chalons; and that the towns of Verdun and Lovanie, which were also within that bailiwick, and held by the king, might be razed, and himself to have liberty to continue to fortify the towns, which he possess'd; and to have better assurance for the money promised him, with other like caviling demands; which gave great alarm, that he meant unsoundly, and only to temporize.

The king sent for Mr. EDMONDES the night before his writing that letter, and told him, that by reason the duke DE MAYENNE did so draw matters to length, he was not able to send yet to her majesty, as she desired, to give her knowledge of his treaty with the duke; but said, that he was in the mean time forc'd, upon the

the news, which he had receiv'd, of the loss of Dourlens, and the great danger, in which his affairs stood in those parts, to send immediately to her majesty, to beseech her to be pleas'd to assist him with the succour of two or three thousand men for three months, since he was advertis'd, that the enemy intended next to seek to possess himself of some places upon the sea-coast, especially Boulogne, in respect of its being ill provided. For which reason he would hasten to Lyons, and only stay there twelve or fifteen days, to return with speed; and would dispatch the constable of France from Lion le Saunier or Mâcon, to go and meet the duke D'ESPERNON at Valence, to see if he could draw him into a composition. Mr. EDMONDES answer'd, that he thought, that her majesty would desire to be excus'd by him at that time, in respect of being herself engag'd in a chargeable war in Ireland. The king replied, that he would not importune her but in so great a necessity, which he referr'd to her majesty's consideration, and could not but protest for his discharge, and excuse his unableness to prevent so great a mischief of common peril to them both. Monsieur DE LA BODERIE *, who was of the re-form'd religion, and very well affected to it, was therefore sent to receive her majesty's resolution upon that overture. The king told Mr. EDMONDES, that as soon as the duke of MAYENNE's treaty should grow to any certainty, he would send another gentleman of account to her majesty.

There was come to the French court news of the king of Spain's having been dangerously sick, and that his weakness still continued so great, as gave opinion, that he could hardly recover. It was also advertis'd, that the bishop of Evreux had been received with greater welcome at Rome, and that there were great hopes of things succeeding well there.

Monsieur DE SANCY was gone into Lorraine to conclude the peace with the duke. The king had not yet dispos'd of the office of admiral, vacant by the death of Monsieur DE VILLARS kill'd in the battle of Dourlens. Monsieur DE LA TREMOUILLE * had demanded it, but been refus'd; and it was thought, that the king reserv'd it to make the composition of the duke DE JOYEUSE.

" Our progress, adds Mr. EDMONDES, in this country, hath been exceeding
 " incommodious to all men, for suffering great want and dearth, having for the
 " most no bread, and sometimes no wine, by reason the king hath here no places
 " to favour him with provision; and that all those of the country do break their
 " mills ever before us, where we come. I protest to your lordship, I have been
 " forced to pay three shillings for two small loaves of bread, not so big as a penny
 " loaf in England, and three shillings an horse-shoe, and four fous a nail; and so
 " almost rateably for all other provision except flesh, by reason that the country

* ANTHONY DE LA FEVRE DE LA BODERIE, who was sent in April, 1606, ambassador to king JAMES I. and continued in that post several years. The letters written by him during his embassy, printed at Paris, in 5 volumes, 8vo. in 1750, give no advantageous picture of that king or his court.

* CLAUDE, seigneur DE LA TREMOUILLE, born

in 1566. He serv'd first under FRANCIS DE BOURBON, duke de Montpensier, and having afterwards embrac'd the reformed religion, adhered to the interests of HENRY king of Navarre, by whom, when king of France, he was, in 1595, made a peer, under the title of duke of Thouars. He died October 25, 1604, N. S.

"abounded of great store of cattle. Our army is at this time very small, and the
"most part sick."

Mr. EDMONDES subjoin'd in his postscript, that he doubted not, but that his lordship had long before that understood of the practise of CHASTEAU MARTIN for betraying of Bayonne. That it was determined to send Monsieur DAMPVILLE from Lyons to bring the prince of Condé. That the bishop of Evreux's kind reception at Rome had occasioned great joy at the French court; and that the bishop had written, that only four cardinals of the faction of Spain opposed themselves: but that the pope promis'd him a speedy dispatch, and in the mean time had sent him some of his guards to secure him from mischief.

He sent a copy of this letter to the earl of Essex, and at the same time wrote to him a short letter*, acquainting his lordship, that they had been a pickeering journey to gather money for the Swifs; "but, *says he*, to all our particular wrecks, having miserably suffered the same. Their necessity here is so great, as doth expose them to very hard shifts, which is the cause they do apprehend all occasions, that may purchase their quiet, which undoubtedly, before it be long, they will be able to recover. The king is much troubled with the present evil state of the affairs in Picardy, as the only danger, that may give check to his fortune, and feareth he shall not obtain the relief, which he desireth at her majesty's hands; wherein if it please her majesty to gratify him, I think it will be the last occasion, that he will ever need to trouble her. This bearer, Monsieur DE LA BODERIE,† that is employed in that charge, saith to be partly known to your lordship since the siege of Roan, and hath prayed me to renew to your lordship that memory of him. He is a very honest gentleman, and of good opinion with the king, and particularly intrinsecate with the marshal of BIRON, who will think himself especially beholding to your lordship for any favour it shall please your lordship to extend towards him. I beseech your lordship I may receive some letters from you, as heretofore I desired, to entertain a greedy correspondence with Monsieur DE LA TREMOUILLE." In the postscript he requests his lordship to have him in his favourable remembrance for the place void by Mr. YETSWERT's death‡.

The earl of Essex on the 11th of August, 1595, return'd the following answer to the letter of the lord chancellor of Scotland, of the 12th of July, which he sent by Mr. DAVID FOULIS.

"My very good Lord,

"Tho' I hold your lordship's person in that account, as I shall take it for a great honour to me to be beloved of you, and would willingly meet with your lordship's kindness, and pay you with the like; yet from your lordship, as from a subject to another prince, yea so great a subject both in place and trust, I re-

* Vol. v. fol. 204.

† NICASIVS YETSWERT, secretary to the queen for the French tongue, and clerk of the

Signet. Mr. EDMONDES succeeded him in the former post.

‡ Vol. v. fol. 203.

“ceive nothing but with my sovereign’s privity, nor send any thing to you but by
 “her majesty’s direction. Therefore her majesty having read your lordship’s letter
 “directed to me, hath given me commission to give you this answer; that there can
 “be nothing more welcome to her majesty than such a correspondence, by which
 “the amity betwixt these two crowns may be maintained; nor than such an amity,
 “by which God’s true religion may the better be fostered. Your lordship well
 “knoweth, that her majesty hath exceeded the office of a confederate, and been
 “as watchful in care, and as liberal in expence for the good of that state, as if
 “it had been her own. And if any prince this day in Europe hath shewed zeal
 “to religion, surely it is her majesty, who hath so many and so mighty enemies
 “for her religion. Therefore, as your lordship giveth assurance, that there shall
 “be no defect of the king’s part, so I am sure you cannot doubt of her majesty’s,
 “who, what changes soever she sees round about her, may only give this word,
 “*semper eadem*. Her majesty will take in good part such account, as your lord-
 “ship by your own letters, or Sir RICHARD COCKBURNE’S, shall give of the
 “affairs of that state; and she will have answer from time to time to be made
 “unto you. In me your lordship shall find faithful delivery in all, that I receive
 “from you. And so commending your lordship to God’s best protection, I rest

“At your lordship’s commandment,

“Greenwich, this 14th of August, 1595.

“E S S E X.”

Sir WILLIAM RUSSEL, lord deputy of Ireland, wrote from thence about this
 time a letter to his own and the earl of Essex’s friend, Sir ROGER WILLIAMS*, that
 however he was over-burden’d with the troubles of that realm, or rather oppress’d
 with the malice of some in court, yet he could but yield thanks to Sir ROGER
 for the discourse, which he had sent, assuring him, that it was high time for her
 majesty to look into that realm, and well to bethink her whom she trusted. For
 what with the delays and greatness of his excellency*, as with the affection of some
 to that ungrateful traitor the earl of Tyrone, and the mighty force, which the
 double pistoles had in that country, her majesty’s service was greatly hindered,
 “and myself, *says Sir WILLIAM*, mightily maliced, for having of her service more
 “recommended than the hazard or loss of my own life. You may do well now
 “and then both with your discourses in writing, and by speech, truly to inform her
 “majesty of the dangerous practises both against her person and realm, myself
 “not having any quick-spirited man but this Frenchman well known to yourself,
 “who, if he might talk with the queen, I do not doubt but he would set forth
 “his excellency with the great charges of his tribe, whose little regard of the
 “Marshal, and not agreeing with Sir RICHARD BINGHAM, no doubt doth greatly
 “hinder this service, they two being the only men, that from their hearts detest
 “the traitor TYRONE.”

Mr. HUDSON’s letter of the 14th of August, 1595, inform’d Mr. BACON^b, that
 he found great difference in the advertisements, which he had received that day
 from Scotland, whence he heard indeed of little but of the quietness there, and

the putting in execution the border-laws, tho' others advertised the taking of the earl of Angus. He added, that Mr. FOULIS had wisely and bravely behaved himself; *which I refer, says he, to his own discourse at your meeting*; that gentleman being then in England, sent by the king of Scots to the queen, and returning soon after to Scotland^c.

Mr. BACON being offered by the earl of Essex apartments in his house near the Temple, which had before belong'd to his father-in-law, ROBERT earl of Leicester, and was then call'd Essex-house, and being inclin'd to accept of that offer, his mother, who was averse to it, in a letter to him from Gorhambury, on the 15th of August, 1595^d, represented to him the inconveniencies of parting with his own house, and removing into the earl's; particularly, "Envy, *says she*, emulation, continual and unseasonable disquiet to increase your gout; many pains, great urging for suits, yea importune to trouble the earl and yourself. Peradventure not so well liked yourself there, as in your own house. What others already offended, not small ones, may work and lay up, I fear, having, as you have, working heads about you. Some increase of suspicion and disagreement, which may hurt you privately, if not publicly, or both by all likelihood, in these so trickle times."

Her ladyship return'd to the same subject in another letter from Gorhambury of the 20th of the same month^e, declaring, that she could not put the *troublesome fear* out of her mind, grounded on her own long experience of courts. She repeats to him the verse

Dulcis inexperto cultura potentis amici;

and adds, "You have hitherto been esteemed as a worthy friend; now shall be accounted his [the earl of Essex's] follower; a base kind of good wit and speech. Before, his servants did regard you. Now, you must respect and be in their danger to your cumber and charge and care to please. Every thing you do shall be spoken and noted abroad, and yourself brought as it were into a kind of bondage, where now yet free. . . . STANDEN being there, and LAWSON, and such, you verily will be counted a practiser, and more disliked and suspected. God keep you from Spanish subtilties and popery." But her remonstrances did not prevent her soon from removing to Essex-house in October following.

Mr. OTWELL SMITH, in a letter of the 19th of August, 1595, from Dieppe to the earl of Essex^f, to whom he frequently wrote, gave his lordship an account, that the French king had written to the duke DE MONTPENSIER, to take all the gentlemen in Normandy, and the company of Monsieur DE CHASTE, governor of Dieppe, and to march with them to Cambray, leaving the latter governor of Roan till his majesty's coming, which would be about the 20th of September. There were other letters come to Monsieur D'INCARVILLE of the king's having given the government of Roan and Dieppe to Monsieur DE LA CHASTE; but that Monsieur

^c Mr. FOULIS's passports sign'd by Sir ROBERT &c. at the court at Mitcham, August 22. Vol. v. CECIL, was dated August 19, 1595, and another fol. 106. ^d Vol. v. fol. 212.

sign'd by the lord admiral HOWARD, earl of Essex,

^e Vol. v. fol. 210.

^f Vol. v. fol. 189.

LE GRAND^a made great suit to be governor of the former; which the captains, who held the strong towns, would not permit, but were desirous of Monsieur DE LA CHASTE, who was approved of by the duke DE MONTPENSIER, and the parliament, and all the burgeses of Roan; for which reason Mr. SMITH desired the earl to procure the queen's letters to Mr. EDMONDES, ordering him to speak to the king, that the government of Roan and Dieppe might be given to Monsieur DE LA CHASTE, which would be of a great assurance to her majesty to have good neighbours, and to those of the reformed religion. The king was then at Lyons, and intended to be shortly in Picardy with all his forces, to raise the siege of Cambray, which would not be effected without two or three thousand English pikes, which would do good service in Picardy; for the king would bring horse sufficient, but wanted foot. The States-general had sent into Picardy to the duke DE BOUILLON some money, with 30,000 weight of powder; and his regiment of 1200 men was come to him out of Gascony. The captain, who brought the powder, said, that Vaudragan with his forces was marching to the siege of Cambray, and that count MAURICE was following him; and that Monsieur DE LA BODERIE, sent by the king to her majesty, to request some men for Picardy, said, that the duke of Nevers was dead, but the duke of Guise recovering.

The chevalier DE LA CHASTE, governor of Dieppe, sent likewise from Dieppe to the earl of Essex, on the 22d of August, N. S.^b mentioning, that in his letter he had given an account of the enemy's drawing towards Cambray, which having invested, they were now at such a distance from Dieppe, that it was not necessary for the queen to send any forces for the preservation of it, as she had promised him in a letter. He observes also, that there was arrived in that town a master of the requests of the king's household^c, who came thro' Picardy, and was going to the queen from the prince of Conti and the council of Paris, and would shew the earl letters written by Monsieur DE BALAGNI to the duke of BOUILLON, by which would appear the ill state of Cambray, and the danger of losing it, unless her majesty would interpose by an immediate assistance. Monsieur DE LA CHASTE adds, that the duke of MAYENNE had not yet concluded his agreement with the king, and that he was said to make new demands; which gave occasion to think, that all, that he did, was merely with a view to raise a distrust in the king of Spain, and to make his own terms with him.

ANTONIO PEREZ, who was still at Dieppe, where he had landed, wrote from thence on the same day, August 22, to the earl of Essex^d, mentioning, that on the 17, he had sent two letters to his lordship with copies of others, which he had written to the duke of BOUILLON, and sent by the servant, who had brought him letters from the duke. That the night before there came thither Monsieur CHEVALIER, master of the requests, who was going to the queen, and represented the danger-

^a ROGER DE ST. LARY DE BELLEGARDE, made grand ecuyer of France, by HENRY III. and duke and peer by LEWIS XIII. in 1620.

^b Vol. v. fol. 103.

^c ETIENNE CHEVALIER, who had been admitted counsellor of the parliament of Paris, April 4,

1573. He landed in England on the 19th of August, 1595. See a letter of Mr. THOMAS LAKER to Sir ROBERT SIDNEY, from Nonsuch, August 22, 1595, printed in the letters of the SIDNEY family, vol. i. p. 344.

^d Vol. vii. fol. 36.

ous situation of Picardy : That count DE FUENTES was going directly to the siege of Cambray : That the French lamented the miseries, which might arise to their kingdom from the progress of the Spaniards, and complain'd of the queen's not assisting them, tho' her own interest and safety were so much concerned in the event. That Monsieur CHEVALIER had reported, that the king had been prevented several days by the sickness of the duke of GUISE from going to Lyons, which he did upon that duke's death, tho' he would not have visited that city, if he had not promised the people there, but have come back with the utmost expedition to Picardy. That there was but little hope of success with regard to Cambray, because the marshal, who was governor of it, had a garrison not likely to defend it for want of bravery, his natural diffidence preventing him from employing resolute soldiers. That the king was in hopes of reducing the dukes d'ESPERNON and JOYEUSE ; but ANTONIO despaired of it, on account of the bad situation of affairs in Picardy. He added, with regard to himself, that he was still at Dieppe, tho' the governor promised him every day, that they would depart ; but ANTONIO thought, that he waited for the king's answer, since the governor had confess'd to him, that Monsieur DE VILLEROY had said to him on the very day of the king's marching towards Burgundy, " ANTONIO PEREZ will undoubtedly be arrived at Dieppe by that time " you come thither, or very soon after : Receive him, &c. but before he goes " from thence, let us know." But ANTONIO declares himself to the earl of Essex weary of continuing in so inactive a state, and promises to write down a journal of all things, that should come to his knowledge in their order ; and desires him not to forget HAMMOND, one of his lordship's secretaries, ANTONIO protesting, that he lov'd his friends absent as much as present.

The next day, August $\frac{1}{11}$, ANTONIO made an addition to his letter ^k, in which having mentioned Monsieur CHEVALIER's being sent by the prince of Conti and the parliament of Paris to desire the queen's assistance, he expressed his surprise at their employing him for that purpose without consulting the king, to whom himself was desirous of going immediately, in order to communicate to him what he had thought of in his journey, for the benefit both of France and England. That after the writing of this, the governor of Dieppe had come to him at night, and inform'd him of what he just received by the letters from the governor of Cambray, of the count DE FUENTES having approach'd that city with his army, and forty cannon ; and that the citizens were weak, slow, and so indisposed to a defence of it, that he durst not rely on their sincerity or resolution, and had not a sufficient number of soldiers, and therefore was apprehensive of some unworthy proposal from the people. The governor of Dieppe added, that the Parisians were likewise in an inquiet temper ; and he inform'd ANTONIO of what he had lately written to England, upon his first apprehensions of the approach of the enemy towards that town, desiring forces from the queen ; but had since written again thither, that as he was now no longer in fear of a siege, he did not desire to be troublesome, except in extreme necessity. He knew no more of the commission to Monsieur CHEVALIER, than that he was sent by the prince of Conti and the council, left by the king at Paris with a secretary of state, to take care of his affairs, during his

^k Vol. vii fol. 36*.

absence. Monsieur CHEVALIER was to depart in two days from Dieppe, being, according to ANTONIO's account, an honest young man, tho' not very eloquent, and chosen for that employment, because he was able to support the charges of the journey himself. The governor seemed resolved to depart with ANTONIO on Thursday for Roan, because he saw the latter so impatient for it, tho' he inform'd him again the night before, that he had orders from the king, that ANTONIO should not leave Dieppe till after his majesty was acquainted with it.

In another letter from Dieppe to the earl on the 14 of August¹, ANTONIO informed him, that the duke of Nevers had sent his only son to Cambray, as a pledge of his resolution and care to assist the governor and city; and that on the day before letters came to Dieppe from Paris and Roan. Those from the latter were written by the duke DE MONTPENSIER to the governor of Dieppe, declaring his determination to succour Cambray, and that he was preparing to be there with his troops on the 10th of September, N. S. desiring the governor to do the same; and adding, that as the king was coming towards Picardy, he wanted to be there before his majesty. The letters from Paris were from signor DE LA PÉ-NILLA of Arragon to ANTONIO PEREZ, who being expected in that city, was resolved to go and meet the king, or at least to be at Paris before him; for which reason he was to depart for Roan the next day, Friday the 25th of August, N. S. and on the 26th, N. S. added at Roan a Postscript to the former part of his letter, which he had intended to have sent from Dieppe, by Monsieur CHEVALIER, but was disappointed, that gentleman having gone away uncivilly, without taking leave of his hosts, though he was soon punished for it by a storm, which arose after his departure. ANTONIO being weary of continuing longer idle at Dieppe, went from thence to Roan, where he arrived on the night of the 25th of August, N. S. and the day following visited the duke DE MONTPENSIER, who received him with great kindness, and told him many things of the king's good disposition towards him: To which ANTONIO, who thought proper to omit no opportunity of declaring his mind, answered, that he was come to France upon being sent for, with a firm resolution of delivering himself up intirely to the king and his service; but was unwilling to be troublesome to any person, or to pay his court for the sake of bread, since his stomach would be contented with a little; with other things to the same purpose. He takes notice in this letter, that the court was much more divided, than when he left it. He intended to proceed to Paris within four days, Monsieur D'INCARVILLE offering to accompany him thither, that gentleman attending and assisting night and day, and shewing the greatest demonstrations of affection, in order to reconcile him to the leaving of England for France; which however was beyond the power of any person to do, ANTONIO finding nothing agreeable in the absence of the earl of Essex, and being ready to take any occasion to abandon France, if it could be done consistently with his duty to the king. The duke DE MONTPENSIER had inform'd him of the duke DE MAYENNE's having agreed with the king, and of the conditions being sign'd, and that the duke would immediately come towards Picardy.

¹ Vol. v. fol. 179.

He wrote again to the earl of Essex on the 1st, 2d, and 3d of September, N. S. * mentioning his having sent to his lordship five letters since his departure from Canterbury. In this letter he takes notice of his having received one from his friend GIL DE MESA, dated in July, relating, that he had been sent for by Monsieur VILLEROY, who ask'd him about signor DE LA PINELLA of Arragon, and his character; to which GIL DE MESA answer'd, that he was a gentleman, but fit for any bold attempt or enterprize of any kind. Upon this Monsieur VILLEROY shew'd him a letter (GIL DE MESA did not write whence, but probably from Flanders) describing PINELLA in the same manner, and adding, "Beware of him, for he has offered the Spaniard a great and signal service in the person of ANTONIO PEREZ, and the king of France, and has already received 6000 ducats of gold to undertake such an action, and is set out. He is attended with two companions, one a monk disguised in a secular habit." These were the contents of the letter. GIL DE MESA added, that he had been injoin'd secrecy by Monsieur VILLEROY.

While ANTONIO was with Monsieur D'INCARVILLE, the governor of Havre de Grace came in; upon which ANTONIO went away, and was afterwards sent for by Monsieur D'INCARVILLE, who told him, that he had been informed by that governor, that one BURLE, an Englishman, of forty years of age, fat and tall, with red hair, had come to him, when ANTONIO was passing over into England with the vidame, and propos'd to him the gaining of 100,000 ducats of gold, if he would intercept ANTONIO, and deliver him up alive, or if dead, 50,000. The governor's answer to the Englishman was, that he was not a traitor, but a soldier; and so dismissed him. ANTONIO observ'd, that the chief reason of his mentioning these things, tho' past, was, that his lordship might take care of the queen's safety. Monsieur D'INCARVILLE added, that BURLE was already known to the English court by his own and the letters of others; and that he was then in Flanders.

A merchant, who arriv'd that day from Bilboa, whence he came within eighteen days before, related, that forty or fifty ships were fitting out in Portugal to pursue Sir FRANCIS DRAKE, and the fleet commanded by him.

The king, as was reported, particularly by the duke DE MONTFENIER, would come post to Picardy, and be within fifteen days at Paris. ANTONIO had consult'd that duke about his departure, who offer'd him a sufficient guard, but thought it better for him to wait till the 4th of September, when he might have the company of Monsieur D'INCARVILLE and others of the king's officers, who were to go to Paris.

ANTONIO expresses great concern and surprise at not having heard from the earl, and especially from Mr. ANTHONY BACON.

He mentioned the death of ANTONIO king of Portugal * on the last Saturday in August, and that of Don MARTIN DE LA NUCA, who was kill'd by a French

* Vol. vii.

* He died of grief at Paris, at the age of sixty-four, on the 26th of August.

THOMAS, l. cxiii. p. 602.

soldier

soldier by a shot from a window of a mill-house, whither Don MARTIN had gone to complain of some injury done to his servants. This accident gave great pain to his friend ANTONIO, who observes, that he had no other comfort but a just reason of leaving France on that account, and retiring into some cave, being weary of every thing in his absence from the earl.

That he had on the 2d of September received an answer from the king, a copy of which he sent his lordship, and that he would on the Monday following depart for Paris, where the king would be on the 15th of that month, N^o S. as he wrote to the duke DE MONTPENSIER, who would go thither the same day with ANTONIO, in order to assist Cambray, where 3000 horse and 8000 foot collected from divers parts, it was said, would meet in a few days, among the latter of which were to be number'd 5000 Swiss. The king was expected there soon after. The duke of BUILLON, in a letter dated on the 1st of September, and received the 3d, inform'd the duke DE MONTPENSIER, that count DE FUENTES had begun first to besiege the citadel of Cambray, but afterwards chang'd his scheme, finding it too strong; and that part of his army, which he expected daily from Friseland, was not yet arriv'd, without which he was not able to lay siege to the town.

ANTONIO inclosed in his letter an account of the affairs at Rome, and the alteration of the pope's disposition towards the king; and he added, that his majesty had intrusted the government and care of Roan, while the duke DE MONTPENSIER should be absent, to Monsieur DE LA CHASTE, whom that city, with the king's officers and the lieutenant of St. Catharine, were very willing to admit. That the agreement with the duke DE MAYENNE was finish'd; that the duke DE NEVERS was kill'd going from the constable of Spain; and that the count DE TURIN was dead not in a duel, but of a dysentery.

He concludes his letter with desiring the earl to present to the queen his prayers for a happy reign of a thousand years.

Mr. GODFREY ALEYN, who had been recommended both by the earl of Essex and Mr. BACON to the service of ANTONIO PEREZ; having been desir'd by Mr. BACON to send him an account of the proceedings of his master, wrote to him after their arrival at Roan^r, informing him of their having continued fifteen days at Dieppe, where ANTONIO was often feasted by the governor; and on the 25th of August, N. S. conducted by him with fifty of his own horse very well appointed towards Roan, dining at Lacqueville, where they staid, expecting the governor's troop, which came thither, being about 100 horse, who attended ANTONIO to Roan, under the command of the lieutenant, the governor himself being oblig'd to leave him there on account of other business. He arriv'd at Roan the same day about seven a clock, and as soon as he enter'd the city, was waited upon to Monsieur D'INCARVILLE's house to supper, and the next morning went to see the duke DE MONTPENSIER, who with most honourable favours entertain'd him, and kept him to dinner, during which as well as before it he shewed him such honour, as all, who were witnesses of it, were extremely surpris'd; and upon ANTONIO's introducing

to the duke Mr. WYLTON and Mr. WISEMAN, as two gentlemen, whom the earl of Essex had sent to accompany him to France, the duke received them with great civility, and desir'd them to stay dinner. ANTONIO was likewise invited to the chief president's house, and every day visited the duke; but he long'd to be at Paris, and intended to begin this journey the day after the writing of this letter. Signior BASADONNA's slackness in sending him the 525 crowns, which he ought to have remitted to him long before, troubled him very much, as he had occasion for that money on account of the great charges, which he was at of eight crowns a day for his own company, consisting of nine men and nine horses, himself, and his three men, and five horses, Mr. WYLTON, and his two men, and three horses, and Mr. WISEMAN, and his boy, and one horse. "These charges, says Mr. ALEYN, with Signior BASADONNA's slack dealing with him, the king of Portugal's and Don MARTIN's death, with some body's proud behaviour towards him: (I may excuse myself and WILL. RYVET) make him so melancholly, as he is seldom merry.

"But ever I find him most light-hearted, when he discourseth amongst the Frenchmen of my lord's most honourable using of him in England, and of your love to him, insomuch as he will not stick to say, that France must pardon him, if he reports better of England than of France; for in the one he saith he hath received much, and in the other he hath but been promised much. If you should doubt, whose pride angers him, it is their pride, that so long as my master was in England, was humility, but now in France it is become very pride. And yet Mr. WISEMAN continueth my lord's command, whereas the other is somewhat to blame: but he is in some sort to be borne withall, being the first time, as he saith, that ever he waited of any man. But he is deceived, for he is my master's fellow in all places. But I beseech you pardon me for writing this most rudely, being only incited to it by my master's discontentment therein."

Mr. ROLSTON, on the 22d of August 1595, sent a letter to Mr. BACON from Fontarabia³, that on the saturday morning before the army had departed from Passage, being in all 35 ships, of which two were of war, and the rest merchants. don DIXO DE BROCHERO had orders to go directly to Lisbon, where he would understand more. He took with him about 1000 soldiers, and about 1200 mariners. At Lisbon they were to join the Adelantado, and then they would have 50 ships in all, and 1200 soldiers, and to go, as it was said, to meet the fleet, coming from the Portugal Indies with the conde DE FERIA, a Portuguese, and general of all the ships belonging to the crown of Portugal. The king of Spain had sent 200 horse-loads of money to Ferrol to pay the soldiers there, and in Portugal, and upon that coast. It was thought, that the Adelantado had a design upon the coast of England that winter; but with what number of men and ships, no man knew. It was said likewise, that the pope and that king had agreed to make war against the queen. It would appear when the treasure should come, what that king's pretence would be in that respect. The Scotsmen were yet with-

³ Vol. vi. fol. 5.

out dispatch, and much discontented with their delay. Of late there had been put to death at Madrid 30 persons of distinction, *per el peccado nefando*.

Mr. HUDSON wrote likewise to Mr. BACON on the 26th of August^r, that he had left at his house a letter of the earl of Mar to himself, in which some words were blotted out, that were only matters of sport; and that he understood, that the king of Scots, in his progress, intended to draw that earl and the lord chancellor to a meeting at Hamilton, when he himself would endeavour to reconcile them; which nothing would prevent, except the lord chancellor's friendship with the lords of Baclugh and Cesford, who were the chief of the faction against the earl of Mar.

The disputes between the queen and the states-general, about the business of her reimbursement, having made it proper to take care of the cautionary towns, THOMAS lord BURGH and Sir ROBERT SIDNEY, the former of whom was governor of the Brill, as the latter was of Flushing, being sent to their respective charges^r, lord BURGH wrote on the 27th of August, 1595, a long letter to the earl of Essex^r, in which he observ'd, that at the writing of his last, he was exceedingly troubled with pain, whereby he had omitted to enter into that, which ask'd more from him than thankfulness of his pen. But because that should not be wanting, which in some measure he might yield, he would be grateful therein, and in the earl's commandments serve to the full of him, whom his lordship own'd before all the world. He presum'd to write to his lordship the state of the army, which he protested he esteem'd not worth his lordship's eyes; "but as
" in every thing, *says he*, your noble disposition amends by favour what is my
" error, so I perceive your love stretch'd to grace my rude collection into a better
" interpretation, than any man, but by your judgment in applying and enamelling
" the sense, could have made. I now walk abroad with my hurt leg, to which I
" will give no ease, till I see the affections of the people settled upon the propo-
" sition of reimbursement; for in my garrison a number of defects must be supplied
" with diligence. Our want is as general of men as munition. Of this not to
" suffice for a skirmish; of those not to guard half the walls. The companies be-
" six, and the Lord knoweth, the captains (and with good reason) hold them
" strong, if they be complete 120 men in a band. I leave to your lordship's con-
" sideration, how we be provided, if the country waver." He then proceeds to
complain of his own grief; and tho' he could not hope for remedy, yet in vexation
it was some ease to impart that burden, of which so virtuous a person as the
earl would wish him discharg'd. "I am, *says he*, made acquainted, that in all
" speeches had of me, her majesty intitles me with the name of the most villain and
" dishonourable to her court. It is not, that the words are sensible to me, as that I
" see, upon the advantage of a base practice by my enemies, she will serve herself
" to exclude me from all grace, which I might expect. What then is the hope of
" my endeavours, or whence shall I attend credit or commodities? Imagine, my

^r Vol. v. fol. 207.

SIDNEY from London, Sept. 2. 1595. SIDNEY'S

^r Letter of ROBERT BEALE esq; to Sir ROBERT SIDNEY, vol. i. p. 345.

Vol. v. fol. 213.

" dear

“ dear lord, if these feeling impressions be not burdalous. Nevertheless, I will
 “ stand against them with this comfort, that to contend in the course of honour
 “ and honesty, without hope of reward, is more glorious, than to be led by pride.
 “ In the means of these lowest employments I will preserve this reputation to be
 “ honest. And tho’ her majesty reward my good intent with such terms, as pleaseth
 “ her to afford, she shall be served of all the power that is in me. Yet do I endure
 “ the solitariness of the place, the unpleasantness of the air, and all discommodities,
 “ as a mere penance, because this employment is dignified above my reach, and
 “ myself thrown down with most vile objections.”

What he could gather concerning the payment of the money due from the states-general to the queen was this, that they would be driven to such an annual pension, as would ease her majesty of the ordinary charge of her companies, letting the great account run on, till the reckoning be evened, and their state more enabled. He had speech with some of them before he departed the camp, and found them much dissatisfied; yet thus far they lean’d to a kind of satisfaction: “ Your lordship, *says he*, may imagine the accounts, when they be entered into, will be confused; for they begin to lay hold on all profits made by checks, as also of the thrift in the clothing, victualling, and other orders established, to draw the wars to less cost. In private conferences with me, they have discovered thus much; affirming, that as her majesty did but disburse, and they were answerable, so being likewise to defalk what were on either side reasonable, they doubted not but her majesty would allow this exception, wherein they were assured she would shew, she had not sought gain by her money and people lent to relieve them in their wars. In the repetition of these things it shall be most honourable to those, who have not shared it in the benefit; for they by likelihood have sifted into every circumstance what commodity had been raised, and into what hands distributed.”

Just as he had written this, he received a letter from Sr. FRANCIS VERE to this effect, that count MAURICE had directed his cousin count PHILIP to beat the enemies guards, and to surprise the foragers with 500 horse; and that himself would favour their retreat in the way between both armies (if he were pressed) with four or five regiments, on foot, and the residue of his horse*. The enemy being advertised by their spies, mounted to encounter count PHILIP, who was accompanied by the young count SOLMES and his own brother ERNEST DE NASSAU. The English horse was commanded by Sir NICHOLAS PARKER. The Dutch companies were two or three; and all were to receive direction from count PHILIP. They disposed themselves to fight in squadrons. In the first charge that count was sorely wounded, and not to be brought off†, and the other two counts taken prisoners, and that troop broken. The rest maintain’d their ground well, and put some of the enemy to rout, but were rechased, and KINGSBIE a Dutch captain slain. Captain ROBERT VERE leading his brother’s horse, and giving charge with the rest, was

* DE NASSAU.

† See a particular account of this action in MERTEN, l. xviii. fol. 381.

‡ He died the night following.

§ Count SOLMES died three days after, and count ERNEST was ransom’d.

missing;

missing; but it was not certain, whether he was dead or taken. The soldiers lost were not fifty. The enemy left as many; but by the quality of the persons remaining with them the day was theirs. The foot had no part in the action. Their own came unpursued, and related the story. "Your lordship, *says lord*
 "BURGH, may perceive in this what effects must follow to a fearful general, whose
 "want of resolution begets infinite errors. For in the project of this attempt
 "nothing is found; which you will better look into, when I shall describe what
 "way they had to pass. The enemy is lodged in an island. Between him and
 "ours the access by certain fords over a small river called the Lip. Hereby as
 "the passage is not without difficulty, so the retreat must be impossible: for when
 "500 horse be invested in the face of an army, which may fight in all his strength,
 "and still charge them with fresh supplies, their end must be to be scattered; and
 "then being divided from their friends by a river, which is wadeable but in fords,
 "the enemies must needs hurl them headlong into the water, or at the bank cut
 "their throats. But the escape was more fortunate by the doubt of the enemy
 "than providence of ours. Next I observe a desire in hand to make a shew of
 "fighting where it could never come to blows, and a serving to make safety to his,
 "of whom it must be determined before they could come to him. The impediment
 "of the water, as I have shewed it to be a hindrance to our retreat, so must of
 "necessity, if we get the advantage to recover one shore, stay the execution. But
 "if any cause might be left of lying in the way with foot, yet is he inexcusable in
 "bringing forward 5000, which in these parts hath the sound of an army, and
 "advancing them no nearer than where he might hear news of those, whom he
 "could not rescue. It was without all purpose, for the enemy could pass no
 "infantry to him; and if there were a necessity by pursuit of their horse, 1000
 "pikes and 1500 * would with more honour have performed this journey.
 "To conclude, his fear hath given him this blow, for if he would boldly have
 "gone on, and with all his forces have fought, taking reasonable time to pass his
 "army, which in despite of the enemy he might have done, the odds had been
 "more his than now theirs. For I know our foot are better, and 3000 stronger
 "than theirs, and their horses bad, and exceed not ours 300 in number. Therefore
 "fore chose he rather, because he loves not to meddle, to lose three of his cousins
 "in a camifade, than to venture upon good terms and worthy resolution to win
 "honour. If your lordship find me impatient in my censure, reform my fault with
 "your wisdom: but truly, tho' in the seven weeks I was amongst them I waxed
 "an enemy to their backwardness, yet I write as I understand by the nature of
 "that, which I believe I am acquainted withal. It may be, this may warm them
 "to some farther action."

He then expresses his regret, that by the calling away of Sir FERDINANDO GORGES he was tied to the Brill; being at that present ready to run all fortunes of his life; and concludes with these words, "Noble earl, make me still happy by
 "your love: it is dearer to me, than all the world besides. For it I give myself."
 His lordship soon after made application to the queen for leave to return to England, but was denied it till the beginning of January 159², when his request was granted*.

* Letters of the SIDNEY family, vol. i. p. 357, 361, 385, and 386.

This lord BURGH, baron of Gainsborough, and knight of the garter, born at his father's seat at Gainsborough in Lincolnshire^a, had been sent in 1593 ambassador into Scotland, to satisfy king JAMES, that earl BOTHWELL had come secretly into England, and that her majesty would punish those, who harbour'd him; to excite that king against the Spanish faction, and to procure a new association of the protestants in Scotland in defence of the king and their religion against all foreigners and seditious persons^b. In 1597 upon the recalling of Sir WILLIAM RUSSEL from Ireland, he was appointed lord deputy of that kingdom, contrary to the general opinion and the particular expectation of Sir JOHN NOREYS, who, on account of his merits and military abilities, had promised himself that post, and died soon after thro' vexation of his disappointment. Lord BURGH, tho' a man of great vigour and resolution, might indeed from his almost total experience in war be thought less qualified for this station, at a time when the rebellion was very formidable there; but his activity gave great hopes of success, when he was cut off by death before he had held his dignity of lord deputy a year^c. His chief talents lay in the business of embassies, being furnish'd with all the advantages of person, address, skill in languages, and political knowledge, as well as of a considerable fortune^d.

His lordship's observation with regard to the disposition of the states general towards the satisfaction demanded by the queen for the monies due to her, makes it necessary to remark, that Mr. BODLEY, who had fallen under her majesty's resentment for coming over with a proposition from them to that purpose, was at last sent back to the Hague, probably about August 1595, with new instructions, to demand of them 100,000 pounds in ready money, and to protest, that if they would not now determine, all exceptions, excuses, and delays set apart, to return her majesty such an answer, as she might find they had some feeling of her manifold deserts and present necessities, she would not only revoke her succours from thence with all expedition, but make her grievances known by some public declaration, whereby the world might take notice of want of conscience in their dealing. However, he was directed, that if, after all kind of earnest and fit expostulation, he should see by certain tryal and true inspection into reasons produc'd in their answers, that they were not of ability to pay 100,000 pounds, unless it were extorted by rigour and extremity, he should then, as of himself, put them secretly in hope, that if they yielded to some other, tho' not so great a sum of money, he would not stick to recommend it to her majesty's good acceptance. But yet withal he had a caveat, that if they would capitulate in their offer to her, to retain any part of her forces, he should notify to them; that whatever they would grant, she expected to have it in a portion of money, without any mixture of conditions^e. But not being able to bring the states to a compliance, he was at last commanded to effect the very same project, which he had before carried to England, and for which he had endur'd so much bitterness and grief^f; and in conclusion he brought them to these terms; that they would consent to a discharge of the auxiliary entertainments,

^a LLOYD's State Worthies, p. 591.

^b CAMDEN's Elizabeth, p. 635.

^c Id. p. 701, 703.

^d LLOYD, p. 492.

^e Mr. BODLEY's account, printed in Mr. THO. HARNES's notes on CAMDEN's Elizabeth, vol. iiii.

^f Ibid. p. 941.

^g Ibid. p. 944.

which would ease her majesty of at least 40,000 pounds a year, upon condition, that her intention might be known two months before: to make an annual presentation of 20,000 pounds, to be paid every time by public legation on her majesty's birth day; but not to be continued beyond her reign: to assist her majesty, if there should be occasion, with their shipping and other sea-provisions, and to come to no accord or pacification with the Spaniard, unless with her consent; and to discharge the sum of 400,000 pounds in four years, but payable only to her majesty's person *.

Mr. EDMONDES attending HENRY IV. at Lyons, wrote from thence to the lord treasurer, on the 27th of August 1595 ^b, that the king having compounded with the inhabitants of Loan le Saunier for 25,000 crowns, and establish'd a garrison there, left the army under the care of the marshal DE BIRON to take some other castles down towards Bresse, and came himself secretly to Lyons, the preparations for his entry not being ready, for which reason he did not publicly shew himself till the 25th of August, when he made his entry, which was perform'd with great solemnity, but with small joy, on account of the news brought thither of the besieging of Cambray, which extremely astonish'd them, not knowing how to give relief to it, the king having no foot in all these parts, and the few Swiss in his army there, whom he desired to send away, refusing to go without being satisfied with their arrears of the pay due to them, as had been promised, of the money expected out of Franche-Comté, wherein the king found himself deluded, the people of Bezançon, who gave him letters of exchange for the sum of 30,000 crowns, to receive at Lyons and other places the like for other sums, having fail'd in their payments, and now refusing to satisfy the same; so that he was very much perplex'd how to procure money for the Swiss. In attending the provision of this he wrote to all parts for all his other forces to assemble to go to the succour of Cambray, promising to follow himself with the forces of those parts with all possible expedition. But it was doubted, that the news would sooner be brought to Lyons of the loss of that place; since the difficulty of finding money for the Swiss and the treaties of the dukes DE MAYENNE and D'ESPERNON would too long detain him there to help the other necessity. He had likewise written to the states general to desire them to draw up their army to the assistance of Cambray, and hop'd, that it would please the queen to favour him with some troops.

The duke DE MAYENNE still drew his treaty to length with new demands on account of the ill situation of affairs in Picardy, and insisted to have the government of the isle of France in the name of his son, and to be allowed the term of three months before he should declare himself, in order to give advertisement to his allies, and to persuade them to the like conformity, affirming himself able to range the duke DE MERCOEUR with him. But it appear'd to be only to gain time himself, that he might see how in the mean season the treaty of duke D'ESPERNON, the negotiation at Rome, and the affair of Picardy should succeed; and accordingly govern himself afterwards. However the necessity of the court forc'd them to conclude with him upon any conditions; and they hop'd now within a few days to effect it.

* Ibid. p. 952, 953.

^b Vol. vi. fol. 30.

They had again sent to the duke D'ESPERNON, to receive assurance of the time of his coming to Valence; whose answer the constable of France expected, to go to meet him there. He demanded in recompence of quitting the government of Provence, to have the countries of Limosin, Perigord, Blaye, and certain islands in those parts to be annexed to his government of Angoulmois: but this was held a large demand, and too dangerous for the king to grant to make him so great in those parts. He requir'd also, to the end his going out of Provence might not give him any dishonour of being forced thence by Monsieur LESDIGUIERES, that the king should also draw Monsieur LESDIGUIERES down with him into Picardy.

The constable of Castille had retaken Rochefort and Pefme, which the king took in Franche-Comté. The deputies general of the cantons of Swisserland were in treaty at Lyons for the restoring of the neutrality there, which the king shew'd himself contented to grant, so as the constable of Castille should retire with his forces into Italy, without marching them into Picardy or the Low Countries. But the constable refus'd to assent to it, declaring, that he would be at liberty to dispose of them as he should think good: that, for his own part, he desir'd nothing more than to return to Milan, being, as he was utterly ignorant, so extremely weary of the wars.

The king determin'd to leave the marshal DE BIRON with some forces in those parts both for the defence of his government, and to oppose himself against the enterprizes of the duke of Savoy. That duke still entertain'd the king with the opinion of his desire to come to a reconciliation with him; and for that purpose deputed certain of his, the count MARTINENGES, the baron of Amanse, the first president of Chamberry, call'd ROCHETTI, and one Monsieur LAMBERTI, to treat with others, whom the king should appoint; and, as it was said, made offer to give the king Bresse in exchange of the marquisate of Saluzzes.

Tuesce, a strong place upon the river of Saone, which greatly incommoded those parts, and Tisy, another castle near Rovanne, which both held for the late duke of Nemours*, had since his death surrender'd to the king. His brother†, the new duke, was seeking also his reconciliation.

Tho' many great manifestations were receiv'd by the French court from Rome of the pope's good inclination, yet they seem'd hitherto to settle no assurance thereof till better proof, both because they doubted, that the pope would seek to carry things to length, and because they fear'd, that he would govern himself according to the time, as he should find their affairs to prosper; and therefore they apprehended, that their ill success in Picardy would there prove much to their disgrace.

At Genoa they still attended the coming of the cardinal of Austria, to go to govern in the Low Countries, who was said to bring with him four millions; and that the count of Buren, brother to count MAURICE, was coming with the cardinal.

* CHARLES EMANUEL duke de Nemours died at Annecy in Savoy, in August, 1595.

† HENRY DE SAVOYE.

The king would shortly send the marquis of Pisani^a for the prince of Condé; and having given commission to Monsieur DE LA TREMOUILLE to levy in Poictou a troop of 500 horse to serve him in Picardy, had appointed him to attend to escort him with it.

Upon the death of marshal D'AUMONT^b the king had given the government of Dauphiné to the prince of Conti, and Monsieur LAVARDIN had his place of marshal; and marshal BRISSAC was appointed to go to be lieutenant of Bretagne, and Monsieur Saint Luc remov'd to the place of Monsieur D'HUMIERES of lieutenant of Picardy, and was also promised the mastership of the ordnance by the resignation of Monsieur DE LA GUICHE, who, in lieu thereof, was to be made lieutenant of Lyonnois, Beaujolois, and Forest. Count THORIGNY died with many others in the expedition into Franche-Comté, and since that MORLAS^c, who, after having always made profession of the reformed religion, died a very obstinate and superstitious papist^d. Monsieur LESDIGUIERES arriv'd at Lyons on the night of the 26th of August, and was very kindly receiv'd by the king.

Mr. EDMONDES delay'd sending away this letter till the morning of the 28th, to attend the issue of the duke DE MAYENNE's treaty, which he then learn'd was concluded with the condition of the truce for three months; but the French court yet kept the knowledge of it secret.

The same day he sent a letter to the earl of Essex^e, to inform him, that he had receiv'd his lordship's letter concerning ANTONIO PEREZ, and with it another to the duke of Bouillon, which he would immediately send to ANTONIO, and endeavour to do him all the service, that should lie in his power: but that ANTONIO would too soon find the difference between his lordship's usage and the entertainment of the French, who had never less humanity than at that time. The king had directed ANTONIO to attend his return, either at Paris or Roan, as he should like best.

Mr. EDMONDES doubted not but that his lordship had heard of the foul murdering of Don MARTIN DE LA NUCA, in Franche-Comté, by the marquis of Ruffer and his people, with a pistol, in a mill upon contesting to grind corn; "such, *says he*, was our necessity then, and many other times, of want of bread." The party, who kill'd him, was fled, and no other justice done. Sir HENRY DAVERS, who was alone with him, exerted himself very much in his defence, and had prevented the mischief, if they had not us'd pistols.

The king found now the wrong, which he had done himself by the pickering expedition into Franche-Comté, both in the loss of time, which had cost him so

^a JOHN DE VIVONNE, marquis of Pisani.

^b JOHN D'AUMONT, count de Châteauroux, baron d'Estabonne, one of the greatest captains of his age. He was made marshal of France in 1579.

^c He was a native of Bearn, and natural son of the president SALETTE, maintain'd at first by the charity of the queen of Navarre. He was design'd

for a minister of the reform'd church, but soon afterwards abandon'd that profession, as he did at last his religion, and died at Mascon, August 26. 1595, N. S.

^d L'ESTOILE, tom. ii. p. 228, 229.

^e Vol. vi. fol. 23.

dear in Picardy, as also being delivered of the profit, which he expected thence. For if at such time, as he first enter'd that country, he had accepted the offer made him of eight score thousand crowns to have restor'd the neutrality, and gone immediately to Lyons to have dispatch'd those things, which depended upon his presence there, he had been enabled to pay his Swiss, and might have been a month before back in Picardy, to have prevented the mischiefs there. The constable of France protested against that expedition, and only the marshal DE BIRON violently inforc'd it, for which he had the general curses of all men, as all had endur'd a miserable sufferance there; Mr. EDMONDES affirming, that this journey would utterly bankrupt him.

There happen'd the night before, August the 27th, an accident, which it was fear'd would stay the king some while longer at Lyons than he intended, Madam DE MONCEAUX being brought to bed before her time of a daughter, and the child dead. However he promis'd, that he would depart with the utmost expedition.

MORLAS died as he liv'd, being grown a most corrupt man, and most pernicious enemy to the reformed religion.

Monsieur DE BEAUVOIR LE NOCLE, who had been ambassador in England, had not been at court since the king's departure from Dijon, being at his house, whence he could not stir for want of money; and the vidame was also absent since their leaving Paris, for the like cause.

The Spaniards seeming to threaten the queen's dominions with an invasion, the earl of Essex about this time drew up the following memorial to her majesty^a:

" Your majesty hearing, that your great enemy means to draw you to a defensive war, is to consider, what are the general provisions against invasions; and the likeliest designs of your enemy.

" The general provisions are,

" 1. Money: and therefore if your coffers are not full, you should forthwith make such, as do best understand matters of figures, set you down honourable and easy ways to get treasure.

" 2. A navy; which your majesty doth very providently purpose both to arm and strengthen.

" 3. Artillery, munition, and all sorts of arms, which are forthwith to be fought, and a proportion to be made by your best captains.

" 4. Victuals, as corn, butter, cheese, bacon, and such like meats, which are given to armies, magazines whereof are to be made in divers parts of the realm.

^a Vol. v. fol. 180.

“ 5. Able and trained foldiers. And therefore muster-masters must be sent
“ down into all the shires of England, which shall see the people armed and train-
“ ed ; and upon the first alarm of the enemies approach, all the old English com-
“ panies in the Low Countries to be sent for, and raw men to be sent in their
“ places.

“ The enemy’s likeliest designs are,

“ 1. By Scotland, because there they may have easily ports for their shipping ;
“ and then they are upon the same continent with us.

“ 2. In Ireland, where they have a part already in rebellion.

“ 3. On the river of Severn, where they may enter with their smaller ships,
“ and have the haven of Milford for their great ships, and so by fortifying some
“ passage upon the river of Severn they will seek to cut off Wales from England.

“ 4. In the west or south west parts of England, where, if they can get a port,
“ and fortify it, they shall keep both sides of the narrow seas, having the coast
“ of Bretagne already.

“ Against the enemy’s attempts by Scotland, your majesty must first strengthen
“ the borders and all places of importance there, especially Berwick and Carlisle.
“ You must also have a magazine of victuals and munition at Newcastle, which
“ may supply all the wardenries, and serve for any army, that shall be sent that
“ way. You must have all the forces of Northumberland, Cumberland, West-
“ morland, bishopric of Durham, and the farthest part of Yorkshire, to make a
“ head towards the borders upon any sudden attempt of the enemy, and some
“ one head to command them : and these forces must be seconded by the forces
“ of the higher parts of Yorkshire, and those of Nottinghamshire and Lincoln-
“ shire. The rendezvous of the first should be Newcastle, and of the second
“ York.

“ Against an invasion in Ireland, your majesty must send supply both of men,
“ money, victuals, and munition ; for they lack all. And you must have a fleet
“ ready to send thither upon the first news of the enemy’s coming hither. For
“ your two kingdoms being divided by sea, cannot without a navy succour one
“ another, if there be an enemy’s navy to impeach you.

“ The best havens there must be made defensible ; for if they possess not them,
“ they can do your majesty no hurt that way.

3. “ Against the enemy’s design upon Wales and the river of Severn, your
“ majesty must fortify three places in Milford Haven, which I will shew you upon
“ the chart ; for if you keep that haven from them, they will have no safe place
“ for their great shipping. Also your majesty must make some fortrefs upon the
“ river of Severn, that goeth to Bristol, and strengthen Bristol itself, as well as
“ it may be for the time. I was never there, and therefore cannot design the
“ places.

“ places. But I will go down in a day, if it please your majesty, and see all places,
 “ that may either give your majesty strength, or the enemy advantage. Also you
 “ must have all the forces of Wales to be ready under one head, to answer all
 “ alarms, and those to be seconded by the counties of Hereford, Gloucester,
 “ Shropshire, Derby, and Stafford.

4. “ Against an invasion in the west or south west parts your majesty must have
 “ Plymouth well guarded, and the fortifications finished; for it is the key of that
 “ country. Also Falmouth, Dartmouth, and Portland must be well strengthened
 “ and guarded, for they are all good ports. You must have all the forces of
 “ Devonshire and Cornwall to be ready of any sudden under one head, and they
 “ to be seconded by Somerset, Dorset, and Wiltshire.

“ Hampshire is to supply Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight with the garrisons of
 “ both, which must be remembered upon the first discovery of an enemy's fleet.

“ Sussex, Kent, Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk to guard their own coasts, and all
 “ the other shires to furnish the body of a great army, which is to be about your
 “ majesty's person, and in the heart of your country, and to supply any other
 “ army, that hath the enemy in head against it.”

Mr. STANDEN, who was at the court at Nonsuch on the 2d of September, 1595, in a letter to Mr. BACON^a inform'd him, that the queen had been that morning with her council in the chamber of the lord treasurer, who was now somewhat better of his legs, arms, and neck, which had been seized with the gout. That Sir ROGER WILLIAMS was presently after with her, whom she was dispatching to the French king wherever he be. That the earl of Essex was very well, and would give any thing to know the truth of the Spaniards arrival in Ireland, which was darkened at court, or rather not spoken of. That SANCHE Pardo, mist so long with his ship of three millions, was now arriv'd in Spain safe. That Sir ROBERT CECIL *beav'd hard* to be secretary; and that the queen's removal was deferr'd, and her stay at Nonsuch expected to be till Michaelmas.

The news of Scotland was written to Mr. BACON in a letter from Edinburgh on the 4th of September, 1595^b, that the earl of Athol died on the 30th of August, by poison, as was suppos'd; and that the queen of Scots made great instance to have that lordship in a gift, either for herself, or for the prince, because that earl had no issue male; so that by an old contract the earldom would fall into the crown again. The earl of Orkney was likewise very solicitous to have it, because, as he alledg'd, he was *superexpended with long attendance in court the last year*. The lord Otheltine was then with the king at Stirling, requesting for his uncle captain JAMES^c, the late chancellor, that his majesty would repossess him in that office, and create him earl of Athol. The lord chancellor MAITLAND was

^a Vol. vi. fol. 33.

^b Ibid. fol. 31.

^c STUART. He had formerly been stil'd earl of

Arran, and created chancellor in 1583; but in 1585 was depriv'd of all his honours. SPOTSWOOD, p. 337, 343, and 353.

now in effect mortally sick, and could not be brought to sleep by any remedy, that his physician could devise; for his mind and body were both afflicted. Upon the 2d of that month of September he sent for some of the ministers of Edinburgh, and three of them went the next day to his castle of Lauder.

The young knight of Lochmour, Sir ROBERT GORDON, as he was riding privately in Nithisdale, not far from Dumfries, with his face cover'd, being often demanded by some gentlemen of the MAXWELLS, what he was, and giving them ill words, and refusing to tell, was wounded with two bullets, one shot into the left rein, and passing thro' as high as the left pap; the other into the shoulder, and passing to the jugular veins, where it stuck.

The king remain'd but a night in Hamilton, it being fear'd, that the lord of that place should divert his mind from the old chancellor.

The sickness of the lord chancellor of Scotland was owing to his sense of the king's displeasure, to whom, after he fell ill, he sent his nephew, Sir ROBERT COCKBURN, the secretary of state, to excuse his late conduct with regard to the earl of Mar, and with a solemn protestation of his fidelity in all his majesty's services, now at his death to commend his lady, children, and friends to him. The king being highly affected with this, wrote a very kind letter to him with his own hand; which did not recover him from his disease, of which he languish'd till his death on the 3d of October, 1595, having before his death express'd to Mr. ROBERT BRUCE and the ministers of Edinburgh a great contempt of the world and its vanities, and his regret for not having done the good, which he would and might have done in his place, being prevented; as he said, by the malice of his adversaries, who were ever plotting his destruction. He is represented as a man of rare parts and learning, full of courage and of thorough fidelity to the king, tho' he had consented to the queen's design of taking the prince from the earl, between whom and himself there had been secret emulations; nor did ever any man act in his post with more wisdom, or maintain it with more firmness against his enemies, than he did*. His poetical genius appears from his Latin epigrams; but his wit was too often indulg'd in satire against the nobility, whose resentments he incurr'd on that account†. The king's esteem of him, and concern for his death, appear'd from the epitaph, with which he honour'd his memory..

Mr. STANDEN being still at Nonsuch, wrote on Friday the 7th of September, 1595, a letter to Mr. BACON‡, informing him, that the lord treasurer was very ill, and spoke with none; and that a dispatch was made the day before into Ireland, and Sir JOHN NORREYS recall'd, in order to be, as was judg'd, the chief commander in France.

ANTONIO PEREZ arriving at Paris on the 10th of September, 1595; N. S. wrote from thence to the earl of Essex two days after§, that he had been attended

* SPOTSWOOD, p. 410, 411:

† ROBERTI JOHNSTONI *histor. rerum Britannic.*

l. vii. p. 202, 205:

‡ Vol. vi. fol. 35:

§ Ibid. fol. 2.

thither by a considerable body of soldiers and Monsieur D'INCARVILLE, who the next day came to him, and ask'd him, whether he knew signor DE LA PENILLA, which ANTONIO answering in the affirmative, the other desir'd him to beware of PENILLA; and told him, that the council of state was solicitous above all things for his security, which had been recommended to them by the king; and that they were desirous, if he was willing, that he should lodge in the Bastille, the ordinary guard of which were soldiers; but that if he did not approve of this, they would appoint four of the king's guard to attend him night and day. Monsieur D'INCARVILLE inform'd him likewise, that the council had desir'd him to see the lodging design'd for ANTONIO; and to let him know, that the king, upon his arrival, would give farther directions for his entertainment. ANTONIO the same day went to see the Bastille.

About this time the queen dispatch'd to France a friend of the earl of Essex, and probably by his lordship's recommendation, Sir ROGER WILLIAMS, a native of Monmouthshire, who had at first serv'd under the duke of Alva, and afterwards distinguish'd himself with such bravery and success, as to be rank'd with the principal commanders of his own age, and, tho' uneducated to learning, author of a very valuable history of the wars in the Low Countries*, in which he had been engag'd.

The earl took the opportunity of sending by him a letter to ANTONIO PEREZ, with duplicates of three others, which he had sent by the ordinary courier. In this letter he tells ANTONIO, that of the queen's reasons for dispatching Sir ROGER WILLIAMS to the French king, and of the several points of his commissions, that gentleman himself would inform him, as well as why the letters, which he brought to ANTONIO, were so short, being sent away in great haste and of a sudden. "For we are, *says the earl*, solicitous about the state of the French affairs, even we, whom you know to be so slow in all points. If you, you, I say, in France knew us, you would not manage business with us in the manner, in which you do. Nay, if you consider'd human nature, you would not send to us such empty embassies. For what impells men but appetite and terror? Let them give with a liberal hand: all things are to be sold with us. They imitate God, we usurers. We know how obstinately to deny those, who humbly ask. But Juno herself, after she had in vain implor'd help, at last broke out,

Fletere si nequea superos, acberonta movebo;

"alluding to that *Pluto* of Spain, who has his name from his riches. But be silent, my pen, and be silent, ANTONIO; for I think I have read the poets too much."

The original of the earl's letter was in these words: "Misi ad te tres epistolas per JOHANNEM MASSY curforem ordinarium. Earum jam exemplaria ad te mitto. Cur missus ad regem sit ROGERUS WILLIAMS, & quæ in mandatis

* It was printed at London, 1618, in 40.

Vol. vii. fol. 39.

"habet,

“habet, ipse declarabit; cur etiam tam breves ad te desert literas. Festinat enim, & subito hinc dimittitur. Solliciti enim de rebus Galliæ sumus & nos, quos tu nosti tam in omnibus esse segnes. Si vos, vos, inquam, in Galliâ nos nosceretis, non ita, ut facitis, negotia nobiscum tractaretis. Imo si naturam humanam consideraretis, non ita inanes ad nos mitteretis legationes. Quid enim homines impellant nisi appetitus & terror? Dent beneficia liberales: apud nos sunt omnia venalia. Illi Deum imitantur, nos sæneratores. Novimus humiliter petentibus constanter denegare. JUNO autem, cum sæpius frustra open implorasset, tandem erupit, *Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo*; ad PLUTONEM illum Hispaniæ, qui a divitiis nomen obtinet, alludens. Sed tace, calame; & tace, ANTONI, nimium enim poetas legisse videor. Vale a tuo, &c.”

ANTONIO PEREZ on the 21st of September, N. S. * answer'd the earl's letters, which had reviv'd him, approving of the preparations in England against the Spaniards, and the expedition of Sir FRANCIS DRAKE, both which shew'd, that the kingdom did not want power or resolution to defend itself or annoy its enemies, who would be much employ'd and annoy'd by DRAKE, since the Indians would be ready to rebel from their own disposition, and the injuries, which they had receiv'd from the Spaniards. He added, that he readily believ'd what his lordship had written concerning the dispatch of the Scots embassador, being well acquainted with the temper of the lord treasurer, who was remarkable for not making a right disposition of his mistress's money, and for treating the ministers of other nations and foreigners with great moroseness.

He wrote another letter to the earl on the 22d of September, N. S.† acquainting him, that he had receiv'd his letters sent by Sir ROGER WILLIAMS, who had inform'd him of the purpose of his message from the queen to the French king, to offer that king an army of eight or ten thousand men, under the conduct of the earl, upon certain conditions. ANTONIO asking Sir ROGER, What conditions? the latter answer'd at first in general, and then added, that the king should deliver up some forts to the friends and confidants of the queen. ANTONIO expresses great satisfaction, that so good an opportunity was likely to be offer'd to his lordship of exerting himself for the public advantage. He mentions, that Sir ROGER went that day towards the king, who was expected within five or six days at Paris, whence ANTONIO had not stirr'd, having orders to wait for him there, tho' he had not omitted to inform him, that it was of importance to his majesty's interest to give him an audience immediately. He adds, that having read over and over again his lordship's letter to himself deliver'd him by Sir ROGER WILLIAMS, he could not but imagine, that there was some deep secret conceal'd, but that he was not curious to search into it, being satisfied with his lordship's friendship and confidence, without pretending to be inform'd of particular business; and that the reason of his inquiries of Sir ROGER was, that what that gentleman had in commission from the queen concerning him, might be prosecuted with diligence and resolution.

* Vol. vii. fol. 36.

† Vol. vi. fol. 1.

In another letter to the earl, dated the next day, September 23, N. S. * he observes, that upon Sir ROGER WILLIAMS's unexpected arrival at Paris, on the 19th, he had gone to him, as a friend of his lordship and himself, and for that reason; as well as for the warmth of his temper, highly agreeable to him. Sir ROGER had inform'd him, that the earl had ordered him to acquaint ANTONIO, that his lordship expected his return to England, if he was not satisfied with his residence in France; and that the queen had commanded him to let the king know, that her majesty had intelligence of some designs against ANTONIO; and that he was not secure enough at Paris, but that it would be more safe for him to live at Calais, or Boulogne, or in Holland, with such marks of favour, as the king should think proper to confer upon him, to which her majesty would add her own. ANTONIO imputes this to the interest and zeal of the earl in his favour, and seems to hope from thence, that his lordship would be able to call him to England; and mentions what the queen had said, when upon his notifying to her his intentions of departing within a few days, she, among other assurances of her favour, said to him, "ANTONIO, what one king cannot do alone, we will both do." He assures his lordship, that if he could obtain leave to wait upon him in Flanders, he should think, that fortune began to look upon him again; and that his best fortune would be to live and die with him. He adds, that Sir ROGER WILLIAMS had promis'd to execute what he had in commission relating to him with the utmost vigour; and that he found himself in great danger at Paris; some discoveries being made of designs against him. Signor DE LA PENILLA was seiz'd upon strong suspicions; for after having begun to treat with ANTONIO and Monsieur DE LA FORZA about the expeditions, and not liking the questions of the former, tho' they had agreed to meet the next day, he determin'd to make his escape, for which purpose he secretly dispos'd his horses, and the night following came disguis'd to inquire more than once for ANTONIO, who was carefully watch'd by Monsieur DE LA FORZA, both from his own regard for ANTONIO, and his knowledge of PENILLA, having been inform'd by marshal DE MATIGNON, as the latter had been by a noble Arragonese his friend, that PENILLA had received 7000 crowns from the disturber of the earth, as an earnest of the reward, which he should receive for his service against ANTONIO and the French king.

Mr. GODFREY ALEYN having received a letter from Mr. BACON, dated on the 11th of August, 1595, return'd an answer to it from Paris, on the 21st of September, acquainting him of ANTONIO PEREZ's arrival at Paris, on the 10th, N. S. and that he was at first lodg'd in an inn by the appointment of Monsieur D'INCARVILLE, where he continued eight days, and was then by the advice of several of the council, remov'd to a very fair house, which had for some time belong'd to the duke DE MERCOEUR. Here he still continued, the council having appointed for his security two soldiers continually to attend upon him, as likewise a cook; there having been discovered much mischief practis'd against him and the French king by one PENILLA, who was imprison'd.

In his journey from Roan, he stay'd at St. Germain's, where he went to see the king's sister, by whom he was most honourably entertained, and to whom mention-

* Vol. vi. fol. 33

* Ibid. fol. 41.

ing, that the two gentlemen attending him, Mr. WISEMAN and Mr. WYLTON, belong'd to the earl of Essex, she admitted them, as also Mr. ALEYN, and his fellow Mr. RYVET, to kiss her hands. She being now come to Paris, ANTONIO visited her on the 20th of September, and was carried by her in her coach to see a comedy acted in one of the Colleges; which honour surpris'd many persons, but gave him great joy, and occasion to boast of it. But notwithstanding all these favours, he was extremely melancholly, having had nothing given him yet but fair words and kind letters, which he knew he could not live by. However, it was reported, that the king was purposed to give him a pension of 4000 crowns a years: But it seem'd, that he car'd for no pension; and Mr. ALEYN thought, that before it was long, (unless, when the king spoke with him, he might with some certainty be perswaded to the contrary) he would return into England; for he wonderfully lov'd the earl of Essex, and continually boasted of his lordship's favours to him.

“ Signor BASADONNA, adds Mr. ALEYN, abuseth my master mightily; and indeed is a great cause of his melancholy, for he hath not only kept back his money from him for this long time, but also, where he should send him 525 crowns, he hath sent him but 300, promising to send him the rest God knows when. But I pray you, Sir, let me beseech this favour of you, that it may not come to my master's ears, that I give you intelligence hereof. For I know he loves signior BASADONNA so well, as if he should know, that I do advertise you thereof, he would be mightily angry with me, altho' I know, that unless it be through your means, he shall not in haste have the 225 crowns.”

Mr. DAVID FOULIS, who had been sent to England by the king of Scots, after his return to Scotland, wrote to the earl of Essex a letter in French, dated at Falkland the 27th of September 1595^b, assuring his lordship, that since his return he had confirm'd the intire good opinion, which the king, his master, had always entertain'd of the queen of England; and that, for his own part, as long as he should have any interest, it should be employ'd on all occasions in increasing and improving that good opinion. That the chancellor had not yet seen his lordship's letter on account of his sickness; upon his recovery from which, he would return to an intire friendship with the earl of Mar, for the advancement of the public good, and undoubtedly abandon the society of CEsFORD and BACKHORN, because the queen of Scots began now no longer to authorise them in what they demanded. That the countenance, which the chancellor had given them in that matter, was to divert their ill intentions from his majesty and those, whom he lov'd, his affection being certainly violent towards some persons. That the king had gain'd much upon the queen, who began to accommodate herself intirely to his humour; and there was great reason to hope, that all things would go well there. That his majesty had received little or no contentment from the sum of money, which himself, Mr. FOULIS, had received in England; but was firmly perswaded, that he should receive more, and waited to return his thanks to queen ELIZABETH for the whole together.

Mr. EDMONDES being return'd to Paris, wrote to the lord treasurer from thence on the 25th of September 1595^c, that the French king leaving his council to follow

^b Vol. vi. fol. 72.

^c Ibid. fol. 25.

him from Lyons arriv'd at Paris in post on the 20th, preparing to depart immediately to the succour of Cambray : but on the night of the 24th he received advertisement, that the enemy having made a battery of five or six thousand shot upon the town, as they made shew to come to the assault, the inhabitants, partly out of astonishment, and partly from ill affection to BALAGNY the governor, told Monsieur DE VIC⁴ and the rest of the men of war, who were there to have defended the breach, that they would provide for their own safety, since they judg'd them not able to defend them ; and forc'd them to retire into the castle, and capitulated for the receiving of the enemy⁵.

This news greatly astonish'd the king and all men at Paris ; and thereupon the king departed on the morning of the 25th, in order to try what good he could do by the way of the castle. But considering his want of means, it might be said it was more for form's sake, than out of hope of any good effect. He sent again into the Low Countries to hasten the coming away of the 3000 men, which they had newly granted him of augmentation above their former numbers ; and on the next day Sir ROGER WILLIAMS was to receive his dispatch of him at Pontoise, in whose company he would send to the queen Monsieur DE LOMENIE, the secretary of his cabinet.

They had again received news at Paris from Rome, that on the 17th of that month, N. S. the pope had in public, with great solemnity, given absolution to the king, in the person of the bishop of Evreux⁶ ; and that the greatest ceremony of joy was perform'd there in applause of it.

The truce with the duke DE MAYENNE was publish'd at Lyons, as on the 26th or 27th it was to be at Paris⁷. And it was said, that the duke DE MERCOEUR would likewise accept the same.

Mr. EDMONDES had been earnestly intreated by Monsieur DE LA PRIMAUDAIE, who was authoris'd one of the deputies of the reform'd religion with Monsieur DE LA NOÛE, to send to the queen his third volume of the *Academie Françoise*, which he had dedicated to her, in which point Mr. EDMONDES could not refuse to gratify him, desiring to know her majesty's acceptance of that work, in order to signify it to the author. He requested likewise an answer from the queen to the constable's letter, which he had sent long before, since in the reiteration, which the constable had made, of the profession of his service to her majesty, he had often demanded of Mr. EDMONDES, whether he had not received an answer to that letter.

“ As it pleased her majesty to command me, *says Mr. EDMONDES*, I have inforc'd myself to perform the voyage of Lyons, which, without the help of the
 “ alms-deeds of good friends, I had not been able to have done. Yet such hath
 “ been the misery thereof, as I have therein spent more than I am worth, and now
 “ being arriv'd here, I am forced to seek a new equipage for the journey of Pi-

⁴ DOMINIQUE DE VIC, fleur d'ERMENONVILLE xviii. fol. 382.

afterwards vice-admiral of France. He died in 1610, soon after the death of HENRY IV.

⁵ L'ETOILE, tom. ii. p. 233—239.

⁶ Ibid. p. 232.

⁷ THUANUS, l. cxiii. cap. vi. & METEREN, l.

“ cardy,

“ cardy, being unfurnish’d, both of horses and money, and all other provisions,
 “ whereby I am not presently able to follow the king. I humbly beseech your
 “ lordship therefore to be pleased to give me leave to declare faithfully unto you
 “ my unableness to subsist longer under the burthen of this service, and most
 “ humbly to pray your lordship to be a means unto her majesty, that she will be
 “ pleased for her better service to discharge me, thereof. For to furnish more than
 “ is in my power I am not able; and I am therefore compelled to desire, that the
 “ justness of my complaint may be examined, and I either received, as is fit for her
 “ majesty’s servant, or otherwise dealt withal, if I shall merit it. In attending
 “ your lordship’s favourable sollicitation of her majesty’s pleasure herein, I will in
 “ the mean time, as soon as I can, follow the king.”

In the postscript he adds, that the people of Bretagne had lately sent to Paris to pray the king not to give them the marshall of Briillac for governor; for that they were resolv’d not to obey any such as he, whom they might suspect to have intelligence with the league. The nobility and principal gentlemen of the reformed religion had appointed, under other pretexs, to assemble at Paris in the month of January; and in March following the churches general were thereupon also to hold an assembly.

Mr. BODLEY, after his return to Holland, being not unmindful of Mr. BACON’s request to hear from him concerning the state of affairs there, wrote to him from the Hague the 30th of September, 1595^a, that the enemy kept his forces fast by those of the states general without biting or barking; “ and all that while,
 “ *says he*, we can do nothing. We are wonderfully afraid, that the loss of
 “ Cambray will prove a great matter for the enemies advantage. We have no
 “ letters of the loss, but the talk is so abroad, and we account it cannot hold.
 “ For the king is too slow, and his means are too weak; and we fear underhand
 “ some practise of attonement between him and the Spaniards, whereof the sequel
 “ in appearance will be the ruin of these countries; which will give us work in
 “ England. It may be notwithstanding, that we are more afraid than hurt, the
 “ king intending no such matter. But sith he hath received the pope’s abso-
 “ lution, which is the devil and all, there is reason to misdoubt, that he will
 “ work his own security; and that by hook or by crook, without regard unto his
 “ neighbours, to whom, I am perswaded, he doth not think himself beholding.
 “ I do nothing in my message but sit still, and take many dilatory answers, which
 “ I doubt, when all is done, will engender no money. I pray you call to mind,
 “ that I have told you oftentimes, that I had proved a happy man, if some other
 “ had taken this message upon him; and that it would be conceived in continu-
 “ ance of time, that I deserved at the least a gracious welcome home.”

The earl of Essex having on the 1st of October, 1595, received letters from ANTONIO PEREZ, ordered Mr. EDWARD REYNOLDS, one of his secretaries, in whom he had most confidence, to send them to Mr. BACON, which Mr. REYNOLDS did in a letter dated that day, in which he acquainted him, with the earl’s indis-

^a Vol. vi. fol. 61.

^b Vol. iii. fol. 62.

position, who had taken cold the day before by playing at ballon, and tho' he had been pain'd all that day in his head, he had not spar'd himself in perusing his dispatches, so careful was he of her majesty's service. That his lordship had received some other letters from ANTONIO and Mr. EDMONDES, though not of a fresh date, which he intended to communicate to Mr. BACON; and that by the reckoning of those letters the French king must have arrived at Paris before that time, tho' there was yet no certainty of it, nor with relation to Cambray.

Mr. ASTON, on the 3d of October, 1595^k, answered from Edinburgh a letter of Mr. HUDSON, of the 23d of September, which he had received that day at his coming to that city to take his leave of Sir WILLIAM KEITH, who was to depart the next day. He observes, that news brought thither that day was very grievous to himself, the lord chancellor, who had been in sundry perils, being then in much greater than before. "The ministers, *says he*, and other friends of his "are sent for this day in great haste. It is likely the first news, that comes, will "be his death, which I am sorry for, both for the weal of the king and my own "particular. It will make a great alteration. It will be hard to get a good "man in his room. Altho' he had his own imperfections, yet he was gentle and "kind for his government of the estate."

Mr. BACON having written a letter to Sir WILLIAM RUSSEL, lord deputy of Ireland, the latter return'd him an answer from Dublin, on the 11th of October, 1595^l, and acquainted him, that he had within a few days past by the apprehension of a priest at Drogheda, bound with letters from the traitor earl of Tyrone into Spain, discover'd, that the rebels in those parts practis'd assistance from thence, and for that purpose pretended religion to be the ground of their entering into arms; which was the most dangerous course, that could be devised amongst that superstitious people; so that if the queen did not prevent it speedily, that kingdom would be indanger'd. "My motion therefore unto you, *says he*, is (for I hope a "request I shall not need to make it) that if you can learn any thing of the Spaniards purpose to come hither, or of any private and secret intelligence with "any of this nation, you would give me notice thereof by letters; and you shall "please me very greatly."

Mr. HENRY CONSTABLE, a zealous Roman catholic, whose religion seems to have occasioned him to live in a state of banishment from England, took occasion to write to Mr. BACON from Paris on the 6th of October, 1595^m, beginning his letter with observing, that it had been his own good fortune once to be belov'd of the most part of the virtuous gentlemen of his country; and that he did not think, that he had deserv'd their evil liking since, "To you only, *says he*, I was "never known. Howbeit I have had a long desire to offer my service unto you "for those reports, which I have so often, and in so many places, heard of your "deserts. If I were as I was once reputed, I should hope you would not contemn "my profered service; and as I am, I despair not. I trust, I have given my lord "of Essex sufficiently to understand the dutiful affection I bear to my country;

^k Vol. vi. fol. 62.^l Ibid. fol. 43.^m Ibid. fol. 24.

“ and all my catholic countrymen, that know me, are witnesses, how far I am against
 “ violent proceedings; and there is nothing but my religion, which can prejudice
 “ me; which I cannot dissemble, and which, tho’ it be not approved by you, yet
 “ seeing you were not reputed of that irreligious society^a, which denieth the truth
 “ of all particular religions, I must needs think, that, among your other virtuous
 “ studies, you have not omitted the care of your soul’s affairs. And if you have
 “ entered into such holy inquiries, and therewithal considered the manner how true
 “ religion was planted; how it was promised to increase and continue for ever; how
 “ heresies were foretold to arise; how they did begin at first, and how and by whom
 “ they were ever extinguished in the end; and compare all former divisions in religion
 “ with those of our time, I make no doubt, what clearness soever many of my coun-
 “ trymen had in their bibles, that they will easily judge thus far, that an honest man
 “ may be a catholic, and be no fool. And farther I need not write, because my
 “ purpose is not to prove my religion, but to excuse myself. Howbeit if by look-
 “ ing into the uncertain state of things to come by reason of the said-division,
 “ you did desire an union, which neither by the severity of the laws against us, nor
 “ by the practises of ours, is to be brought to pass, it is the thing in the world I
 “ would desire the most to confer with so virtuous and so wise a gentleman as you
 “ thereof, to whom I would open the way, not only to clear all difficulties in the
 “ cause (which is too easy) but of removing all, which might make the enterprise
 “ seem hard or dangerous, and of preventing all mischiefs, which every way may
 “ be feared to follow, as well of obstinacy in a bad begun course, as of innovation.
 “ Marry seeing, without assurance of your acceptal of my letter, I am too pre-
 “ sumptuous to enter into those particularities, which among the privatest friends
 “ should not be committed to writing, I am only to desire of you to be honoured
 “ in the rank of your servants; and if you will permit me to write unto you, I
 “ refer it to you to set me the bounds of the matter I shall write of, and I will not
 “ pass them; whereas the opinion of such a reader may tempt me to write too
 “ much, as I fear I have done; and therefore committing you to the safe keeping
 “ of God and his angels, I humbly leave.”

This Mr. CONSTABLE was probably the same with a gentleman of both his names, descended of a family in Yorkshire, and educated in the University of Oxford, who was eminent for his poetical genius, as appears from several sonnets of his address’d to Sir PHILIP SIDNEY, some of them prefixed to Sir PHILIP’s *Apology for Poetry*^b. He was afterwards imprison’d in the Tower of London, whence he was released in the latter end of the year 1604^c.

In the beginning of October, 1593, some English fugitive at Antwerp, who pass’d under the names of P. FITZ JAMES and J. SEGRAVE, sent a letter to Sir ROBERT SIDNEY, governor of Flushing, desiring a passport for himself to come thither, in order to inform Sir ROBERT of several things of the utmost importance to him, as well as to the queen and her kingdoms. Sir ROBERT accordingly sent a passport from the States for SEGRAVE and his servant, inclos’d in a letter to the former,

^a Such a society has been affirmed to have subsisted during some part of the reign of queen ELIZABETH, and Sir WALTER RALEIGH has been

rank’d among them.

^b WOOD, Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 14.

^c WINWOOD’s Memorials, vol. ii. p. 36.

dated at Flushing, the 8th of October¹, assuring him, that neither he nor his servant should receive any trouble in coming and returning, or during the time they should have just occasion to stay in those parts. But before the receipt of this, SEGRAVE wrote to Sir ROBERT from Antwerp, on the 12th of October, N. S.^{*} complaining of his former answer; representing his regard for him on account of his own obligations to Sir ROBERT's parents, and his concern, that he would not admit him to come to discover some secrets of the highest consequence to be known; and expressing his surprise, that a man of Sir ROBERT's wisdom would deal so timorously and negligently in things of so great importance. He requested therefore, that if Sir ROBERT would appoint no other place for receiving him, it might be at least at the lodging of one PETER BELLMAKER, a merchant in Middleburgh; whither he would come, as soon as he should receive the passport; which he desired might be immediately sent, since by his not coming Sir ROBERT would suffer more than he imagined, whereas by his coming that gentleman might be advanc'd to what his heart could wish, and become the first and greatest person after the queen and the lord treasurer, by the service, which he would do by his intelligence to her majesty and the whole realm.

Sir ROBERT answer'd this letter on the 9th of October², that this second letter of SEGRAVE being to the same effect as the former, he confirm'd the answer, which he had before return'd. "Touching the love, *says he*, you so much profess unto me, I pray you know, that I know no friends but those, that love the queen my sovereign, and hold all those for enemies, that love not her. For the timorousness you touch me for, in that I have made you answer no sooner, truly I fear not what he can do, whom you would have all the world afraid of; much less am I afraid of what you can say unto me; and I am too well known not to be trusted with you, or any other man of your quality. But indeed I remember how idle your last dealings were; and therefore made no great haste to give ear unto you. I shall blame myself, if this prove like the other, for yielding now the second time to your importunities. When you come to Middleburgh, I pray you stir not from your lodging till I hear from you, that I may take such order, as shall be convenient."

Mr. SEGRAVE on the 9th of November return'd an answer³ to this letter of Sir ROBERT SIDNEY, complaining, that the passport sent him was only for his going, without any mention or clause for his return; on which account he could not repair to him, as he wish'd, to make known things of such importance, as he had intimated before, and which he represents as absolutely necessary to the preservation of the queen and her kingdoms. And because Sir ROBERT did not seem to be sufficiently sensible of the present danger, he thinks proper to advertise him briefly of such chief things, which might be committed to a letter, as were then held and confirm'd for true by the wisest and best persons.

1. That the king of Spain had provided and come unto that year from the West and East-Indies and Peru, forty-five millions of treasure.

^{*} Vol. vi. fol. 114.

² Fol. 55.

³ Fol. 114.

⁴ Ibid. fol. 116.

2. That

2. That he had in readines 50 gallies and galleasses, with ten other great ships and hulks, and above a hundred of smaller and lighter vessels, and above 60,000 men for manning them.

3. That he had made such provision of armour, powder, and all sorts of munition of war, as neither he nor any other christian prince before him had ever done.

4. That he would either alter the religion and present government of England, or bestow all that he had in the world.

5. That the king of France was so afraid of the king of Spain's treasure and preparations, that he would make peace with him by any means whatsoever, and to that end rather than to omit it, would break with the Turk, England, Holland, Zealand, and all others; his nobility, cities and subjects in general being incapable of assisting him any longer on account of their poverty, occasioned by the length of the wars.

6. That the cardinal of Austria, now call'd the archduke, was appointed governor of the Low Countries, arrived at Villa Franca, on the 11th of October, and was expected to be in Flanders before the end of that month of November, with four or five millions of treasure, and with him the prince of Orange, who was restored to all his revenues, with 2000 crowns monthly pension besides, and gone from the place of landing to salute the pope, and would again overtake the cardinal before his arrival in the Low Countries.

7. That there would be a peace with France, Holland, and Zealand, by midsummer 1596 (if not sooner) so assuredly, that thousands were wagered, and offered by princes and several of the best rank in the Low Countries.

8. That England was most certainly to be invaded, and that the chief instruments of the present government there to be absolutely destroyed, as the principal enemies to the faith and quiet of all Christendom, with those only besides, who should resist; while all others, who would be catholics, were to be spared, and likewise employed, as the only true friends of the faith and realm.

9. That there should be such a king set up in England (if the queen would not be a catholic) as the realm should choose, being a catholic) and in league with the pope, the king of Spain, and all such catholic princes as join for extirpation of heresy, and planting of the catholic faith throughout Christendom.

10. That the king of Scots must either be a catholic, or lose his title to any kingdom.

11. That there were already shipp'd in Spain 10,000 men, with arms, and all provision for 6000, who were thought to go first for Ireland, and after for England; and that England should be invaded at one time in three or four several parts.

12. That the lord treasurer especially, with all his instruments, and all their posterities, were to be utterly pursued and extinguished, as the chief causes of the troubles of all Christendom, and destruction of the realm.

13. That there was coming with the cardinal or new arch-duke 1000 mariners.

14. That things prospered so much in all parts against the Turk in Hungary, Croatia and Transilvania, that the prince of Transilvania having several victories against him, and two great ones of late, and taken from him the city of Lippa with the castle, had written to the emperor, that he hop'd shortly to make him the entry into Constantinople.

SIR ROBERT SIDNEY inclos'd this letter on the 12th of November, 1595, in one of his own from Flushing to the lord treasurer, together with copies of his answer to SEGRAVE, and another of SEGRAVE's letters to him. He desired now to know the queen's pleasure, whether he should send for SEGRAVE or not, who had return'd his passport, because his return was not assured in it; tho' having Sir ROBERT's letter, he needed not to have made any doubt of it, since there was none in Zealand, who would have troubled him, the passage being but too free between that and Antwerp. But that he was resolved to provide for his safety; and the cause, why he dealt so plainly in his letter, seemed to be, that having made his intent known beforehand, Sir ROBERT could not, suffering him to come, have any just occasion to stay him. Besides having a direct passport from the States for his coming and going, it might breed some confusion between them and Sir ROBERT, if the latter should do any thing against it, especially having procur'd it himself. "But his drift," *says Sir ROBERT*, your lordship sees, is to affright me with the danger, that the state of England now stands in, and particularly myself, as a man hated of the king of Spain, and appointed to destruction; and therefore with great protestations of love and care of me to offer me means both to provide for myself in time, and with all promises of great benefits, if I will follow his advice. And I make no question, but this, which he doth, is by direction from far greater persons than himself, to try, if that by corrupting of me either thro' fear or promises, the king of Spain might possess himself of this place; for which I know he would give many hundred thousand crowns, assuring himself to come thereby to a full end of those wars here, and to a high step to prevail with England. But assuredly I trust, that her majesty believes, that it is not in desire, or fear, or hope to make me false unto her; and that belief will I ever confirm with the hazard of my life and fortunes. He would fain also make your lordship afraid; but therein he cannot do your lordship a greater honour, than to shew, that they, which hate the queen, do for her sake hate you also. I am very proud, that he puts me in the company of them, whom the king of Spain doth the honour to hate. But this is not the first time, that this fellow would have me know as much; and worthy of that honour will I ever be, by desiring his harms as much as may be, and with keeping a re-

“ solution not to wish to overlive the happy estate, wherein at this time England
 “ lives.” Sir ROBERT then repeats his desire to know the queen’s pleasure what
 he should do; declaring, that for his own part he could not see what other profit
 there might be than to hear SEGRAVE speak, “ for so fast, *adds he*, he will bind me,
 “ I doubt not, that I must either let him return, or be forced by some public
 “ justification to give reasons of my doings, to which I would not willingly
 “ come for such a poor priest as he is, considering, that hitherto I am clear, and
 “ not in any sort engaged in the matter, and that I cannot be ignorant with what
 “ merchandize he will come unto me. Besides also there will be questions to be
 “ decided with the States, because they must be made know the reason of this in-
 “ fraction of their passport.” He observes in the close of his letter, that at that
 time there was no news, the armies being of all sides in garrison, and the cardinal
 not yet come, whose arrival would give great cause of discourse.

Mr. BACON’s continual ill health having restrained him from waiting upon the
 queen after his return from his travels; her majesty about the beginning of Octo-
 ber, 1595, express’d some surprize at his not having for so long a time come to see
 her. Lady STAFFORD therefore acquainted his mother with this, advising, that
 Mr. BACON should think well of it at her majesty’s remove to Richmond.

Mr. THOMAS WRIGHT, the jesuit, who had return’d some time before from Spain,
 to give important intelligence, having obtained leave by means of the earl of Essex,
 to go into the north, to see his friends, Dr. MATTHEW HUTTON, who had been
 translated in February 1594, from the bishopric of Durham to the archbishopric of
 York, wrote to his lordship from Bishopthorp, on the 13th of October, 1595¹, that
 imagining Mr. WRIGHT to have been sent down by the council board, he had writ-
 ten to the lord treasurer concerning that matter. “ But now, *says he*, understanding
 “ by my good lord president, that your lordship sent him down, I am so bold, as to
 “ write unto your good lordship, and to pray you to look well to it, that you be not
 “ deceived. A jesuit, a man of state, an arch-traitor, continuing still in the very
 “ dregs of popery, and defending the most absurd points of that trash, without
 “ pardon, without keeper, with credit to be sent to his father, an obstinate recu-
 “ sant, to a country full of recusants, hath bred divers effects of sundry opinions
 “ in divers men. The papists gather, that now it appeareth indeed, that jesuits
 “ are good and dutiful subjects. The godly are afraid, lest it be a new policy,
 “ under colour of doing service to her majesty, to send him in to discover some
 “ things, that he may be of better service to the pope. And truly, my good lord,
 “ the depth of their reaches is hardly to be searched out. The children of this world
 “ in their generation are wonderful wise. And therefore, albeit I know your lord-
 “ ship to be very wise, and passingly affected to the preservation of her majesty’s
 “ most royal person, and the present state both of civil government and religion;
 “ yet because I fear, that *latet anguis in herba*, I hope your lordship will take in
 “ good part this caveat, proceeding wholly from a dutiful zeal to the queen’s most
 “ excellent majesty, and a deserved love I bear to your lordship. My lord president,

¹ Lady BACON’s letter to Mr. BACON, 9. October,
 1595, vol. vi. fol. 87.

² Vol. vi. fol. 89.

³ of the council in the North, HENRY HAS-
 TINGS, earl of Huntingdon.

“ who met him in his home-coming, telleth me, that he continueth still in that
 “ absurd and dangerous opinion of the killing of a tyrant, &c. unto which opinion
 “ if another be added, as true as it is, that he is a tyrant, who the pope sayeth is
 “ one, what may follow, is easily to be gathered. The man in my opinion is not
 “ deeply learned, yet skilful and ready in the most points now in controversy.
 “ Therefore if your lordship could persuade him to confer with learned men for
 “ his conformity in religion, it would do much good; and then it is like, that his
 “ intelligence is true. He seemeth to be of a good nature; and after admonition
 “ given by me, he became more circumspect in reasoning.”

The earl of Essex on the $\frac{1}{4}$ of October, 1595, wrote to ANTONIO PEREZ a letter in Latin*, which was the language us'd by them both in their correspondence with each other. In this letter he tells ANTONIO, that he wrote it, that he might not seem to have forgot him, tho' for the future he would not have him think, that love consisted in the diligence of writing or in many words. That he might perhaps be obliged to write shorter, and more seldom; perhaps with his own hand, and in his own style, but not according to his own sense; perhaps to some other person, and not to him, or the duke of BOUILLON, or others of his most faithful friends. That if he should see this, he should not consider it as ANTONIO PEREZ, but as a Spaniard, a man of years, and a secretary of state. That he should not desire explanations, for that his lordship himself was *Davus*, and not *Oedipus*.
 “ Hanc scribo epistolam, ne immemor tui videar, etiamsi cupiam ne inpostorem
 “ existimes amorem in diligentia scribendi vel in multiloquio consistere. Forsan
 “ enim brevius & forsan rarius scribere cogar; forsan mea manu meoque etiam stylo,
 “ sed non meo genio; forsan ad aliquem alium, non ad te, neque ad BOUILLONEM,
 “ neque ad fidissimos. Hoc si videris, ne, ut ANTONIUS PEREZ, ista perpendas,
 “ sed ut Hispanus, senex, & secretarius status. Vale, & ne expositiones expectes;
 “ *Davus* enim est, non *Oedipus*..

24 Octob. stilo novo.”

“Tuus ESSEXIVS.”

Two days after ANTONIO, in a letter to Mr. BACON†, acknowledg'd one from him by RIVET, and the joy, which he had received from the sight of Mr. BACON's Gascon servant JACQUES PETIT, who had delivered to him the message of his master, and by whom he had return'd an answer with all the fidelity due by the laws of friendship; and that Mr. BACON would be informed of other things from his letters to the earl of Essex.

Mr. BACON, on the 18th of October 1595, return'd an answer to the lord deputy RUSSEL's letter to him of the 4th, assuring him, that his kind acceptance of his last would make him more careful and ready hereafter to give him satisfaction by his diligence that way, as he should meet with matter worth his particular advertizing; for, as for the general occurrences, he doubted not of the lord deputy's receiving them plentifully from the spring head. “ The mighty preparations, says he, of Spain, whereof all the world take notice, and her majesty re-

* Vol. vii. fol. 40.

† Ibid. fol. 67.

• Vol. vi fol. 57.

“ceiveth.

“ceiveth daily alarms from all parts, were particularised and assured a good while since by an English priest”, who coming directly from Spain repaired first to myself, and submitted his life to her majesty’s mercy. If this man’s advertisements had been believed in time, as they deserved for their truth, many inconveniencies might have been prevented, and much charge saved, as her majesty herself now confesseth after dear proof, not without reproach to those, who upon envy towards my special good lord the earl of Essex, to whom I had address’d the said priest, sought to decry his most secret and true intelligences so much as they could with her majesty, who notwithstanding in her royal wisdom, and according to her accustomed clemency, pardoned the said priest, and gave him liberty and leave to visit his kinsfolks and friends in Yorkshire. I thought meet to signify to your lordship this particularity, by reason that by this priest’s means I expect daily advertisements out of Spain, which as I receive from time to time, I will not fail to impart to your lordship.*

Lady BACON reminded her son, in a letter from Gorhambury, of the 21st of October*, of the queen’s having shewn some surprise at his not having come to see her in so long a space; and at the same time her ladyship expressed a concern, that lord HENRY HOWARD was so often with him, being *subtiliter subdolan*.

Mr. WRIGHT, the jesuit, upon his return from the north, was appointed by the queen to be lodg’d in the house of Dr. GABRIEL GOODMAN, dean of Westminster†; for which purpose Mr. EDWARD REYNOLDES, secretary to the earl of Essex, on the 21st of October, 1595‡, sent Mr. BACON a letter, written probably by his lordship to that dean, ordering him to receive Mr. WRIGHT into his house, according to her majesty’s pleasure. Mr. REYNOLDES inclos’d to Mr. BACON, at the same time, a letter to alderman RADCLIFFE; and Mr. ARCHER, for apprehending by the best means in their power, and committing, the party, who had counterfeited Mr. WRIGHT’s hand. This letter was sent open to Mr. BACON, that he might peruse it; and Mr. REYNOLDES in his letter inform’d him, that Mr. GILLES MERICKE, the earl’s steward, had a seal, for the sealing of it, and would also send some gentleman to deliver it, if Mr. BACON should think proper; and that the earl had perused the conference between Mr. WRIGHT and one of the bishops, probably the archbishop of York, whose letter of complaint against the former is inserted above; and the earl ordered that conference to be return’d to Mr. BACON with this censure, that the bishop shew’d in it an old cold dull judgment, and Mr. WRIGHT a young hot cavilling spirit; and that it contain’d nothing but froth. Mr. REYNOLDES adds, that Mr. HENRY WOTTON, another of the earl’s secretaries, and afterwards famous for his embassies and writings, was a little displeased with him about Dr. HAWKYNs, “accusing me, *says he*, for that, which Mr. MERICKE delivered unto you, But I have carried therein, as in all my other charges, an honest respect to my lord’s service, and am not guilty to myself of any bad dealing in this information.”

* Mr. WRIGHT.

† Vol. vi. fol. 86.

‡ He held that deanery forty years, from 1561.

to 1601, in which year he died.

* Vol. vi. fol. 75.

How long before this, Mr. WOTTON had been in the service of the earl, is difficult to determine; but it was probably soon after his return from his travels, which appears to have been in the latter end of the year 1594. For in a Latin letter of his, dated from the court the 12th of December, 1596, to his friend ISAAC CASAUBON^a, with whom he had lived some time at Geneva^b, and who had distressed himself by being his surety for a considerable sum, which Mr. WOTTON did not repay till a year after, he mentions his having been return'd to England two years. ISAAC WALTON is mistaken in fixing his return from Italy to his own country to about the 30th year of his age, after he has represented him as born in 1568^c, since that computation would not admit of his entrance into the earl's service till 1598. But this is but one of the many inaccuracies, with which the lives compos'd by that honest writer abound. The share, which Mr. WOTTON had in his patron's business and confidence, does not appear either in his own *Remains*, or the papers of Mr. BACON, which latter only shew, that there was little friendship between that gentleman and him.

Mr. OTWELL SMITH, in a letter of the 22d of October 1595^b, acquainted Sir ROBERT CECIL of his having, according to Sir ROBERT's orders, furnish'd Mr. EDMONDES with such money, as he wanted for his journey to Lyons, which was 330 l. sterling since the month of March, and since his return from thence with 600 crowns more; so that Mr. EDMONDES had received of Mr. SMITH 180 l. above her majesty's allowance; which the latter desired might be repaid him, otherwise he should not be able to furnish the former with any more money, as he had likewise written to Mr. EDMONDES himself. Mr. SMITH adds, that he had receiv'd a letter from Monsieur D'INCARVILLE, then at Amiens, with HENRY IV. dated there the 18th of October, mentioning the death of the duke of Nevers, eight days before; and that the king had block'd up La Fere; that the cardinal of Austria was in his way to Flanders with great riches, and bringing with him the count DE BUREN^c: that the king was resolv'd to collect all the troops which he could, to oppose the great forces of the enemy, and would remain all that winter in Picardy: that the duke of BOVILLON was gone to Sedan about some business in those parts; and that the town of Otelles in Provence was surrendered to the king. Mr. SMITH observes, that the duke DE MONTPENSIER was then in Roan, whither Monsieur DE LA CHASTE, governor of Dieppe, was gone in his way to the king, who, it was feared, would oblige him to quit the government of Roan, which he held under the duke DE MONTPENSIER, and give it to Monsieur LE GRAND, which would be ill for all the English merchants and those of the reformed religion. For which reason Mr. SMITH wish'd, that the queen would write to the king in favour of Monsieur DE LA CHASTE, or desire Monsieur LOMENIE to speak to him to continue the government of Roan, under the duke DE MONTPENSIER, who was very much averse to the intended change, which with other

^a ISAACI CASAUBONI epistole, edit. Almeloveen, March 30th, 1568.

Rotterdam, 1709, fol. p. 644.

^b Vol. vi. fol. 56.

^c He arrived there the 22d of June, 1593. Sir H. WOTTON's letters to lord ZOUCH, Reliq. WOTTON, p. 710. Edit. 1685.

^d PHILIP, eldest son of WILLIAM I. prince of Orange. He had been carried from the university of Louvain, and sent into Spain in 1567, by the duke of Alva.

^e Wood, Ath. Oxon. vol. i. fol. 622, says

points to the advantage of Monsieur LE GRAND, were procured for him by the interest of the king's mistress madam de MONCEAUX.

Sir WILLIAM KEITH being in England at this time, with some commission from the king of Scots, Mr. BACON wrote to him on the 23d of October, 1593^d, that the earl of Essex accepted very kindly of Sir WILLIAM's affection and good will, and was well contented to receive that king's letter the next day by one of his servants, whom he might send with it to the court at Richmond, giving him charge to make no mention of Sir WILLIAM's having been with Mr. BACON, nor of his having sent any former word or message to the earl. Mr. BACON desired the favour of a second visit from Sir WILLIAM the next day, and that he would burn his letter in the bearer's presence.

The earl of Essex sending one Mr. ERSFIELD about this time to France, gave him the following instructions :

“ Upon your landing at Dieppe, I would have you deliver my letters to
 “ OTWELL SMITH, and agree with him of some course for the safety of your present passage to the king, and for the conveying of your letters hereafter from
 “ Paris hither, and from Dieppe to Paris ; for except it be by an express messenger,
 “ or some post known, the best conveyance will be by this means. When you
 “ come to the king, deliver my letters, which I have given you, to signior PEREZ
 “ and to Mr. EDMONDES, and if they be not there, write from thence the state
 “ of the king's forces and affairs, and then seek out signior PEREZ and Mr. EDMONDES where they are. If they be absent, by Sir CHARLES DAVERS's means
 “ you shall both come to the knowledge of things, and have opportunity to send.
 “ In my letter to Mr. EDMONDES, I have required him to help you with some acquaintance in Paris, by whom you may learn more, and be able to write better
 “ advertisements, than a mere stranger without such help can do. Besides I could
 “ wish you to seek to make use of your acquaintance and conversation in the
 “ places, where you live, which you will easily do, if you choose such company,
 “ as do know much, and have advertisements from many parts ; and also if you
 “ can enter into a course of traffic with them, giving the news of these parts of
 “ England, Ireland, and Scotland for payment of those of all parts of France,
 “ and of the frontiers : And to that end EDWARD REYNOLDES shall by the post
 “ send you the ordinary occurrences of those places named before. For the
 “ manner of writing your advertisements, I will leave you to yourself, only admonishing you, that at the first you rather strive to write all than to be scant,
 “ for upon new directions you may every day cut off when I have made you know
 “ what I think superfluous. Also strive to know *res gestas magis quam consilia*,
 “ not but that I think the latter of greater use ; but for that I think the former
 “ fall better into your course, and will be to be gotten, where if you shew yourself
 “ so curious of the other, you shall be paid with smoke. If I be scant in
 “ my directions, it is because the place of your residence is barren, and affords
 “ me so scant an argument.”

Mr. HUDSON acquainted Mr. BACON on the 3d of November, 1595¹, that he understood, that the packet arriv'd the day before contain'd a letter from the king of Scots to the queen. "I have willed, *says he*, Mr. FOULIS to wait upon you, "and to have your opinion what effect is like to follow thereupon towards him in "the king's affairs committed to him. He will be with you plain in all points, "and have your opinion and assistance; which I nothing doubt but it will please "you to yield for many good reasons known to yourself."

Dr. HENRY HAWKYNs, a civilian, and nephew to CHRISTOPHER YELVERTON, serjeant at law, and speaker of the house of commons, in the parliament, which met October 24th, 1597, being employed by the earl of Essex to send him intelligence from Italy, took his journey thither through Germany, and landing at Staden on the 7th day after his departure from London, wrote from thence in Latin on the 4th of November, 1595, to Mr. BACON², acquainting him, that the town of Lubeck had furnish'd a fleet of ships with gunpowder, and other naval and warlike stores to be sold to the Spanish admiral; and that the young king of Denmark had been lately at Hamburgh in his way to the duke of Brunswick, and was then with the bishop of Hall, the elector of Brandenburg's son, to demand one of his daughters in marriage. Dr. HAWKYNs desires of Mr. BACON, of whose friendship he had received so many marks, and on which he so firmly relied, that he would take care, that he might receive the remittances of money punctually, a point of great importance to him in a foreign and distant country; and that the affair, which would be so honourable to him, might be expedited as soon as possible. He observes, that he intended the next day to set out for Hamburgh with Sir WILLIAM KEITH, in whose company he left London, being recommended to that gentleman by Mr. BACON, in a letter of the 26th of October³.

Mr. STANDEN attending the court at Richmond, in a letter to Mr. BACON of the 4th of November, 1595, in the evening⁴, observ'd that the earl of Essex came the night before very sick from Cobham, nine miles on his way to Petworth; and that her majesty had been long with him that day, and ordered his broths and things; and that his lordship then rested and was somewhat better; but that it was impossible for him to be the next day at the star-chamber, "which I wish, *says he*, "were advised to the earl of Pembroke from me." He wrote again the next morning to Mr. BACON⁵, that the earl had been the evening before unquiet with the pain of his head; but, after eating a little about nine o'clock, felt more ease, and rested indifferently well the rest of the night. "Here are, *says he*, from her majesty continual visits by grooms of her chamber: And for the distast, true it "was, and that very bitter; but an occasion of greater content, and all is nearly "well; as to-morrow in the afternoon, at my coming, I will satisfy you; for "I will stay untill then to discover farther. Sir EDWARD STAFFORD hath again "taken his leave, and this day goeth to London, and so within two days to his "lady; but he hath used the matter so wisely and stoutly, as I judge he will be "call'd again. He will to-morrow in the afternoon be with you, and I doubt not, "confer with you. The Irish matters extreme desperate, and never worse with-

¹ Vol. vi. fol. 84.² Ibid. fol. 122.³ Ibid. fol. 79.⁴ Ibid. fol. 149.⁵ Fol. 147.

“ out doubt. HUNTLEY hath received in Spain 50,000 crowns, and is coming away. What revel that will make in Scotland, Sir ROBERT would ask you or any indifferent man. Out of Denmark and Dantzick are going to Spain (without Scotland and Ireland) sixteen fail of great ships, all new, laden with sails, cording, pitch and powder, which are all rods in pifs, and hitherto we sleep. Yonder bill for Fleming is signed ; but the queen hath staid it. The prisoner, as here is said, shall to the Tower, and that it will go hard with him.”

This letter of Mr. STANDEN shews, that the earl of Essex had been lately upon ill terms with the queen, tho’ they were then in a way of reconciliation. The occasion of this will receive some light from several letters in the collection of the *Sidney Papers*. In one from ROWLAND WHYTE, Esq; to Sir ROBERT SIDNEY, dated at London, Sept. 23, 1595¹, it appears, that Sir WILLIAM CORNWALLIS was often troubling the queen’s ear with tales of the earl, and that the earl of Southampton’s friends observing her majesty’s humours towards the earl of Essex, endeavour’d to bring the former into her favour, tho’ in vain. Mr. BEALE, clerk of the council, on the 25th of September, inform’d Mr. ROBERT SIDNEY, in a letter from his house at Barnes^m, that he had heard of a vile book dedicated to the earl of Essex, with a view of bringing him into jealousy and disgrace at court, and printed in English at Antwerp, touching the succession of the crown, defaming her majesty, and exploding all other titles to it, except that of the king of Spain, derived from JOHN of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster.

The title of the book was, “ A Conference about the succession to the crown of Ingland, divided into two parts, whereof the first containeth the discourse of a civil lawyer, how and in what manner propinquity of blood is to be preferr’d : And the second, the speech of a temporal lawyer about the particular titles of all such, as do or may pretende within Ingland, or without, to the next succession. Whereunto is also added, a new and perfect arbor or genealogie of the discents of all the kings and princes of Ingland, from the conquest unto this day, whereby each man’s pretence is made more plaine. Directed to the right honorable the earle of Essex, of her majestie’s privy counsell, and of the noble order of the garter. Published by R. DOLEMAN. Imprinted at N. with licence. M.D.XCIII.” In the dedication dated from Amsterdam, December 30, 1593, the author declares, that no man was more fit than his lordship for the patronage of a book, which treated of the succession to the crown of England, “ for that, *says* *be*, no man is in more high and eminent place or dignity at this day in our realm, than yourself, whether we respect your nobility, or calling, or favour with your prince, or high liking of the people ; and consequently no man like to have a greater part or sway in deciding of this great affair (when time shall come for that determination) than your honour, and those, that will assist you, and are likest to follow your fame and fortune.”

This book, as appears from a letter of Mr. WHYTE, from the court, dated November 5ⁿ, the day after that of Mr. STANDEN, cited above, had been shewn on the

¹ Vol. i. p. 348, 349.

^m Ibid. p. 350.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 357.

Monday preceding, November 3, by the queen to the earl, there being dangerous praises in it of his lordship's valour and worthiness, which did him great harm at court, and affected him to such a degree, that at his coming from court he was observed to look wan and pale, and fell sick; but the queen visited him on the 4th of November in the afternoon. His lordship was at this time mightily cross'd in all things, Mr. FRANCIS BACON being refus'd the place of Solicitor-general. Mr. WHYTE in a letter dated at London, Friday, November 7^o, observes, that the earl was now prepared to endure the malice of his enemies, but still kept his chamber; and in another of the 12th^o, that his lordship had thrown off the melancholy humour, which he had fallen into, on account of the book, the mischief design'd him being turn'd, by the queen's favour and wisdom, to his good, and her love to him strengthen'd; and Mr. WHYTE was inform'd, that within four days past many letters sent to her majesty herself from foreign countries were delivered only to his lordship, who was to answer them: And his device in the public tilting at court, which followed soon after, was much commended¹. Some time before his lordship came in himself to the tilt, he sent his page with some speech to the queen, who return'd with her majesty's glove; and when he came himself, he was met with an old hermit, a secretary of state, a brave soldier, and an esquire. The first presented him with a book of meditations; the second with political discourses; the third with orations of brave fought battles; the fourth was but his own follower, to whom the other three imparted much of their purpose before his coming in, and each of them endeavoured to persuade his lordship to that particular course of life, which was suitable to their own inclinations. Then came unexpectedly into the Tilt-yard the ordinary post-boy of London, in rags, and all bemir'd, upon a poor lean jade, galloping and blowing for life, and deliver'd the secretary a packet of letters, which he immediately offered to the earl; and with this dumb shew the eyes of the spectators were fed for that time. In the after-supper, before the queen, the hermit delivered a well-penn'd speech to move the knight to leave his vain following of love, and to betake him to heavenly meditations; the secretary's speech tended to engage him to follow matters of state; the soldier's persuaded him to the war; but the esquire answered them, and concluded with an excellent exhortation, that the knight would never forsake his mistress's love, whose virtue made all his thoughts divine, whose wisdom taught him all true policy, whose beauty and worth were at all times able to make him fit to command armies. He shew'd all the defects and imperfections of all their courses, and represented this of serving his mistress the best. The part of the hermit was perform'd by him, who acted GIRALDI in Cambridge. MORLEY play'd the secretary; and the soldier was acted by him, who had played the pedant at Cambridge; and the esquire's part was perform'd by the famous Mr. (afterwards Sir) TOBY MATTHEW, then not above seventeen years of age, who tho' eldest son of Dr. MATTHEW, a prelate of our church, and successively bishop of Durham, and archbishop of York, chang'd his religion in his travels abroad at the persuasion of father PARSONS, and entered into the society of the jesuits. Mr. WHYTE observ'd, that the world made many untrue constructions of the speeches in the earl's device, applying the characters of the hermit and secretary to two of the lords, and that of the soldier to Sir ROGER

^o Vol. i. p. 359.^p Ibid. p. 360.¹ Mr. WHYTE's letter of November 22. p. 362:

WILLIAMS'; and the queen said, that if so much had been said of her, she would not have been present that night; and upon that retir'd to bed.

Mr. JOHN ALEYN, the father of GODFREY, who attended upon ANTONIO PEREZ in France, in his letter to his son from London, on the 5th of November, 1595', acquainted him, among other things, with the death of Sir THOMAS HENEAGE, vice-chamberlain and chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaster, and that Mr. BACON was now removed to Essex-house to the apartments, in which ANTONIO PEREZ had lodg'd.

Mr. BACON had not receiv'd Dr. HAWKYNs's letter, when he wrote to him on the 8th of November, 1595', that the desire, which he had to give him a tast and assurance of his diligent care of him, made him to begin with him, and to assure him by these few lines, that he had presented the doctor's excuses, thanks, and serviceable affection to the earl of Essex, who accepted the same in very good part, and promised very honourably both remembrance and readines to do him good. "Signior BASADONNA's matter, *continues he*, draws to a full point, as I hope you "shall hear shortly. My good friend Mr. JACKSON, I doubt not, but hath, or "will, this next week without failing, send your bills of exchange for the 200 "crowns, which my lord was most bitterly angry to have understood not to have "been paid the very day he wrote his warrant. His lordship, God be thanked, "continueth in very good terms with her majesty. No news out of France since "your departure."

ANTONIO PEREZ attending the French king to Chauny near la Fere, which he was going to besiege, wrote from thence on the 9th of November, (whether of old or new style does not appear) to the earl of Essex', referring him, as to what had happened since the king's departure towards Picardy, and to his own melancholy, to his letters to Mr. BACON. He then informs his lordship, that Mr. EDMONDES had that day access to the king, in order to receive his answer: That the king had sent for him himself, that morning, and in the presence of Monsieur DE VILLEROY told him, what he had understood from VILLEROY, as mention'd to him by Mr. EDMONDES concerning that answer: That his majesty spoke this with great concern, and in a manner confessed himself ignorant what measures to pursue, especially as the greatest part of the army under the constable of Castille was by the king of Spain's command, marching to the count Don FUENES", in order to oppress France with a superior force, and what ought to alarm the most secure, with a resolution, as ANTONIO understood, of making some great attempt both by land and sea, to which purpose tended all the Spanish preparations at sea. ANTONIO laments therefore the miserable condition of Europe, and that the good

' This brave officer died of a surfeit at Barnard's Castle, on Friday, December 12, 1595, leaving his whole fortune to the earl of Essex, who, says Mr. WHYTE, in his letter written the day following, SIDNEY Papers vol. i p. 377. *saw'd his soul, for none but he could make him have a feeling of his end; but he died well, and very repentant.*

" Vol. vii. fol. 33.

' Vol. vi. fol. 123.

" Vol. vi. fol. 106.

" Don PEDRO DE TOLEDO, a relation of the old duke of Alva. He came to Flanders in the latter end of the year 1592, and left it 1596, and became governor of Milan, where he died July 22, 1610.

fortune of the king of Spain should owe so much to his enemies ; and expresses his own wishes to hide himself alive under the earth, since his advices were of so little use, and his residence with princes without any advantage to the public. He desires to know of the earl, whether all his letters had been deliver'd to him, and his lordship's judgment upon his conduct, and directions, which he should most faithfully obey ; adding, that he could not venture to commit any thing more to that paper, though he had some particulars worthy his lordship's knowledge.

The same day Mr. GODFREY ALEYN wrote to Mr. BACON from Chauny *, that he had the night before heard his master ANTONIO PEREZ declare openly at his table the many honourable favours, which HENRY IV. had already bestowed, and intended farther to confer upon him, and particularly to make him a knight of the order of the holy ghost. But, as far as Mr. ALEYN could perceive, ANTONIO would rather refuse the honours, which the king proposed to give him, than accept them, except that of the order, which Mr. ALEYN thought he would not deny, if he were able, as he was not, to furnish himself with such things, as must be had and worn upon the day of the solemnity. He was once determined to have written to the earl of Essex for his assistance in that respect ; but the consideration of the many favours received from his lordship soon diverted him from troubling the earl at that time. But this occasion now being offered to Mr. ALEYN, to do what Mr. BACON had particularly committed to his charge, which was, that if he should at any time hear ANTONIO wish for any thing, which he would have sent out of England, he should immediately write to Mr. BACON of it, for this purpose he now sent the bearer of that letter to him. ANTONIO's saying what he did openly, in the hearing not only of many Frenchmen, but also of Mr. WYLTON and others of his family, made Mr. ALEYN conceive, that he would not be angry, if Mr. WYLTON should inform the earl of it. “ But of my information thereof, *says he*, I know he doth not so much as suspect, knowing, that I durst not be so bold, as “ of myself to write to you of any such a great matter, he being wholly ignorant “ of the charge, which I have received at your hands. Therefore if it shall please “ my most honourable lord to favour him so much, as to furnish him at this time, “ his lordship shall do him an unlook'd-for favour. I have herewith sent you a “ note of such things, which must be had for the making of those garments ; which “ note the king's tailor did give me. The celebration of this feast shall be upon “ the first day of January next.” Mr. ALEYN adds, that the king, on the 2d of that month, November, began his journey towards LA FERRE, taking ANTONIO with him, and for the most part of it, as he rode, talk'd only with him, and left him at Chauny, where he then was, his majesty having given Monsieur DE VILLEYROY charge to take care of him, and to bring him soon to St. Quintin's. ANTONIO could not relish the humours of the French, so that he daily said, that he would not continue long in France. In the journey between Amiens and Chauny, he was very much discontented, because the marshals would not appoint him any good lodgings ; which coming to the king's ear, he found great fault with them, commanding them to have an especial care of him, so that in Chauny his lodging was in one of the best houses in the town. After Mr. ALEYN had written this letter, and had procured a messenger for it, Mr. EDMONDES coming to Chauny,

* Vol. vi. fol. 158.

told him, that he was presently to dispatch a messenger to England; which occasioned Mr. ALEYN, for the greater security, to stay till that messenger should be dispatch'd.

The next day, November 10th, Mr. ALEYN, in a letter to his father ^y, in answer to one of the 26th of September received that morning, inclosed the copy of a paper or letter, which he desired him to send to Mr. BOWES, ambassador in Scotland. "You may see by it, *says he*, how I am employ'd." And he wrote himself to Mr. BOWES on the 13th of November ^z, sending him copies of three letters written by ANTONIO PEREZ to the earl of Essex, which he *desired* him to *read to himself*, and to *consider of them*. The day before this, November 12th, he wrote likewise to Sir WILLIAM SPENCER ^z, in whose service he had formerly been, expressing his regret, that a letter, which he had written to him upon his arrival in France, had not reach'd his hands, and now informing him, that his present master was most honourably entertain'd by the French king, who had given him, for part of his maintenance in France, a yearly pension of 4000 crowns; had appointed him of his privy council, which was worth 800 crowns a year, and would create him a knight of the order of the Holy Ghost, for his maintenance in which order he would have 1000 crowns a year; and promis'd him the revenues of the next abbey, that shall fall into his hands. Besides all these favours, the king's love was so great towards him, that he would not leave him long out of his company. The king was then at Chauny in Picardy, three leagues from La Fere, which he was besieging, and was in hopes of taking it within twenty days; the greatest part of which time he intended to continue at Chauny, and then go to Compiègne, nine leagues from thence, where he would celebrate the feast of the Holy Ghost on the 1st of January; and after that proceed to the recovery of some towns which he had lost, for he could not endure to be idle. Mr. ALEYN concludes with assuring Sir WILLIAM SPENCER, that if he would send instructions of what things he should write, he would be ready to do any thing, which it should please Sir WILLIAM to employ him in.

He wrote the same day to Mr. THOMAS HAROLD in London ^b, of his happiness in the service of his master, "whose love, *says he*, daily increaseth towards me, "and so much, I know, he loves me, as if he knew of any thing, that I would desire of him, I am persuaded he would prevent my desire, in giving it me before I should ask it."

ANTONIO PEREZ, in his letter of the 14th of November, to the earl of Essex ^c, mentions his having begun to peruse the rest of the intercepted letters, from which it appear'd, that the Spaniard had form'd some great design: But that there was no occasion to infer this from words and letters, since facts themselves spoke it. That the mind of NABUCHODONOSOR was evident from his actions, and the preparations confirm'd from all parts; the assembling of so many eminent men with the cardinal in Flanders, the collecting of so great an army, the detaining of so many ships in Spain, the fitting out of so great a fleet, the orders of the king of Spain to Count DE FUENTES, to oblige all persons of every quality to continue in their respective

^y Vol. vi. fol. 123.

^z Ibid. fol. 108.

Althorp and Wormleighton in Northamptonshire.

^a Probably Sir WILLIAM SPENCER of Yarnton in Oxfordshire, third son of Sir JOHN SPENCER of

^b Vol. vi. fol. 107.

^c Ibid. fol. 109.

poits. ANTONIO expresses his apprehensions, that these things did not make a sufficient impression upon the English court, and lamented it, calling upon them to awake, and not imitate the foolish virgins, but to go out and meet the enemy, and not to think merely of defending their country against him, since he, who waits for his enemy, is already overcome; whereas he, who attacks him, is conqueror; otherwise ANTONIO bids farewell to both England and France, being determined not to venture himself in either ship, lest he should perish; which would be both a satisfaction and honour, if it were with friends, who acted with vigour and prudence. He closes this letter with a caution against those, who either did not believe, or pretended not to believe these things, and others of the same kind, which were past. "Obviam exite inimico. Non de defensione, sed de offensione cogitate. Quid dixi, cogitate? Operamini debui decore, dum tempus habetis. Vincitur, qui inimicum expectat; vincit, qui adoritur illum. Sin minus, valeat Anglia, valeat Gallia. Neutram navim ascendam. Non, ne peream. Dulce enim & decorum cum amicis occumbere contendendo prudenter. . . . Cavete tandem ab iis, qui non credunt, vel fingunt non credere hæc & alia similia præterita."

Among others, who wrote intelligence from Italy to the earl of Essex, was Mr. ANTHONY MYLV, who in his letter from Padua of the 8th of November 1595^d, mention'd, that at his being at Genoa he had advertised his lordship of the cardinal * of Lisbon's arrival at Savona, who then purposed, as was reported, to journey towards the Low Countries; but upon some after occasion staid longer, some imagining, with a view to practise the gaining of Marseilles, which stood then in doubtful terms. Within a few days past, the cardinal, with his troops, arriv'd in the state of Milan, where he intended to winter. He had with him 19 or 20 companies of Spanish soldiers, reported by some to be 3000, but in fact not 2000; Mr. MYLV, who saw them pass through part of the state of Milan, representing them as poor and bare, without clothes or arms. The prince of Orange^f was sent by the cardinal to Rome to the pope upon some great business; as the duke of Arschot was by the States of Brabant and Flanders to the cardinal, and then he return'd from Padua into the Low Countries. It was reported by some, that the cardinal was in great hopes of being created king of the Romans, having considerable interest in three electors, three bishops; for which reason he was thought more likely to obtain his desire. Sir GRIFFIN MARKHAM coming that summer from Rome, fell sick at Perugia, and not being willing to be confess'd, was, upon recovery of his health, committed prisoner in the inquisition; but by means of his brother, and the help of the Welsh bishop, was sent for to Rome, and there deliver'd of his imprisonment, with two others in his company, one HEMSEN, and one MORISON; but JOSIAS BODLEY^g, who, being desirous to see Rome, had been imprison'd by the inquisition, notwithstanding his protection from that bishop, was now, upon the death of that prelate, likely to continue a prisoner much longer.

The earl of Essex keeping a great correspondence with Scotland, by means chiefly of Mr. BACON, the latter either receiv'd or procur'd a copy of a letter from Edin-

^d Vol. vi. fol. 121. * ALBERT^e PHILIP. afterwards serv'd in the wars in Ireland, and was

^e Younger brother of Sir THOMAS BODLEY. He knighted. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. i. fol. 385. had been educated in Merton College, Oxford, and

burgh, dated the 18th of November, 1595 ^b, mentioning, that a person was directed by the king of Scots to Avignon, to speak with a gentleman of Scotland, Mr. WILLIAM CHESHOLME, bishop of Veson, within the pope's dominions, to know secretly of him, what familiar dealing there was between the king of Spain and the pope, concerning the invasion of England and Scotland, and to advertise precisely the time and the course. The young man, brother to Sir WILLIAM, who was then with him, was directed to Rome a little before, and spoke with some cardinals there concerning that affair, but not directly from the king of Scots, and receiv'd favourable answers in writing, as Sir JAMES SANDILANDS did from the senate of Venice; others were then in London, come over for the like purpose, and Sir JAMES was to follow them. They were directed to desire the dukes of Guise and Mayenne to be friends and servants to their king, that they might be readier to help him in his misery. BACLEWELL was also secretly upon the same purpose at Rome, and the lord HUME and the lord SANQUHAR in Flanders, with the bishop of Ros, and divers others; and still some of that faction were about the king.

All the writings, plots, devices, and letters of this purpose, and all other great matters tending to this business, were in the deceased lord chancellor's hands, and deliver'd up on the friday preceding to the king, who receiv'd them very courteously, and had since given those letters to the duke of Lenox, and they were now in the hands of his great agent Mr. HENRY KEIR, who was chief counsellor to the duke's father.

There was a convention to be held at Lithgow on the 28th instant, the causes of which were yet kept secret.

There were letters intercepted at Edinburgh of double form; the first packet directed from JAMES MAITLAND, nephew of the late chancellor, and then at Middleburg in Zealand. It was directed for the lord HERES, and to the abbot of New Abbey, importing great joy for the advancement of the general cause of the catholic religion; and that some more friends were to be made at home, than might be reveal'd for the present, and all defects supplied, as should better be known, when the great cause should come in hand; and if those would shew themselves as constant men, they should have such supply shortly, as should content their hearts and minds, and this should be for assurance.

The other packet was directed from Mr. GEORGE KIER, doctor in the law, then living with a great counsellor of Spain at Antwerp, to his two brothers, ANDREW and WILLIAM KIER, requesting them to communicate his letters to the lord chancellor, BACLUGH, and Sir ROBERT, and to send another copy to the lord HERES, to satisfy the promise, that he made to him at his departing, in which he would not fail in any case.

These letters were brought to Scotland by a young man, named JOHN YOUNG, servant to colonel STUART, who was now obtaining a privilege and promise of a re-

^b Vol. vi. fol. 124.

ward, to levy 1000 men in Scotland, to fight against the Turk at Vienna in Austria in the emperor's army: "*But I, says the writer of this letter, fear the end.*"

There was a new apparent agreement between the queen of Scots and the house of Mar. The king would needs have it to be done, and caus'd her majesty to pass thither from Lithgow to receive the banquet, and he follow'd himself to confirm all on the saturday preceding, and then was to convey her back to Lithgow, to remain there all the winter, as some courtiers suppos'd, and as the earl of Mar would have it.

A funeral oration was made in Latin, in the presence of the king and the senate, on the 14th of that month, in commendation of the late lord chancellor, whose body was buried in the parish church of Haddington, on the 10th, and the epitaph, compos'd by the king, was affix'd in print on the side of the tomb.

A negotiator was to be directed to the king of Denmark, and to the princes of Germany, to desire them, that they would send some honourable personage to the queen of England, to intreat her, that as she was now advanced in age, she would, for the welfare and establishment of her realm, nominate the king or prince of Scotland to be her heir; and in that case to shew themselves friends to her majesty and commonweal in all respects; otherwise to declare enmity: And that they would send some proper person to the king and council of Spain, to desire him, of his clemency, to abstain from sending forces to Scotland, or at least till the king of Scots be acquainted with both the time and cause, in remembrance of the antient peace; and that if the king of Spain should consent to this, the king of Scots would promise to send a noble earl, as ambassador from him, to confirm all this, and greater purposes besides.

About the same time, Mr. BACON receiv'd a letter of intelligence from Spain¹, that ZUBIAUR was return'd from Bretagne, and had left there with Don DIEGO BROCHERO 100,000 crowns; that the king of Spain was determinately advis'd to send to Scotland ZUBIAUR with an army of 40,000 soldiers, as soon as 15 great ships promis'd from Italy, and 3000 soldiers, should be ready with 60,000 quintals of powder. That soldiers and mariners were levied, and captain SQUEVILLE then in Galicia with a great number of mariners, waiting till ZUBIAUR should come to Lisbon: And that the convention-place of all the ships, and their lading, should be from St. Sebastian.

During this month of November 1595, EDWARD WALPOLE, an English jesuit in Spain, and probably the same, who in 1598 persuaded EDWARD SQUIRE to attempt to poison the queen and earl of Essex^k, for which the latter was hang'd, wrote a letter on the 20th to ROGER BENET, a countryman and cousin of his, who was gentleman of cardinal CAETANO's chamber at Rome^l; of which letter a copy being afterwards procur'd by Dr. HAWKYNs in Italy, it was sent by him in the beginning of January 1595^m, to the earl of Essex, and Mr. BACONⁿ. In this

¹ Vol. vi fol. * 124. ^k CAMD. ELIZ. p. 725, 843. ^l Vol. vi. fol. 148. and Vol. viii. fol. 177.
^m Vol. viii. fol. 202, and 201.

letter Mr. WALPOLE thanks his cousin for his kind remembrance, and good news of the bible, and good hope conceiv'd of their countrymen, " whose good disposition, *says he*, we understand of by father rector, especially of Sir GRIFFIN MARKHAM, whose virtue, he saith, doth well resemble his brother's in the college." He then observes, that, in the holy army of his catholic majesty, the virtuous Sir WILLIAM STANLEY was constituted colonel of 1000 horse; and Mr. DAWES and Mr. ENGLEFIELD both captains, and had each of them the leading of 200 musketeers; the rest of the English being all employ'd according to their reputation. It was also certainly thought, that at the Christmas ensuing Mr. DAWES and Mr. ENGLEFIELD would be knighted, and Sir WILLIAM STANLEY have the order of St. James, being greatly favour'd by the king, for the good services, which he had done the preceding summer, as well for his great care in overseeing and directing the shipwrights, with regard to the fashion and mould of the ships, as also for his correspondence in Ireland with the earl of Tyrone's son; for in the father he had not so much confidence, though, for any thing they understood at Madrid, he still kept an head against the enemy.

They had received letters of late from Scotland. Colonel SEMPLE, who had been sent to the king of Scots from the king of Spain, with letters and jewels for the queen, writing, that there was great hope of the king himself, and that he was assur'd of the greatest part of the nobility in the north parts of Scotland. There was come to Madrid, out of France, one Mr. RAFURT, a gentleman belonging to the king, come from Monsieur DU PERRON, about the treaty of peace, the success of which was yet doubtful. There was likewise of late arriv'd at the Spanish court father PARSONS, greatly in favour of the king of Spain, and who, they were persuaded, would be made cardinal and legate for England, though it was said, that Dr. GRIFFIN stood for the same, and was much favour'd by the pope. " I pray you, *says Mr. WALPOLE*, give us advertisement what you hear, for we are all affected here to father PARSONS. He shew'd me letters out of England, certifying the death of father SOUTHWELL, and father WALPOLE *, the imprisonment of father GARNET, of father BARTLET, and father CRESWELL. But God, of his goodness, I hope, will one day visit and redeem his people out of that most horrible tyranny, to the furtherance whereof shall be appointed three days of fasting and prayer throughout all the christian catholic churches of Europe, for the good success of the holy army, for the reformation of true catholic religion; but that shall be at the beginning of March, at what time they think this army shall go forward. What the certain place and course of them will be, is yet uncertain. Some think the forces shall be divided, as Don PEDRO DE VALDES and Sir WILLIAM STANLEY, with a great number to invade Ireland. Then Don PEDRO SARMENCES, with another troop to receive the conde FUENTES and his troops, and so to come in by the north of Scotland and Ireland. They think they will make a stay in Bretagne and New Haven. But howsoever, I assure you, there was never a greater army by sea, nor better provided. There is at least 150 great ships of war, and barks of carriage as many more. They make account to land 20,000 men, whereof are 2000 horse; which, by a new device, they have found

* Hang'd at York, 17 April, 1595.

“ means to transport with ease. You hear, that in count FUENTES’s place the cardinal archduke is sent general into the Low Countries ; but some think it is rather about a league, and especially about the matter of France, for sure they have no small hope of Calais and Boulogne, now that Cambray is gotten.

“ You know the hand and heart.”

PEREGRINE lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby, who had a particular friendship with the earl of Essex, being now at Venice, whither he had pass’d through Germany, wrote from thence to the earl a letter on the 26th of November 1595^o ; in which he took notice, that the only letter, which he had receiv’d from the earl, was written in June preceding, and came to his hands in Nuremberg, to which he had sent an answer by his servant Vaughan ; and that being now in his winter garrison at Venice, at leisure to remember those duties, which he liv’d but to observe to his prince and honourable friends, he would not omit to mention them, such as they were, to his lordship, whom, next to the highest at home, he esteem’d before all others ; “ knowing now, *says he*, by experience, my wants by your virtues hidden, and the little good that is in me, by your kindness multiplied. I confess unto your lordship simply, I am not here void of passion for my country’s sake, to hear the designs of the children of Belial against God’s anointed : the whole house of Austria in all places employ’d, getting pride and reputation but of small victories, which, notwithstanding, in common opinion, prevail but too much. And, God forgive me, I heartily wish the Turk may give some blow to counterpoise their fortunes ; and for that I wish him less effeminate, and better provided of all victuals for his army, than, I fear, thro’ the great dearth in those countries, he is like to have.” He then observes, that the Polonian, the Transylvanian, and sundry princes were treating strait correspondency ; and tho’ the Italians being distasted, and the Germans weary, should not the year ensuing stir much, nor give any succours, yet these countries being full of soldiers on horseback (if the league should go forward) would frame, no doubt, a sufficient front against the Turks with those princes of Austria ; for the Venetian state being jealous of them of Austria, flattering with France, faithful to none, careful of their pleasure and profits, tho’ they arm’d, had more hopes in the effects of their ambassador sent to Constantinople, than their forces. and delighted, as standers-by, to see the losses of others, in which themselves had no part ; not without some emulation of our state, being envious at our merchants trading in the Levant seas, and bringing commodities from Syria and Turkey, one of the most special and beneficial branches of the traffic of Venice. There had lately been with that state the duke of Arschot, who din’d at the Spanish ambassador’s, near lord WILLOUGHBY’s lodging, on the monday sennight before. Some thought, that the duke’s journey was to congratulate the cardinal’s coming into Austria, and to prepossess him with regard to the difference between himself and the count DE FUENTES. But his lordship suppos’d that too slight a ground for so great a person’s long voyage.

There had been at Rome some emotion amongst the English, which had occasioned a new governor of the jesuits college. The rest of Italy were generally

enemies to our profession and nation, except Florence and Venice, which latter state, rather for fear of Spain's falling, than care of our falling (having been diversly treated with by the Spanish ministers) stood neutrally affected. Those of the protestant religion upon the frontiers of Germany towards Lintz, and the parts adjacent, and especially about Silesia, were in a bad state, as lord WILLOUGHBY understood from a letter of a learned German, who wrote, *Nostræ pessimus est ecclesiæ reformatæ status, immo vel testibus ipsis apud nos jesuitis; et nisi bellum Turcicum jam actum esset de nostræ confessionis hominibus per Germaniam, et imprimis de Palatinatu, et ipso denique pio electore.* "In naming whom, says his lordship, methinks I am come somewhat nearer to England, knowing Italy too far off for much good or much hurt. And here I wish, that we might embrace that prince, the king of Denmark, and the duke of Wirtemberg, since we may tie all, as before, with a garter. The Spaniard would be at more cost to join them, and, if his invasion against us should go forward, it would strengthen us in Germany, if it were but in hindering his purposes there. Neither am I wise enough to judge otherwise, than to engage them the farther in the same adventure against the common enemy, if occasion should be to draw a thousand from thence, since I dare undertake to levy them, transport, and entertain them for one month better cheap than any way possibly we can do in England. For your lordship well remembereth, that the horses levied in my lord of Leicester's time cost the country 20 l. apiece, to furnish man and horse at home, besides the transport and month's pay." There was not, added his lordship, so mean a horseman levied for Ireland, whose ordinary arms and mounting, besides his transport and pay, did not cost 22 marks to set him forth. And this thousand horse he undertook to mount, arm, transport into England, and pay their press-money for one month at the same price of 20 marks, or, rather than fail, for 10 l. his lordship seeking not to make commodity by the war, but her majesty's service. He knew never a papist in England of any revenue, but who paid for his horse 20 l. which would be a good reckoning for her majesty, if she might have the other 10 l. delivered into her coffers, and a serviceable soldier mounted; which in every thousand horse would raise 10,000 l. a sum, that would go far in entertaining of them afterwards in ordinary pay. And if he might not offend in saying it, he thought, that 1000 of these horse would make more resistance in an invasion in Scotland or Ireland, and more curb those people, who liv'd by spoil also, than other troops, which might perhaps mount to double the charge. And in these things her majesty should never need be seen by way of request or treaty to deal therein more than ordinary complements, and to give oil to the fire, or means for the matter. And tho' it might be thought, that foreign help was superfluous for England; yet from the example of the antient Romans and modern princes, the contrary might be infer'd, that it was of considerable advantage rightly used, as manifestly appear'd from the king of Spain's being serv'd in all his enterprises by Italians and Dutch; not without great suspicion and jealousy of the Italians, that he possess'd thereby not only their principal persons, but also the affections of the people, which they held dangerous for impatronising of himself farther in Italy. If his ambition immoderately used it to conquer what was not his own, discretion might rightly practise it in strait alliance offensive and defensive for strengthening each others assaulted estate. The imperfections of the Germans, which some would object, would least be seen in an

English army, where they would be confined by the Seas for embarking with superfluous baggage, and from returning disorderly, besides being bridled by so war-like a people; and the good choice of them would avoid those inconveniencies, which, for want thereof his lordship, in his own experience, had seen others fall into in the like levies; which commonly were lightly made *à la Françoise*. What service they might do, being chosen soldiers and commanders, under an English head, whom they would willingly follow, was left to the earl of Essex, whose judgment in these martial affairs was made perfect by his own honourable adventures in foreign countries and home studies.

It must be confess'd, that the Germans were better mounted, and better * on horseback than ours generally were. And therefore it was to be considered whether they might not be of special use, to hinder the landing of enemies, to attend the marching and rising of their camps, if they should land; to flank their greater squadrons of battles upon a set fight, and to guard artillery and munition, in which generally there were divers of them well practised, and perhaps better than ours. And tho' some might say, that this was the office of foot, yet the earl knew, that horse guard the foot, and horse and foot the artillery in the field, of which we should have in England most use. For these and sundry more purposes, they would be of advantage well governed, and join'd to our infantry, and the rest of our cavalry; and in this manner to fort forces was not the least art of war. Neither did it appear but that their Reitres fought, when they were well led, of which there was an instance in count MANSFIELD's last encounter with the Turks. And yet levies made in that part meant by the lord WILLOUGHBY were more choice than the others generally were. But if there were no other profit than to make an honourable emulation of all good discipline and virtuous actions in an army, his lordship held it not amiss to have an army so compos'd of sundry nations, especially of such countries, where they had a common cause to defend against a common enemy. "Thus much, *says his lordship*, of my Venetian dream; and I wish the fumes, that raise the same (I mean the designs of her majesty's enemies) may never prove harmful fires, either within or without any of her majesty's dominions, or neighbour countries, whose sparkles may fly unto us. But if such mischief should fall (which God forbid) if it be thought meet to permit me with my shallow bucket of water to come to the extinguishing thereof, I will not spare my living nor life to finish, according to my poor measure, my poor pilgrimage in their service, whom God and nature hath tyed unto me; which I wish I may do under so happy and honourable conduct as yourself, without flattery, knowing none so sufficient a column to uphold that martial frame as your lordship is." In the postscript he adds, that he had been just advertised by a French gentleman of account, that the duke of ARSCHOT was come back again, being as far on his way as Castel Franco, extremely sick and in great danger; and that in Candia, the governor and archbishop grew from words to blows, the latter being sent for to Venice, to give an account of the affair, which it was thought would stir coals between the pope and that state, as prejudicial to his ecclesiastical prerogative. The difference was occasion'd by this incident. The governor having publish'd an order, that, to avoid the infection of the plague then raging in Candia, no assembly should be held, the bishop oppos'd it; and the governor upon the

the day of a feast coming to church, was repuls'd by the bishop, which drew them to blows.

This lord WILLOUGHBY was descended from the antient family of the BERTIES, and was son of RICHARD BERTIE, esq; educated in Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, of which he was fellow, by CATHARINE daughter and sole heir of WILLIAM WILLOUGHBY, lord Willoughby of Eresby, and fourth wife of CHARLES BRANDON, duke of Suffolk, who left her a widow on the 21st of August, 1545. Her attachment to the reformation forc'd her and her husband in the first year of queen MARY, to retire into foreign parts, and they settled at Wesel in the dutchy of Cleves, where her son PEREGRINE was born on the 12th of October 1555, who, upon her death on the 19th of September 1580, two years before that of his father, claim'd and was admitted to the title of lord Willoughby of Eresby. In 1582, he, with the earl of Leicester, and other noblemen, attended the duke of ANJOU to Antwerp, and before the end of that year was sent to FREDERICK king of Denmark with the order of the garter. In 1587, he was present at the siege of Zutphen, during which, in a sharp encounter with the forces of the garrison, he defeated and took prisoner GEORGE CRESSIAK, commander in chief of the enemy's horse. The year following, upon the recess of the earl of Leicester, he was appointed general of the English auxiliary forces in the United Provinces, and vigorously defended Bergen-op-zoom, when besieged by the prince of Parma. His next service was in 1589, as general of 4000 auxiliaries sent by the queen into France to the assistance of the king of Navarre. The ill state of his health oblig'd him afterwards to travel into foreign countries; and during his absence from England on that account, the queen wrote to him a letter^p, from her manor of Nonsuch, on the 7th of October, 1594, in which she express'd her satisfaction in the amendment of his health, which she enjoin'd him to take an especial care of, recommending to him at the same time this consideration, that in these times, "when there is, *says she*, such appearance, that we shall have the tryal of our best noble subjects, you seem not to affect the satisfaction of your own private contentation beyond the attending of that, which nature and duty challengeth from all persons of your quality and profession. For if necessarily your health of body being recovered, you should esloign yourself by residence there from those employments, whereof we shall have too good store, you shall not so much amend the state of your body, as haply you shall call in question the reputation of your mind and judgment, even in the opinion of those, that love you, and are best acquainted with your disposition and discretion." Her majesty then assures him, that he should ever find her both ready and willing in all occasions to yield him the fruits of that interest, which his endeavours had purchased for him in her opinion and estimation. His lordship returning into England in September 1596, was in 1598 made governor of Barwick, and died 1601, leaving five sons and one daughter by his lady, MARY daughter of JOHN VERE, earl of Oxford. The queen's opinion of him was such, that if he had cultivated it in a proper manner, and had not neglected the arts of a court, he might have enjoyed a very large share of her majesty's favour. But he had an aversion, from his temper and

^p Lord's State Worthies, p. 499, 500.

profession of a foldier, to the obsequiousness and assiduity necessary to a court life, which rendered himself less fit for it, and he used to say of himself, that he was none of the *Reptilia*¹.

The earl of Tyrone, who had entered into a rebellion in Ireland, in expectation of the assistance promised him by the Spaniards, and had been proclaimed an enemy to his country and a traitor in July of this year, 1595, pretended now to be desirous of submitting upon terms, after Sir JOHN NORREYS was sent over to command the forces against him, tho' the latter made no considerable progress, on account of the jealousy between him and the lord deputy RUSSEL. The earl wrote on the 22d of November 1595, from Dongannon, the following letter to some considerable person in Ireland, probably the lord deputy.

“ My duty done unto your lordship. Having written heretofore by this gentleman captain HENRY WARREN to your lordship, to stand my good lord in being
 “ a means to her majesty in my behalf for the obtaining of my pardon ; so now,
 “ my good lord, I am most humbly to crave the furtherance thereof ; and for the
 “ better satisfying of her majesty in regard of my disloyalty, which I do heartily
 “ repent me of, tho' I was formerly driven thereunto, I shall be content to yield
 “ a fine of 20000 crowns to be levied upon myself, and such as have combin'd
 “ with me in the action. Also I shall be very willing to desist from seeking any
 “ jurisdiction in any of her majesty's or others, but according to my
 “ latters patents : as also I shall be willing to receive sheriffs into the counties,
 “ desiring, that they may be indifferent gentlemen between my enemies and me,
 “ lest by their ill-dealings we be driven to forsake our loyalties in seeking the
 “ safety of our lives and goods, as heretofore we have been abused by the over-
 “ greedy desire of lucre and ill dealing of such, as have borne office in Ulster.
 “ And as for the fort of Blackwater, I shall be most willing to yield to her majesty's
 “ own will in that thing within some certain space after my pardon had ; and that
 “ I may with safety have recourse to her sacred person, both to shew my griefs,
 “ as also to have time for the doing of it. And thus hoping, that your good lord-
 “ ship with my good lord chancellor, who hath been well experienced in these
 “ matters, will be my good lord, I shall always rest very ready to requite your
 “ honour's favour, vowing, ever hereafter to endeavour myself to win my most
 “ gracious and most lawful prince's good favour again. And so at this present I
 “ commit your lordship to God's guiding.

“ Dongannon, this 22d of November, 1595.”

Authority had been in September sent to the lord deputy to receive the submission of the earl² ; which was afterwards made to Sir JOHN NORREYS, who having admitted him to a conference, granted him a truce ; which, as well as the conference, was censured by prudent men as prejudicial to the queen, the rebels making use of it for forming new designs, and increasing their strength for the

¹ NAUNTON'S *Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 24.

² Vol. vi. fol. 115.

³ Sir THOMAS WYLKES'S letter to ROBERT SIDNEY, dated at London the 27th of September 1595. SIDNEY Papers, vol. i. p. 351.

execution of them¹. The news of TYRONE's submission came to England about the 20th of November, and brought the lord treasurer from his sick bed to court, where the council sat several days upon it, and order'd a formal pardon to be drawn up for the earl²; and it was expected, that Sir GEORGE CAREW, lieutenant of the ordnance, should be immediately sent to Ireland to take his oath, and to be a joint commissioner with the lord deputy, to whom but little countenance or trust was committed in that or any other business, the credit of all things being given to Sir JOHN NORREYS³.

Monsieur DE LOMENIE, secretary of HENRY IVth's chamber, was now return'd to France from England, whither he had been sent by that king to queen ELIZABETH, at the same time that Sir ROGER WILLIAMS went back to England, in the beginning of October, 1595⁴. The substance of his message was to let the queen understand, that the king had obtain'd his absolution; that there were deputed to him four cardinals to give it him in a solemn manner; but their chief errand was to draw him to a peace with Spain, and unite against all, who were divided from the church. That his majesty was assur'd to receive for himself honourable conditions; but knowing, that he should be solicited to separate himself from the queen and the States General, he desired to be enabled by a common concurrence of both their forces, that he might not be compell'd to such a peace, as willingly he would not make; but such, as might comprehend them all in such terms, as, holding always together, they might be a balance against the Spanish greatness. That if her majesty refused him this, he must provide for himself as he might. These letters being deliver'd with very stout speeches, greatly offended the queen, who lov'd not to be terrified; and Monsieur DE LOMENIE was dispatch'd without any hope of obtaining relief from England. The king had likewise advertis'd her, that if she was not well inform'd of the preparations and intentions against her, she was abus'd or betray'd; which being taken by some⁵ as meant to themselves, had mov'd the more choler; and he had desir'd a conference to be held between the dukes DE NEVERS and BOUILLON, whom he would send to Calais or Boulogne, and some of the queen's council, which was denied. He wrote also in very strong terms, to require her majesty to forbear the calling for her money from the states, as a thing far out of season; and had spoken plainly to Sir ROGER WILLIAMS, that the United Provinces did not love her; and that he assur'd himself, that whenever he should enter into treaty with Spain, he should be able to dispose of these countries, as he should think good, and that they would turn his course, and had of late desir'd him not to forget them.

As soon as Monsieur DE LOMENIE was return'd to the French king in his camp before La Fere, he wrote from thence to the earl of Essex, on the 3d of December, N. S.⁶, to inform him of his arrival there, where he was impatiently expected, having been delay'd by contrary winds; and that he had acquitted himself of what his lordship had commanded him, as he now did of his own promise. That he doubted not but that the course of their affairs and their resolution was written over

¹ CAM. ELIZ. p. 660.

² Letter of ROWLAND WHYTE, esq; to Sir ROBERT SIDNEY, from London, November 22, 1595. SIDNEY papers, Vol. i. p. 362.

³ Ibid. p. 363.

⁴ Mr. THOMAS LAKE's letter to Sir ROBERT

SIDNEY, from Stepney, October 9, 1595. Ibid. p. 354.

⁵ Probably the lord treasurer, and his son, and their party.

⁶ Vol. vi. fol. 177.

by Mr. EDMONDES. That for his own part he had not exceeded the terms of his lordship's instructions, as he was reproach'd at his own court with not having said enough in England. That since his voyage to England had not succeeded to the king's satisfaction, his majesty would take care not to send another thither. That he should be sorry himself, if any other person should do more than himself, since none would be sent, who had a more candid disposition, or was more desirous of union. That the French army was making their blockades and intrenchments; and that if it were true, that the enemy was coming to attack them, they would do him the honour to receive him, and perhaps give him some repulse, though they were not assisted by England. That he was apprehensive, that they should be driven to what they were unwilling to do, and what himself had told his lordship; whom he requested to honour him with the continuance of his favour and commands.

The next day, December 4th, N. S. HENRY IV. himself wrote likewise to the earl of Essex, from his camp^a, that ANTONIO PEREZ was always very dear to him, and his presence and residence in his kingdom would be no less agreeable to him. His majesty thank'd the earl for the assistance, which he had given ANTONIO, and which deserv'd the greater acknowledgments, as his lordship had granted it with inconvenience to himself. That ANTONIO could not receive so good an entertainment as he deserv'd, and as he, the king, wish'd; but must partake of the miseries of France, since he was desirous of having, as he had, a share in the good graces of the master of that kingdom. "Comfort him, *adds the king*, with the continuance of
 " your friendship, and he will the better support the inconveniences, which he will
 " meet with here; and I shall reap the principal fruit of the kindness, which you
 " shall shew him, and will make you satisfaction, when you shall think proper to em-
 " ploy your best friend; with which truth I pray to God to have you, my cousin, in
 " his holy keeping."

Mr. EDMONDES, who wrote frequently to the earl of Essex, as well as sent him copies of his letters to the lord treasurer, being now with the French king at the siege of La Fere, wrote to his lordship on the 24th of November 1595^a, that the relations of Monsieur DE LOMENIE, just arriv'd there from England, had brought that king, from an ill satisfaction, and weak hope, into a strange despair of the English court, so that he was resolv'd not to send Monsieur SANCY thither, as he had formerly intended; being persuaded by the representation of Monsieur DE LOMENIE, that it would serve to no other purpose than to give him more discontent, and to heap more indignity upon him. "They, *says he*, say, that they see clearly into our dispo-
 " sitions towards them, by the demand of Calais, which, they alledge, doth so much
 " touch the heart of France; our refusing to join in treaty with them, and this
 " last proceeding with LOMENIE. That it were very miserable with them, if they
 " were not the better assisted by the States, without whose aid they protest they were
 " not able to keep the field; for that presently they draw use only of the Lanskenets
 " for the time they are paid, their Swiss being still in Brye, and refusing to serve
 " without being satisfied what is due to them: And their *French field* subject to con-
 " tinual breaking and disbanding, in respect that they can give them no pay, and
 " their misery the like generally in all other particularity. That in so hard a condi-

^a Vol. vi. fol. 174.^a Vol. vi. fol. 125.

“ tion they know not how to subsist against the great forces, wherewith the enemy
 “ doth threaten them ; but that they see their apparent ruin before their eyes, if,
 “ seeing they are abandon’d by those, who are interess’d in common fortune with
 “ them, they do not otherwise provide for themselves. These be the discourses
 “ they make ; and to any thing we can alledge, of former merit and future hope,
 “ they answer, that past remedies do not cure present diseases ; and that we pay them
 “ with words, and not with deeds, seeking nothing more than to keep them still
 “ miserable. What these conceits and despair may work with them, I will not take
 “ upon me to judge, but leave the conclusions to a wiser consideration, making
 “ bold to deliver them to your lordship, to the end you may think of them as they
 “ merit. The Spaniards so earnestly seeking a truce in Bretagne, giveth great
 “ suspicion of further consequence, either of some attempt elsewhere, or else to
 “ extend it to a farther treaty : For your lordship may be assured, that whensoever
 “ they will set on foot any such design, they will give it that colour in the be-
 “ ginning.”

Mr. EDMONDES then observes, that he had represented to the lord treasurer his own miserable state and inability to serve longer there by reason of his great debts ; and humbly desir’d the earl to join with his lordship in moving her majesty, that she would be pleas’d to have compassion on him, and grant him his revocation.

Mr. A. ERSFIELD, who had been sent over to France by the earl of Essex with the instructions recited above, wrote from Paris to Mr. BACON on the 25th of November^b, that he had deliver’d his letter to ANTONIO PEREZ, whom he found at Chauney in Picardy, two leagues from the camp ; from whence he doubted not but Mr. BACON was largely inform’d of all such proceedings, as might be worthy of advertisement ; otherwise he would not have fail’d to have written the occurrences, which the place had yielded. And if, during his abode in France, Mr. BACON would vouchsafe to use him, he should account it an honour to be recommended. He desir’d his acceptance of some little books, to be communicated, if he thought proper, to the earl of Essex ; and observ’d, that the French were beginning to redress the enormities of a decay’d estate.

Mr. ASTON’s letter to Mr. HUDSON from Edinburgh, of the 28th of November 1595^c, mention’d the king’s coming thither, according to his appointment, and that the Wednesday following was the first day of council, where the first matter concluded was a preparation to be made against the Spaniard ; first, in general, musters of horse and foot through the whole country, and next a strict order to be taken against the papists, and that every presbytery should give in the names of such, as were suspected in religion, to the end they might be commanded in person, or else remain out of that part of the country. At the first sitting of the council, the king made an oration concerning the present estate and course he thought meetest to be follow’d, with conclusion, that he would hazard his life and crown in defence of the religion and liberty, not only of his own country, but also of England, which he esteem’d as dear unto him as Scotland, and would be as loth the Spaniards should have any foot there, as any man in England. He took the

^b Vol. viii. fol. 106.

^c Vol. vi. fol. 192.

great oath, that, if it pleas'd her majesty, he would come with as many hands, or as few, as she thought meet, to hazard his life in her defence.

They were in Scotland in great fear of the Spaniard, and that upon advertisements from divers parts, and of late chiefly by a letter, that came from GILBERT LANE, who had been in the holy house or inquisition in Spain for eight or nine years, and was now reliev'd by Mr. WALTER LINDSEY's means. He wrote, that there were two great armies preparing, one to land in Scotland, and the other at Milford Haven. He had been earnestly dealt with to be pilot of the whole army, but excus'd himself by his long imprisonment. He wrote likewise, that Mr. WALTER LINDSEY had been honourably entertain'd in Spain, and was made a knight, and had obtain'd all that he desir'd, both for himself and the banish'd lords, and was coming to Flanders with the cardinal.

The king of Scots carried himself very honourably at that time, especially towards the state of England; for he declar'd, that his resolution was to maintain amity, and to keep his hand close from all practice against queen ELIZABETH and her realm; and to the end no person should misdoubt or mistake his meaning, he declar'd it there in the presence of them all; which had comforted all good men in so good an opinion of the king, all the pulpits ringing to his praise, and they themselves daring to attempt nothing in their councils, but that which they acquainted him with. He was busy in reconciling all jealousies, and then intended to settle a solid council for the management of his affairs.

The president of the college of justice, ALEXANDER SEATON^a, had been exerting his endeavours to procure the chancellorship, but he was then farther from it than before. WALTER STUART, prior of Blantyre, by his office of privy seal, discharg'd the place of chancellor; and there was no appearance of that post's being dispos'd of. If Mr. ARCHIBALD DOUGLASS persuad'd himself, that he might be chancellor, he was marvelously deceiv'd; or if any in England thought, that he had credit in the Scots court, he would see the contrary. The letter, which the king wrote by Mr. RICHARD DOUGLASS, nephew of ARCHIBALD, his majesty said was only to prove what the great matters were, which the uncle had bragg'd, that he had to discover, for his honour and profit, his majesty having said, after he had written it, that princes sometimes must serve their turn of knaves as well as honest men. If Mr. ARCHIBALD DOUGLASS's credit were such to obtain that at the queen's hand, which he had counted of, and others had not been able to do, no doubt but he would be heard. But if her majesty were persuad'd, that he could, by his credit, compass matters in Scotland to her uses, he abus'd both her majesty and her council, for it would be found, that he could do little more than in the chancellor's time. At Mr. RICHARD DOUGLASS's return, it would appear, what great matter he had to discover. The court was still, after the old manner, divided into factions; the duke of Lennox, the earl of Mar, the prior of Blantyre, Sir ROBERT MELVIL, the abbot of Newbottle, the provost of Clenclouden, Sir JOHN CARMICHAEL, the lord TRANQUER, and the clerk register^c, ran one course; and the master of

^a Lord URQUHART. SPOTSWOOD, p. 412.

^c JOHN SKERK.

Glamis, the president, and the comptroller, another. The king had made choice of the prior, Sir ROBERT MELVILL, and the lord TRANQUER to be his chief counsellors, and to follow their advice; which three were good men, and tendered the amity with England.

Mr. BODLEY in his letter to Sir ROBERT CECIL from the Hague, on the 26th of November, 1595¹, requested him to advertise the queen, that on the 18th he had received her majesty's letter of the 4th, with another to the States, which, according to his charge, he had presented to them in their public meeting; and delivered to them as much as he was otherwise injoin'd by a verbal declaration. But Monsieur CARON, their resident in England, had sent them word above ten days before, that having had, as he related, communication with the lord treasurer, he understood, that in case they would be ready with some succour of shipping against the Spanish preparation, the queen would be pleased to let fall for a season her pursuit of the reimbursement. This gave them great joy, and they thought it proper to communicate it immediately to the several provinces; in order to obviate many dangers, which they apprehended might arise upon the sudden, unless the people by some means were put in better heart. But Mr. BODLEY was now instructed by the letter, which he had received, that in this there was an error of too much haste in Monsieur CARON's account, before he had received her majesty's resolution. The States therefore having had among themselves some time of consultation, upon the queen's letter, and Mr. BODLEY's demands, they delivered him an answer full of thanks and dutiful acknowledgments of the grace, which they received, and which could never come, as they declared, in a meetter season for their welfare. And with regard to what was required of the aid, which they were to yield, of 30 ships of a certain burden, they made no farther question, but that when it should be moved to the States in particular, they would immediately take order, that her majesty should be served to her best contentation. But for the point of defraying the auxiliary forces, they took it to be altogether in the self same nature with her former demands, which would by no means be effected by the generality, to whom they found it dangerous to notify, that her majesty would end her treaty with the country. Mr. BODLEY urg'd upon this divers considerations, that the people might be won by their good endeavours: That it was not a thing to be stood upon: That the sum would be but small, yet esteem'd to be great, in regard of their willingness, and the manifold occasions, which, pressed her majesty, and the speeches, that would go of this negotiation; with several other reasons. To which they gave no other answer than what they had done before, but that they intended to resume the matter, and to examine it thoroughly, and do all that they could to satisfy her majesty. But Mr. BODLEY was persuaded, that they would never yield to any thing, to how little soever the sum might be abridg'd, if it came to be demanded as a debt already due by the expiration of the treaty; for that was the place, where they thought themselves wrung, and the people, they imagined, would by no means endure it. For which reason he had no hope of any better satisfaction, and held it absolutely requisite to attend yet a while a fitter opportunity, which the state of things in the United Provinces and time must present; and

afterwards to project some such form of proceedings, as might come nearer to their liking; and yet conclude the same effect with that, which was required.

The States had secretly discoursed about the sending some persons to give her majesty more content, than had been done by their answer deliver'd to Mr. BODLEY: And if that should be resolved, it was like to be declar'd in their letter to her majesty. This message Mr. BODLEY thought would make very much for her service; since in that case, when they could not be persuaded to assent to her demand, the sending of their deputies would seem more respectful in the judgment of the world than their bare kind of writing; and it might be, that at their coming they would make some profitable motion, or be won by good remonstrance to recommend at home some special purpose of her majesty. And if neither of these should happen, yet it seem'd, that in these turbulent times, when the cause was common between the two countries, her majesty could not but be help'd by the conference and counsel and presence of such persons, as, it was presum'd, would be deputed.

With regard to what the queen mentioned of Monsieur BARNEVELT's overture, in which there was good hope both of that and greater matters, Mr. BODLEY mov'd him about it; and debated it at length; but Monsieur BARNEVELT put him in mind, that the time was far different from what it had been before, and their state more afflicted; and that since their conversation on the subject, they had been at the charge of 20,000*l.* disbursed to the French king's use, and at great expences in the field, where they had not their army at the time of that overture, nor in three months after, and had perhaps, as he suppos'd, if this project had been accepted, continued still in garrison. He mentioned likewise, what Mr. BODLEY had formerly declared to be the opinion of both Monsieur BARNEVELT and several others of the States, that there was no possibility to induce the common people to condescend to a restitution by virtue of the contract; for that they would not understand it but as a matter of right and a just stipulation, and that it ought to be continued; for which of force they must be won by presenting to them some other new treaty, with some such covenants and conditions, as need not charge her majesty, and yet oblige the country to those payments, which her majesty would require in regard of her disbursements.

Upon this occasion Mr. BODLEY observ'd, that since his last coming to Holland, he had found Monsieur BARNEVELT far out of temper, partly through the speeches of some of his colleagues, who disliked his dealings, as if his overture to Mr. BODLEY had been a motive to her majesty, when she saw, that of themselves they would yield to some good portion, to cast upon them the burden of a greater demand; wherewith they crush'd him, as he said, very often in their meetings; and partly, because he was grieved with somewhat written out of England of the opinion of some, that all his dealings with Mr. BODLEY were but dalliance and cunning to win time of her majesty. Which was also a touch upon Mr. BODLEY in particular, in respect of credulity or some other kind of weakness, in that he could not see the practise. But that gentleman wish'd, that the matter then proposed had come as well in some form, which her majesty could have lik'd, as it

it was clear and out of question, that there was no dissimulation. For as far as any abuse, that Monsieur BARNEVELT could offer by the means of the overture, it was so difficult for him to do it, and so many persons must concur, and it had steaded him so little, as if the circumstances of things in the nature of that cause and in the form of that government, and in the manner of conferring and proceeding with Mr. BODLEY, were duly weighed, he did not think to find any, who would stand in that opinion.

It was advertised to the Hague from very good authority, that the administrator of Saxony, the elector of Mentz, the archbishop of Saltzburg, and the rest, who were elected to work the feat of pacification, had concluded among themselves to go in hand with that attempt about February ensuing; which however, it was thought, would be deferr'd till the coming of the archduke, who, as many were of opinion, would be longer in coming, because, they said, he had in Provence many irons in the fire, and was in hand with CASO, the consul of Marseilles, to deliver that city to the king of Spain.

But with respect to the pacification, the people of the United Provinces were enabled, by a late extraordinary token of God's goodness to them, entirely to defeat that practice. For there had been very happily intercepted in the Mediterranean a special packet of letters, written by the marquis of Havré, and JOHN BAPTISTA TAXIS², to the king of Spain, and sent to the States by Monsieur LESDIGUIERES. By the letter of TAXIS was discovered a double falsehood in their meaning towards both the emperor and the States; and it was also full of fraudulent courses. Both the letters were written in cypher, and they were decypher'd by Monsieur DE ST. ALDEGONDE; copies of them being delivered by the States to Mr. BODLEY, with an earnest request, that they might not be communicated but to her majesty and the lords of her council, in order that at a proper time they might serve to be produced to the best advantage of their purpose.

Secret notice was sent to the Hague, and it was thought to be true, that the count of Hohenlo, who was then in Germany, was employing all his means to the advancement of a peace, and wholly busied among the princes in matters prejudicial to the state of the Union; all proceeding from a dislike between him and count MAURICE. It was also reported, that he would meet the prince of Orange in his way to the Low Countries, and what his dealing might be farther, was yet feared by divers persons.

It was undoubtedly believed at the Hague, that there would be a truce between France and Spain, at the least for a year. And there was intelligence, that the governor of Boulogne near Calais had such transactions of late with the duke d'ESPERRON, as many persons saw cause to doubt of his loyalty; as they did likewise of the holding out of Calais, which was not so well provided as the common voice went; and as they heard, that count DE FUENTES was making great preparations, it was suspected by many, that his design was to besiege it.

² He was afterwards one of the Spanish commissioners at the treaty of Vervins.

The French king had written to the States General to know what kind of war they would make the next year, whether offensive or defensive, to the end that he might accordingly direct his own affairs; desiring to receive their answer by his ambassador Monsieur BUZANVAL, to whom he had written to return with it, and to give him information of their state in many matters. But Mr. BODLEY could not yet perceive, that the States could well determine what answer to make with relation to their war.

Some of those, who had best intelligence out of Spain, gave it out for certain, that the preparations reported to be making were nothing so great, as they were imagin'd to be in Holland.

Mr. BODLEY concludes with requesting, that her majesty might be moved to grant him licence to return; in which petition he had, before his leaving England, been promised by the lord treasurer to be favour'd to him; and he hop'd the earl of Essex would put his helping hand to it. He protested, that if he might but have the leisure to set some order in his state, which was charg'd with expences more than most men imagined, and was many ways wrack'd to his great detriment by reason of his journies, it would to him be all a matter to live at home or abroad, either at the Hague or elsewhere, as her majesty might be pleased to think him fit to serve her turn.

He wrote three days after, November 29th, a letter to the earl of Essex^a, acquainting him, that being immediately oppress'd, at the writing of his last, with a fit of pain, which never spar'd him long, he could not finish it, nor the present letter in the manner he would, on account of the same indisposition. But to keep on the course of doing his duty, he could not wholly forbear, tho' his matter was but slender, having three days before bestow'd all his store upon Sir ROBERT CECIL. Only this was somewhat more, that whereas the States had resolv'd to reserve TAXIS's letter, to introduce it at the coming of the German peace-makers, they had since thought it better to send it to the emperor and the princes of Germany, and to every one in particular of the appointed commissioners, with special letters from themselves, to divert them, if they could, from their proposed embassy, or else to draw them by that means to consult afresh upon it; which would require some length of time, when of force every one must send to the others, and all to the emperor, and he to them again, and assign some other meetings; which, as they used to proceed in their business, would hardly be dispatch'd in five or six months, and the states would by this means gain a very great advantage for defeating altogether that design of the enemy. For they considered, that since of late they had stood in ticklish terms, and that as yet there was no shew of any great amendment, if at that instant; a troop of the German princes should chance to come to the Hague (for so they might without a passport, not coming from the enemy) and converse among the people with sugar'd persuasions, the whole State must in a moment be turn'd upside down. TAXIS's letter to the king of Spain manifested the meaning of the chief of that council, that it had no

^a Vol. vi. fol. 153.

other drift than to intrap, and betray, and tyrannise at last. That letter, in Mr. BODLEY's opinion, was not unworthy so much pains, as well for the matter, as to see how a Spaniard, in a question of state, runs to line and level, and gives every point and circumstance his perfect consideration.

A late resolution of the enemies seamen in Dunkirk, and elsewhere, to drown such of the Dutch, as they should take upon the seas, whom they us'd to put to a ransom very much amazed the Dutch merchants and fishers, because they doubted, that they should be forced to sue for safeguards and passports at the enemy's hands, or else keep quarter with those pirates, which was never done before; being points of such importance, as they could not fall in practise, but with great appearance of dangerous consequence. The States hereupon were very much troubled to devise how to obviate all inconveniences. The suspicion increased of the enemy's intent to come before Calais, by reason of some provisions, which were made at St. Omer's. And the opinion of several persons of skill at the Hague was, that it was no great mastery to cut off that haven.

Mr. BODLEY closes his letter with his last humble suit to be favoured by the earl in his speeches to her majesty for license to return home; where his presence was needful, as, if it could be seemly for him to trouble his lordship with such matters, he could make it appear in two or three lines, that never any person had more reason to crave the assistance of his friends for his speedy return. And he desires his lordship to impart to her majesty and to the lord treasurer the resolution of the States to write to the emperor.

† Sir WILLIAM BOWES, a gentleman of great fortune and distinction in the county of Northumberland, being employ'd to examine into the state of the middle marches between England and Scotland, sent an account of it to the lord treasurer on the 29th of November, 1595, from Newcastle²; informing him, that by commandment of her majesty's letters, Mr. SLINGSBY, Dr. COLMER¹, Mr. ANDERSON, and himself, had conferr'd with Sir JOHN FORSTER, at Alhwick, upon the condition of those marches, wherein such answer, as they had received from him in writing to the several articles of instructions given to them by the lord lieutenant of those parts, was certified by them to his lordship accordingly in writing. They had also seen delivered by indenture between Sir JOHN FORSTER and the lord EURE all such rolls, as they found to stand in full force, beginning at the last treaty concluded by the earl of Rutland, the former bills, as Sir JOHN affirm'd, being cut off by the said treaty.

Sir WILLIAM had since attended at Newcastle upon the lord lieutenant, who had diligently look'd into the state of the middle marches, as well by exact muster of the able horsemen, as also by travel in many particulars with the gentlemen for the better establishing of the lord EURE in his office; the certifying of which as Sir WILLIAM must chiefly refer to his lordship's letters, so he humbly pray'd the

² Vol. vi. fol. 110, 111.

¹ CLEMENT COLMER, doctor of civil law, and chancellor of the diocese of Durham. Wood, Fast. Ox. vol. i. fol. 124.

lord treasurer's accustomed favourable allowance, if in inward zeal of conscience of faithfulness to the queen's service, and in especial duty to his lordship, he delivered his opinion in general of the state of that country.

True religion had taken very little place, not by the unwillingness of the people to hear, but by want of means, there being scarce three able preachers to be found in the whole country. False and delloyal religion had taken deep root, and that in the best houses, increasing daily by the number and diligence of the seminary priests with more liberty resorting thither, being driven from other places of both the realms.

The course of justice, common to the whole realm, had made very small progress in that county of Northumberland, either in sessions of peace, punishment of trespasses, or felonies, levying of forfeitures, accounting of sheriffs, or such like; partly by the power of the warden, using another course of justice, crossing or not farthering it; and partly by other private men challenging liberties, and protecting defaulters for increasing their own strength.

With regard to justice special to the place, in many matters it appear'd to be clean out of joint, whilst due proportion, ordering particular distribution in parts to good respect of convenience in the whole, was not observed. It seem'd, that the English spoil'd less, and deliver'd more than the Scots; "So do we," says Sir WILLIAM, also lose more, and recover less by delivery than they: Whereupon ensueth, that by little and little our weakening is their strengthening, yea, and that is carried under the title of justice; for they offer us law, but we cannot use it, not by our negligence, but by their iniquity. For tho' their facts be evident, yet they drive us to prove it by avowry of a Scottishman agreeable to the treaty. And that being made now amongst the Scots a matter of deadly feud, with great difficulty the English get only some few of their bills filed, because no avowry can be gotten. Hereupon spring the unlawful complots, and combinations of the English with the Scots to recover somewhat by particular favours, where little can be had by public justice, and nothing at all by reprisal, albeit warranted by our statute law in cases of denial or delay of justice, heretofore usually practised by private force." This inveterate evil having formerly procured sundry commissioners of both the realms to give remedy to it, yet still proceeded by finding this evasion: First the Scots (no doubt standing upon the advantage mentioned) refused, as Sir JOHN FORSTER affirmed, in the last treaty at Barwick, to file or rely upon the warden's honour, being indeed the chief means till that time agreed upon for the English to avoid the abovementioned mischief in avowry. Next, the Scottish manner was to answer them by estoppel, shewing their bills amounting to as great value as the English; that value in truth not arising out of the loss of their subjects, but out of the strict words of the treaty, which binds as guilty of the whole for part possessed. So that in the great commotions ordinary in that realm some of the English possessing some trifling part of the spoil, we says Sir WILLIAM, are burdened and billed for the whole, as in the great Bill of Falkland, and such like. But the treaty of amity between the princes being taken rather *contractus bonæ fidei*, than *stricti juris*, Sir WILLIAM saw not but the inter-

interpretation of it should be made so, that neither realm might profit by the other's loss, every transgressor against either, delivered for his fact, at the least being published, not to be protected or relieved by either of the princes or their subjects, nor yet the goods of true men rest in the hands of thieves by composition; but rather justice upheld by concurring in mutual indifferency for the general, and in particular to restore the spoil; which could not be, if the cutting off by commissions left the gain still remaining in the worst mens hands. Yet better for the Scots than the English, because the chief strength of Scotland stood in their border, and those enabled in the manner abovementioned.

To the causes impeaching March-justice might be added, that the wardens and opposite-officers being always chosen of borderers, and bred and inhabiting there, continually cherish'd their favourites, and strengthen'd themselves by the worst disposed to support them in the change, which often happened, of the officers made by the king, on account of their misdemeanors, the new ever refusing to satisfy for any attempts committed before their time. Besides, the Middle March could not be answered by CESFORD the warden for the whole, but it was necessary to have recourse to FARNEHURST for one part, and BACLUGH for Lydderdale. Many execrable murders were committed, of which four new complaints were presented to the lords during their few days stay at Newcastle, besides three others that month in Athelston Moor. And the gentlemen of the Middle March then attending, recounted of their memory near 200 Englishmen miserably murdered by the Scots since the 10th year of her majesty's reign, for which no redress at all had been made.

Concerning the ability and disposition of the people, the Scottish spoils, hard landlords, death of cattle, and dearth of corn, had so impoverished that March, that of a thousand furnished horsemen certified in the year 1593, there were not found in this last more exact view an hundred; and those so dispersed, as no account could be given how they should be drawn to the necessities and fit opportunities occurring. Besides, men of the best judgment affirm'd constantly, that their opposite neighbours of Lydderdale, and east and west Tevedale, were fourfold above them in number of horses and strength. The gentlemen likewise asserted strongly, that they had lost since the 21st year of her majesty's reign near the value of 20000*l*.

There appeared lastly a discontentment and dejection of mind amongst the people generally very great, to see their enemies triumphing in their blood, and enriched by their losses; and amongst the gentlemen a great distraction, partly by the displeasures, which these lords had labour'd to compound, but mostly by endeavouring to defend themselves by private particularities, and their own several forces.

The contagion had touched and greatly impoverished the parts of the bishopric of Durham, next adjoining to Northumberland, along the higher parts of the rivers of Tees, Ware, and Derwent; and just then one SIMPSON, an honest man, was prisoner in Lydderdale, taken out of his house by the ELIOTS, and 100*l*. demanded for his ransom; besides many others taken in like manner, and several yet under bonds to pay their ransoms. It was lamentable to hear to what tortures

the Scots put poor men so taken, to force them to agree to the paying of greater sums in Richmondshire. Two wealthy mens houses were assaulted, and one of them spoiled by them 70 miles from the borders; which tho' the lord lieutenant by his great travel had discovered, and intended to redress, yet it was a great disquiet and terror to the people.

For the new lord warden, he was thought to be strongly press'd with these difficulties; a strong enemy, a weak and distracted country, suspicion of private practice to cross him, a year of scarcity, and a place of abode unsafe, as being in the highway of the greatest disorders.

Sir WILLIAM BOWES concludes with desiring the lord treasurer to receive information of these facts from some other hand no less tendering the heedful sincerity of truth; and he prays to God to continue the queen's days of peace, and to make his lordship still a happy instrument thereof, timely to cure the gangrene thus noisomly molesting the foot of this kingdom.

In this month of November, 1595, Sir WILLIAM KEITH being obliged to leave England in haste, wrote a letter to Mr. BACON^a, expressing his regret, that he was forc'd to depart without kissing the queen's hands, which honour had been obtain'd for him by the earl of Essex; and assuring him, that if her majesty would employ any of his nation to do her service either in England or abroad against her profess enemy the Spaniard, he should be found as ready, being at Venice, as if he were in Scotland, and that her majesty might command him next to the king his master. He was greatly concern'd, that he had not seen the earl, to whom, if his lordship had been at leisure, when he was in town, he would have delivered his letter and credit from the king of Scots; but he had sent his letter, and his credit was, that the king might have some hawk in the springtime sent to him into Scotland; and that his lordship would remind the queen of this request; and that earl BOTHWELL might not be either received or countenanc'd in England directly or indirectly, if he should chance to come from France thither; as the king of Scots was inform'd he intended. The answer of these two points from the queen and the earl Sir WILLIAM desired Mr. BACON to deliver to Mr. THOMAS FOWLIS, the king's servant, who would carry them to his majesty.

ANTONIO PEREZ, in his letter of the 1st of December, 1595, N. S. to the earl of Essex^a, inform'd him, that all the governors in Normandy, and the president of the parliament of Roan, had agreed in soliciting the French king to give the duke DE MONTPENSIER the government of that city; which Monsieur LE GRAND claim'd a promise of it: but at last the affair was settled, the government being granted to the duke, and the *Grand Ecuyer* made his lieutenant of the territories subject to that city, tho' the latter was not so well satisfied, as the former was. The duke carried his point by this means, that a great number of persons having understood his discontent, and of his having desired leave of the king to retire to a private life, they came to him, offering themselves and their fortunes to

^a Vol. vi. fol. 1512

^a Ibid. 162.

him, most part of them being malecontents ; which, as kings themselves are subject to fear, had weight enough with HENRY IV. to gratify the duke. ANTONIO in his postscript desires the earl to moderate the choler of Sir ROGER WILLIAMS, but first to hear Mr. BACON.

In another letter of the same date ^o, he complains of the silence of the earl, which he had not expected, and especially that his own letters should be so little agreeable, that his lordship would not write the least word of answer by Monsieur DE LOMENIE. He observes, that in his last letter he had requested of the earl an amanuensis or ordinary servant, who was faithful, in order that he might by his means acquaint the queen and his lordship without any noise with those things, that occur'd, and required secrecy. He was so uneasy at the earl's seeming forgetfulness of him, that he sent Mr. WYLTON to England on purpose to know his lordship's mind.

He wrote again on the 2d of December, N. S. ^p in answer to a letter, which he had probably received just then from the earl, who had express'd in it great concern for the establishment of ANTONIO's fortune, who was much pleas'd with his lordship's conclusion of his letter, that he wish'd that HENRY IV. might love ANTONIO to such a degree, as to take a thorough care of his interest, or to send him back to England. ANTONIO, who owns himself ready to seek all occasions of returning thither, submits however to the earl's judgment ; declaring, that if the king would take him and his fortune into his protection, he would engage in his service ; but if his majesty should, after the French manner, leave him to the genius of that climate, and the envy then beginning to shew itself against him (for it had not yet ventured to appear openly and boldly) he was resolv'd to retire whither his lordship and his own fortune should lead him. To convince his lordship of what he had hinted about envy, he added, that his presence and esteem with the king were circumstances not at all agreeable to the inferior ministers and secretaries, and especially to Monsieur DE VILLEROY.

In another letter of the 5th of December, N. S. ^q he acquainted the earl, that after the departure of Mr. WYLTON from Paris the day before, for some private affairs of that gentleman's own, he had received his lordship's letters, and had on the day of writing this letter, waited on the king, who was indispos'd, and to whom he related the earl's judgment with regard to public affairs, and his disposition towards his majesty, who desir'd him to repeat what he had said upon those subjects. ANTONIO told him in Spanish what his lordship had written in the end of his letter to him concerning their private affairs, that he would have ANTONIO think him happy, while the latter heard his majesty promising his favour to his lordship, but unhappy, in that he could not procure nor effect any thing for his majesty. The king upon this broke out into these words, " ANTONIO, can you infer from these words, that the earl wrote this from his being weary with contending for me ?" He answered, " No, Sir, but from grief, that he cannot always effect what you desire." The king then said, " Do you assure me, that this is true,

^o Fol. 165.

^p Fol. 171.

^q Fol. 167.

“ and that he is inclin’d to promote my interests with the same mind and affection?” ANTONIO replying, *Without doubt, Sir*, the king rejoined, “ I desire you then to write to him in my name, that I will be his friend for ever in all things, and upon the same terms and with the same fidelity, which I promised you in our walk in the Tuilleries.” ANTONIO engaging to do this, and that he would add what his majesty had said to his own letter to the earl, complaining of his lordship’s not having written to him by Monsieur DE LOMENIE, which letter he intended to send by a gentleman of the earl, the king ask’d, whether that gentleman would return immediately to England. ANTONIO answered, that he would, or some other; for that himself had requested of the earl one or two of his lordship’s servants, whose fidelity he might make of in transmitting to his lordship what occur’d. The king replied with great eagerness, “ I beg you, ANTONIO, to take particular care, that we may have good accounts of and from our friends.” ANTONIO’s answer was, “ Sir, I will do it; but take care not to mention to any person the least word concerning this private confidence. Princes ought to keep such friendship to themselves, if they would consult their own interest and safety.” His majesty promis’d this, stretching out his arms in his bed. ANTONIO adds in this letter, that having found by many strong tokens the jealousy and envy of Monsieur DE VILLEROY by degrees discovering itself against him, he could not suppress his sense of it, but in his conference that day with the king took an opportunity to say to him, “ What I shall intrust your majesty with, I desire you to keep to yourself, and not to venture to communicate to others. Some of your court do not love me; nor do I live here very much to my satisfaction.” The king then said to him, *Speak out freely*, ANTONIO: But the latter excusing himself at that time, on account of his majesty’s indisposition, the king embracing and kissing him, desired him to do it, and ask’d him abruptly, *Is VILLEROY the man?* ANTONIO replied, “ Let us, Sir, leave this subject for the present: but believe me, your love and favour keep me here; almost every thing else invites me to depart. If I am too strongly press’d by them, I will return to your friend, and there and elsewhere I shall perhaps be able to serve you without so many dangers, which, if it were necessary for your interest for me to be expos’d to, I would bear contentedly.” ANTONIO observes to the earl, that his lordship could not believe how afflicted the king was, when he left him, his majesty saying to him at the close of his conversation, “ I desire you to come to me to-morrow night, that we may talk freely together.”

ANTONIO in this letter acquaints the earl likewise that Monsieur DE BLENNY, a protestant well known to him, and who three years before, when ANTONIO came to France with Madame the king’s sister, had given him a great deal of advice how to behave himself with the king and the French, had told him that day, that a brave and honest friend of his, a soldier, having been a few days before taken by the duke DE MERCOEUR, that duke had talk’d with great familiarity and confidence to him, and at last acknowledg’d to him his desire of submitting to the king, and being restor’d to his favour, and of bringing about a peace with the king of Spain. This soldier, about ten days before, came to the king, and propounded the affair to him, who having communicated it to some of his council, return’d this answer, that he would not treat with another prince concerning peace

or

or any thing thing else, by a rebel vassal; nor with any king concerning the reducing of his vassal. Monsieur DE BLEGNY added, that this answer was return'd only because the person was not qualified to treat of such an affair; but that the king really thought of that peace, and of the means of entering upon it. This ANTONIO thought was what Monsieur DE VILLEROY intimated to him; but so much in the clouds, as he had written in the former letter.

Monsieur DE BLEGNY, who was a friend of the duke of BOUILLON, said likewise to ANTONIO, "Be careful of yourself, ANTONIO, in this kingdom, if that event should happen; and believe this of us protestants, that if the peace were made to-day, we would take arms to-morrow. We have the states of the Low Countries, the queen of England, and many of the German princes." ANTONIO asking him in what situation the duke of Bouillon stood with respect to the king, he answered, "Be cautious of mentioning to any person what I shall say to you, for you will ruin me, if you do. The king within these few days declar'd himself to me to be dissatisfied with Bouillon; and upon being ask'd the reason, answer'd, on account of the duke's having treated of a confederacy with the queen of England and the princes of Germany." Monsieur DE BLEGNY upon this said to the king, "Pardon me, Sir, I am a witness for the duke. You gave him orders, in my presence, on such a day, and in such a place, to treat of that affair." His majesty did not deny this, but charg'd the duke with going too far in the manner of it. Thus ended the conversation, being interrupted.

The day of the date of ANTONIO's letter a person came to the king from the duke DE MAYENNE, desiring to know what day his majesty would have the duke wait upon him, the latter offering to bring with him 500 horse, and 1000 foot; and the duke DE MERCOEUR sent to that duke full powers to treat of his submission to the king.

Dr. HAWKINS, sent to Italy by the earl of Essex, having reach'd Venice on the 2d of December, 1595, N. S. thirty-six days after his departure from England, wrote the same day to Mr. BACON*, to acquaint him of his arrival, and to desire them to make his excuse to the earl for not writing to his lordship that post. He observes, that in his journey through Germany he could learn nothing but of some differences between the king of Denmark and the Hamburgers; between the duke of Brunswick and the city of Brunswick; and between the Margrave of Brandenburg and the city of Nuremberg. That at KOBURG preparations were making for the funeral of JOHN FREDERICK duke of Saxony, who had been detain'd in prison twenty-eight years in Hungary by the emperor, and died about a month before. His son, the duke of Koburg, liv'd there privately, having put away his wife, the daughter of AUGUSTUS the elector, to which electorship his son-in-law pretended, but wanted forces to pursue his claim. At Inspruck Dr. HAWKINS saw the herse of archduke FERDINAND† of Austria, who died in January preceding, but was yet unburied. His debts were said to be very great, in regard of

* Vol. viii. fol. 120.
of January, 1594, N. S.

† Son of the emperor FERDINAND. He died at Inspruck, on the 24th

which

which ANTHONY FOUGER of Augsburg was retir'd into the country greatly decayed in his estate, who sued the archduke's executors in the imperial chamber for payment, but could not yet obtain any satisfaction. The peasants in Austria had been in arms for two months past, to the number of 40000, pretending grievous exactions, with which they were burden'd by their governors and nobility. They had committed divers insolencies, and were yet scarce well appeased.

In Hungary nothing of late had happened, except that the duke of Mantua, who went thither honourably accompanied at his own great charges, received there such ill satisfaction, that he return'd home lately much discontented with the Austrians and the whole German nation, and since his return had dismiss'd all the Germans attending upon him in his court. The pope was preparing to send into Hungary early in the spring 25000 men. There had been such great losses happened to the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua by the inundation of the river Po, after a month's continual rain, as were incredible to be reported.

Before the receipt of this letter, Mr. BACON had written to Dr. HAWKYNs¹, in answer to two letters, which he had received from him on the 29th of November, one from Staden, and the other from Hamburg; both which Mr. BACON sent to the earl of Essex, who was pleased with them. Mr. BACON acquainted the doctor, that Sir HENRY UNTON was to be dispatched the next week ambassador into France; and that the earl of Cumberland was setting out to sea, not upon any distant voyage, but to clear the coasts; and that Sir MICHAEL BLUNT², late lieutenant of the Tower, was displac'd, and Sir DREW DRURY³ sworn lieutenant in his room.

Mr. HUDSON being employed to procure for the queen of Scots a picture of the earl of Essex, and another of his sister, probably the lady RICH, wrote to Mr. BACON on the 5th of December, 1595⁴, for that purpose.

The earl of Mar being desirous to cultivate the friendship and good opinion of the earl of Essex, in a letter to him from Edinburgh on the 12th of December 1595⁵, professed, that it was more acceptable to him than any benefits, which he could receive from the queen of England, that he stood in her favour by his lordship's mediation; and that he should omit no dutiful service, that might procure the continuance of it. That he had learned indeed, that his duty in writing to the

¹ Vol. vi. fol. 194.

² The reason of his removal from his lieutenancy of and imprisonment in the Tower is thus represented by Mr. WHYTE, in a letter to Sir ROBERT SIDNEY, from London, December 5, 1595. SIDNEY letters, vol. i. p. 372. Sir MICHAEL being in conversation with Mr. NEVILL, alias LATIMER, and captain WAINMAN, they began to talk of the dangers of the times, and then to consider, how the Tower might be made defensible, what provision and men would serve, and how brave a command it was in a change. They next began to talk of titles, when the lieutenant was said to

have delivered his mind how he was affected, and that he and his friends would keep that place till he saw great reason to yield. But when they had waded thus far, he said, "Masters, these matters we speak of are perilous; and therefore I will have nothing to do with it." But LATIMER and WAINMAN found means to discover it to the queen. Upon which he was examined by the lords, and committed prisoner to the Tower.

³ He, in conjunction with Sir AMIAS PAULEY, had the custody of the queen of Scots, from 1584 till her death.

⁴ Vol. vi. fol. 201.

⁵ Ibid fol. 181.

earl was interpreted to the worst, and that her majesty with some jealousy apprehended his long silence. “ But I pray you, good my lord, *says he*, what should
 “ I write of our misery and emulation at home, a subject very unpleasant to me
 “ to write, and, as I think, loathsome to you to read? And yet I lingered not without some probable respects; for I knew certainly, that Mr. DAVID FOULIS, whom
 “ your lordship knows, carried a message for my disgrace. Albeit new things seem
 “ sweet at the beginning, yet I suppose your lordship will not alter your taste towards
 “ your old acquaintance, till by digestion ye try whose effects are most wholesome
 “ and comfortable to your body. It may be, notwithstanding one be away, yet the
 “ same trade may be undertaken by others. I will not dissuade your lordship to
 “ make your profit of all men; but I pray your lordship, trust nothing of me,
 “ till ye tell me; and to hold fast that amity you have bound up with me for the
 “ weal of both our sovereigns.

“ Your lordship wisheth me to be clear in some dark and obscure speeches in
 “ my last letter. Surely, my lord, my words may well be dark, but not my
 “ meaning, which plainly is, that I have gotten wrong; and that all those speeches
 “ are, with your lordship’s reverence, but calumnies and lies, and of themselves
 “ false. And this, my lord, say in my name, and I shall honestly discharge you
 “ of it.”

The earl of Mar then mentions, that the earls of Huntley and Errol had been at the court of Brussels, where they were said to have received but cold and indifferent answers; yet by their secret messages into Scotland they seem’d to encourage their friends greatly; and would persuade them, that they refused golden mountains of Spain and the pope, in hopes of his majesty’s pardon; which if they should be long denied, they would seek help, and return upon their own guards. Daily advertisements were brought to Scotland of the preparations of Spain; but whither they were intended, was not known; some said, against France, others against England, and some against Scotland, and consequently to invade England.
 “ We think it strange, *says the earl*, ye acquaint us nothing with the intentions of
 “ your enemies, nor of their army; since I can assure your lordship, ye will find
 “ a prince and people very well affected and resolute to hazard their life, and what
 “ they have else, in so honest an action.”

The same day a letter was written from Edinburgh to the lord ZOUCH*, but the name of the writer does not appear. It informs his lordship, that there were some curious heads cropping in court, and especially those of the queen’s council. It was concluded on the 9th instant, that an ambassador should be sent to England; and the provost of Edinburgh was to be the person. He was to require of queen ELIZABETH and her council, that, in respect of the invasion appearing against the island, they would elect and proclaim publicly in both kingdoms the king of Scotland to be her majesty’s lieutenant-general and perpetual, and assign him sufficient expence for the maintaining of that cause with expedition.

* Vol. vi. fol. 182.

Another embassador was likewise to be sent to the Low Counties, requiring the States-general to send a competent number of men into Scotland against the last of January, together with the Scots in their pay, and that they might be maintain'd in Scotland at the expence of the States. This matter was mov'd in council to their agent resident in Scotland, who answered, that his lords and masters were willing to send men into Scotland, unrequired, if it should please his majesty and the states of that kingdom: But that in the mean time it would be more honourable for his majesty to send some worthy person to them to notify his good intention.

There was a messenger come to Scotland from the duke of Florence to the king; but the matter of his message was not yet come to light.

The king had received a copy of *certain illusions and mockeries*, that were set up in an open place in London on queen ELIZABETH's last birth-day; at which he laugh'd much.

There was an appearance of trouble likely to happen on the 18th of that month of December, except better order should be taken between the earl of Mar and his adversaries.

The barons of the south and south-west of Scotland were all written for to be at Edinburgh within two days.

Mr. ASTON wrote likewise to Mr. HUDSON from Edinburgh, on the 16th of December*, that the king of Scots was then busy in his affairs, especially concerning the borders; that the lord of Ginefton was committed to the castle with the rest; and that present order was taken with the borderers, as it would also be with the rest of the country. The master of Glamis was pass'd off that term. The queen's council had offered the king a sufficient rent to entertain his estate, if they might have the three offices, of treasurer, comptroller, and collector, among them. The earl of Mar had summoned a convention on the 20th, which was like to occasion trouble, the parties being strong on both sides, tho' the chief persons were ordered to attend but with a few. The queen had dealt very earnestly with that earl, but he would no way grant her request; so that it was as ill with them as ever it was. The provost of Edinburgh was to be employed to the queen of England.

Before this time GODFREY ALEYN, who, at the recommendation of the earl of Essex and Mr. BACON, attended ANTONIO PEREZ to France, was discovered, by intercepting his letters, to have been unfathful to the interests of his master and his patrons, by betraying the secrets of the former, and sending copies of his private letters into England, three of which, written to the earl of Essex, he transmitted to Mr. BOWES, embassador in Scotland, as appears from his own letter to that gentleman of the 13th of November.

* Vol. vi. fol. 191.

He wrote likewise to his father the following letter in cypher ^b, which was probably sent by Mr. WYLTON, in the latter end of November, and was likewise intercepted.

“ Altho’ I have nothing of any importance to write, yet can I not choose but
 “ write unto you by any messenger, by whom I may conveniently send unto you.
 “ This gentleman is one, whom my lord sent with my master into France to keep
 “ him company. He can tell you of all my proceedings with him, and of all
 “ matters concerning him, if he please to tell you the very truth. I think I shall
 “ not stay with him long, he is so inconstant in his determinations, and such are
 “ his humours, every day increasing more and more strange, as I am not wise
 “ enough to use myself so, as I may always please him. And, to speak truth, the
 “ king already beginneth to be weary of his humours, insomuch as I am sure he
 “ cannot endure here long; and besides, the greatest men, who, he was persuaded,
 “ would love him best, begin to cross him in his enterprises, and do flout him to
 “ his teeth. For my part, I am sorry it so falls out; yet do I determine to do
 “ the best I can to please him, because I have a desire to stay with him so long as
 “ I can, only because I have an intent to get some knowledge in such matters, as
 “ I begin to be acquainted with; which, I hope, will be much for my benefit
 “ hereafter.

“ There is emulation growing between Mr. EDMONDES and my master, Mr.
 “ EDMONDES being jealous he should be employed in all things; and so by that
 “ means his service in the end might grow to be of none account, and his former
 “ service forgotten, and not rewarded, as it is commonly seen. And the other,
 “ I know, is greedy enough in desiring to be wholly employed in those matters,
 “ because he might hope to bring his business to some good end. His business
 “ will I set down in the end of my letter. And for the calling home of Mr.
 “ EDMONDES, I know the other hath written to my lord, saying he is more ser-
 “ vant to the treasurer than to my lord, and that he can bring forth one, that
 “ will avouch it to his face; which if it be true, I shall be sorry for Mr. ED-
 “ MONDES’s sake.

“ The end of all his devices is to work by all means he can, to get our queen
 “ and the French king most firmly and faithfully, both to defend themselves
 “ against the Spanish king, and also to offend him; assuring himself, that if they
 “ would join in that sort together, it were an easy thing to overcome him; and
 “ he were in good hope to have his wife and children released. But he seeing
 “ our queen will not yield to this so easily as he expected, he is past all hope, and
 “ therefore exceeding melancholly. I would that it had pleased God, that the
 “ queen had yielded in some sort to the king’s demand, for by reason thereof to
 “ withstand his enemies any longer, he must now be enforced, even against his
 “ will, to grow to some peace with his enemies, as it is now offered; which un-
 “ less God worketh wonders for us again, we are utterly undone. If the treasurer
 “ had not withstood the queen’s purposes at this time, that had been well with all us.

^b Vol. vi. fol. 219.

“ There was a falling out between one WISEMAN and myself in Paris. I pray you hearken, whether you can hear, if any thing be reported of me, for I fear his malice; altho’ I know he can report no evil of me, if he believeth me not. Therefore in any wise learn of some of my lord’s men, whether he hath reported any thing of me or not. He was sent over with my master, whom my master sent over with letters long since.”

The infidelity of Mr. ALEYN being discovered, most probably by Mr. BACON, and the earl of Essex extremely alarmed at the betraying his secret correspondence with ANTONIO PEREZ, sent immediately to France, Mr. (afterwards Sir) HENRY WOTTON, to acquaint ANTONIO with the affair. Mr. WOTTON reach’d him on the 13th of December, and three days after ANTONIO wrote to the earl^c, expressing his astonishment and concern at the treachery of his servant, and his satisfaction at the detection of it. In this letter he refers to Mr. WOTTON for an account of what himself had done in the affair, but informs the earl, that he had thought proper to mention it briefly to the king, who said upon hearing of it, “ Good God! how easily could that fellow have plac’d a vessel of gunpowder under your house, and reduc’d you to ashes!” One of ANTONIO’s reasons for acquainting the king with this accident was, that if ALEYN in his journey thro’ France should discover, that his letters had been intercepted, and endeavour to make his escape, Mr. WOTTON might by the authority of his majesty’s letters detain him. Another reason was, that if such a thing should happen, and come to the king’s knowledge, he might entertain, according to the natural temper of the king, a suspicion of the earl and ANTONIO, and their correspondence; which would put an end to all the service, which the latter might be expected to do, as long as he liv’d. He then relates the method of his proceeding with ALEYN. He had the very night of Mr. WOTTON’s arrival, received letters from Italy, which he carried himself to the king, which he would not have done in the melancholly circumstances in which he then was, if it had not been with a view to deceive the guilty person more effectually. Upon his return home, he call’d ALEYN to him, and said to him, “ My friend, Mr. WOTTON has brought me hither some letters, upon the subject I have spoken to the king. Tho’ Mr. WOTTON is a man faithful to the earl of Essex, yet I have not such an acquaintance with him, as to trust him with a paper in cypher, least his brother^d, or some other person, should come to know of it. I will deliver it to and trust it with you only, but in such a manner, as Mr. WOTTON may be artfully deceived by us. I will mention, that I am desirous of sending upon this occasion one of you into England, in order to bring back safe to me the monies, which I left with Monsieur BASADONNA, and perhaps some more that I shall want. By this means Mr. WOTTON will be amused, and not entertain, I hope, any suspicion, that it is upon any other account. I will not name you immediately, but do you desire to go. I will seem to be in doubt, whom of you two to send, and at last determine upon you, as the more proper for age and fidelity; since the fidelity of boys is apt to be talkative. I will deliver you the paper; and you shall go directly to the earl, and deliver it carefully to him, and not tell any other person,

^c Vol. vi. fol. 168.

^d Sir EDWARD WOTTON, knighted in 1592, afterwards comptroller of the house to queen ELIZABETH, and king JAMES I. by whom he was created lord WOTTON.

“ that

“ that you had such a charge intrusted to you.” ALEYN readily caught at this, and received the hook into his jaws. The paper, which he carried, had not a single word in it, but was full of unmeaning cyphers ; and therefore ANTONIO directed the earl to burn it, and to examine the bearer with the utmost care, and to inform him of all that should be discovered. He requested his lordship at the same time to treat ALEYN with all possible gentleness, if he should offer any tolerable excuse ; since he own’d he had himself an affection for ALEYN’s sister, tho’ without the least injury to her modesty. *Scito enim me illius sororem amasse, sed sine tactu illius pudoris.*

Upon ALEYN’s arrival in England in company of Mr. WOTTON, he was arrested, by the earl of Essex’s order, at Richmond, and examined on the 17th of January, 159 $\frac{1}{2}$ *, what letters he had sent from France to England, when he confessed, that he had sent three copies by SIMMONS the post, and one other, of which he pretended not to know the contents. He acknowledg’d, that he had receiv’d a letter from his father, by which he understood, that Mr. BACON knew of his letters thus sent. Being examined, what letters he had from his father, he said, that he had received only two during his stay in France, and one from an organist in St. Paul’s. Being ask’d, what maintenance he had since he went thither, and at his going, he answer’d, that he had not with him above twenty crowns, and that he had not received any maintenance from any but his master since his departure from England. Being interrogated to whom he had written, he said, to his father three letters, and to Mr. BOWES he knew not how often. He confess’d that he had sent one copy of his master’s letters, and one letter to Sir WILLIAM SPENCER ; and that he sent all such letters to his father to be distributed to those, to whom they were written. That his father wrote to him in one of his letters, that Mr. BOWES thank’d him for his letters, and desir’d to hear often from him. That the other letters of his father contain’d nothing but matters of advice. That his father neither before his going, nor since his being in France, gave him any instructions what course he should take, nor what he should write from time to time, nor in what manner. But a letter from his father being shewn to him, containing these words, “ I wish, that you would write “ unto me in a more dark manner, as yourself well remembered in your last, and “ I pray you to bestow some time to devise it, and you shall see I will add to it ;” he confessed that letter to be his father’s hand, and own’d the receipt of it. The earl of Essex was so exasperated by his infidelity, that he ordered him to be committed to the Clink Prison, where he lay several months ; and his father Mr. JOHN ALEYN falling under his lordship’s resentment, who ordered him to be confined for some time, as concerned in this fraudulent correspondence, wrote to the earl on the 13th. of January, 159 $\frac{1}{2}$ †, that his lordship’s grievous displeasure, still continued towards him, as he perceived the night before, and his son’s *foul fault* in writing copies of letters, which were directed to his lordship, made his flesh and heart tremble. But he protested his own innocency, and that he had always advised his son not to write to him, or any other person, of matters of state, but to be faithful to his master, and secret in such points, as should be intrusted to him. That with regard to directing him to devise some secret manner of writing to

* Vol. v. fol. 13.

† Vol. viii. fol. 79.

him, it only related to such matters, as concern'd his son's own condition. That with respect to the copy of a letter shewn him the night before by the earl, and sent to his lordship, which was partly in cypher, and which his lordship took to be that between himself and ANTONIO PEREZ, he desired, that it might be examined, trusting, that it would be found otherwise, since it would appear, that he had never received any other letter from his son in cypher than what his lordship had seen, and they came both at one time, and were the last, which he received. That the reason, why he advised his son to write more obscurely, was this, that after he had found by one of his son's letters, that there was a difference between him and his master, he directed him to that method of writing, lest his letters should be intercepted by his master, the cause of whose discontentment his son declared in his letters that he knew not, except it were because he would not become a papist, to which ANTONIO PEREZ had often solicited him, contrary to the promise, which he had made, never to attempt his religion.

GODFREY ALEYN wrote likewise in that month of January to the earl^s, that there was nothing contain'd in his letters to his father, but ordinary news, and liking or disliking between his master and himself, tho' he could not remember the number and dates of those letters. That with regard to his father's letters, he could recollect all the contents of them, the first of which his lordship had, and in the two last his father sent him word, that his lordship had told him, that ANTONIO PEREZ had often written in his behalf, commending his diligence; and that he had been at Mr. BACON's to see for those letters, which he had sent by SIMMONS the post, and that Mr. BACON assured him, that he saw none directed to him. His father also acquainted him with the death of the earl of Huntingdon^b, and concluded with exhorting him to endeavour to please and content his master, and to bear with his humour, considering, that he knew him before his going over, and should lose the earl's favour, if he should offer to come away before his lordship sent for him. " Yet because, *says he*, I have mightily offended in this last packet, I most humbly submit myself to your lordship's most honourable favour in not dealing with me according to my desert, seeing that (as it is fallen out) there is nothing known to any man, which is contain'd in those letters, by my means, but to your lordship only. And that, which was contained in them, I imagined not to be matters of so great weight; for that most of the matters contained in them, was commonly spoken of by many; and also signior PEREZ himself did not only speak of them openly, but also would often read the copies of them to any man, that came unto him. And thus not fearing any danger to come thereby, I did foolishly and altogether carelessly send rude copies, which, had I had time to write, I am sure I had not sent; but had they been delivered according to the direction, I know they had gone no farther, Mr. BOWES being a most honourable gentleman, and that honours your lordship above all the men in the world. But I have a suspicion by many causes, that this was purposely plotted by signior PEREZ to do me some displeasure, he seeing my unwillingness to stay with him; for he would often tell me in his anger, that he would send me one day into England to my cost; when I would answer him, desiring him, if

^s Vol. viii. * 79.

^b HENRY earl of Huntingdon, who died 14. December, 1595.

" his

“ his pleasure was not to do me any good, that he would do me no harm. And
“ as concerning Mr. Bowes, he never willed me to write to him, neither said any
“ thing to me, when I went away, but that he would be glad to hear of my well
“ doing.”

He applied likewise to Mr. BACON, in a letter of the 1st of February, 1597¹, for his favour and interest with the earl of Essex, confessing the greatness of his fault, and beseeching Mr. BACON to excuse him to his lordship, that he had not sent before the letters, which the earl had demanded of him; “ for at my first
“ imprisonment, *says he*, at Richmond, I shewed them all to him, that had the
“ keeping of me then, desiring him to let his lordship understand of them; but
“ before his lordship sent for them the other day, I never was asked for them.”

He continued in the Clink Prison till the 4th of May, 1596, when Mr. BACON wrote a letter to the keeper of it ^a, requiring him, according to the power, which at his request the earl of Essex had left with him for the liberty of GODFREY ALEYN, to release him upon such conditions, as were contain'd in a bond dated that day, in which both Mr. ALEYN the father, and his son GODFREY, were engaged for the appearances of the latter, whenever the earl should command it.

^a Vol. ix. fol. 33.

^b Vol. xi. fol. 35.

B O O K V.

HENRY IV. who from long experience was thoroughly convinc'd of the earl of Essex's zeal for his interest, having had a late instance of it, in his lordship's defending him against the suspicions infused into the queen of the sincerity of his attachment to her interest, return'd his thanks to the earl in a letter dated at Fort Cambray, on the 28th of December, 1595^a, professing, that he would have done the same thing himself for his lordship on the like occasion. "What greater injury, *adds he*, can be done to a prince, who prefers his honour to his life, than to draw his faith into question upon so slight a pretence? I complain of the queen, not that I imagine, that she had any other concern in it, than in suffering persons to presume to talk to her in such a manner. I call upon you as my second, but only in the capacity of a witness; for my cause and sword are too good to want assistance, in order to make those die of shame, who have dar'd to advance such impostures at my expence."

Mr. ERSFIELD, employed by the earl in France, in a letter to him from Paris, on the 21st of December, 1595^b, took notice, that this place of his residence had not such plenty of certain occurrences, as he had presum'd so great a city would have afforded, the former miseries of the people making them attend their private commodities, striving more to talk of proceedings in the court of parliament, where the advocate is continually employed to plead, than the outrages of his own nation committed in their wars one against another. "The prattlings, *says he*, of the people, (which these times of fear have made the Frenchman to esteem as the counsels of the wife) are generally to desire peace, be it with never so dishonourable conditions, their present necessities urging them to leave the boast of their antient valour, and to seek capitulation with their greatest enemies. Those I have talked with, I find no remembrance of the supports they have had by neighbour nations; and if they may purchase quiet, they care not how others fare. The king is well-beloved: his own servants term him *le meilleur prince, mais le plus mauvais ministre*. His subjects the papists suspect his hypocrisy. They of the religion condemn his open *paillardise*. His soldiers would have him leave building (to which he is much given) and make his pay. They generally murmur at his great impositions (which are sharp, considering their wants) so that his clemency and care to preserve them is in their fickle nature almost forgotten." Mr. ERSFIELD then observes, that the king's expences and travel about his trenches at La Fere had yet effected nothing but prevention of mutiny, by keeping his soldiers from idleness. Many were of opinion, that France would be at a general peace very shortly. The duke DE JOYEUSE was pacified; duke D'ESPERNON ready

^a Vol. vi. fol. 178.^b Vol. viii. fol. 207.

to surrender his government of Provence, and to accept of the conditions propounded to him before, and the duke DE MERCOEUR attempted by all means to be brought to a reconciliation. The duke of Savoy was weary of war, and would willingly condescend, as it was thought, to an accord. Some reckon'd upon a peace between France and Spain; while others thought the latter would entertain no composition, knowing how France was wasted and consumed, but would annoy the former by continual war, in order by that means the more easily to secure his usurped places.

The Spanish preparations by sea were confirmed from all places to be 200 sail, and that they were in great readines.

Mr. ERSFIELD concludes with desiring, if the queen should send an embassador to France, which Mr. EDMONDES hop'd, to be recommended to some employment under him, yet such a one, as might not prejudice the services, which he vow'd and ow'd wholly to his lordship; whose expectations he should by that means better answer, as well as increase his own knowledge.

The earl of Essex having employed likewise Mr. GEORGE HUNGERFORD in his travels abroad, the latter wrote to his lordship from Straßburg, on the 20th of December, 1595*, acknowledging the receipt of his letters of the 18th of September by the lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby's *slow footman*, and in them the earl's favourable acceptance of his letters and promise of enabling him by his liberality to continue his services, and furnishing him by Mr. WOTTON's correspondence with the occurrences of England. He thanks the earl for the hundred crowns, which he had received, and assures him, that the order, which his lordship had given him to buy and purchase men, as he might, should be used in such a manner, as he hop'd no dislike or repentance should follow; tho' his lordship knew how subtle false-men were, and that no merchandize was more deceitful. But he intended not to venture much before hand. That the winter season would oblige him to defer his journey into Hungary. That he had in two or three of his letters advised his lordship, how some of the princes of the empire were to be made sure to the queen's service, "with great opinion, *says he*, of their love and assurance of your love and respect towards them, who should be thought the only counsellor and worker of it, as already you are with greatest matters, that is, with her order. Besides, how others use to entertain respect with men of chief favour about them, I then advertised too. The last is not to be weighed. Two or three hundred crowns worketh much out, reduced, as I them wrought, into medals with her majesty's image and some pretty motto. In the chief cities of the religion to have worth a thousand others so engaged, and made a creature of yours, would not be a bad purchase. If your honour like the course to Francfort Mart, you may give order and commandment, what shall be done, and I will so distribute them, as shall be most to your honour and vantage. If not, let the desire I have to serve your lordship, excuse the presumption of my counsel." He then observes, that all things in Germany stood yet at a winter's

* Vol. viii. fol. 171:

stay and pause. The cardinal of Austria was then passing thro' Lorrain, with 7000 men, as the report was, but Mr. HUNGERFORD thought with less force. Jealousy of the cardinal's stay, and the failure of his purpose upon Marseilles, hasten'd him out of Italy; and now to rescue La Fere made him pass towards Flanders, tho' Mr. HUNGERFORD thought, that he meant no battle. The new cardinal TOLETO^d, a Spaniard, and bred jesuitish, was said to come legate from the pope to the French king. The reasons were apparent; yet it was believed, that he would not content the king of Spain.

Dr. HAWKYNs began now by a letter from Venice of the 29th of December, 1595, N. S. ^e his correspondence with the earl of Essex, which he continued occasionally, his regular dispatches being to Mr. BACON. But these, as well as those to his lordship, being chiefly filled with advices from the more distant parts of the world, will afford but few extracts proper for a work of this kind. The same day, on which he wrote to the earl, he address'd a letter to Mr. BACON^f, in which he mentioned his having understood from a gentleman of the French ambassador's at Venice, that HENRY IV. had sent for to Paris his queen MARGARET, daughter of HENRY II. whom he had married just before the massacre in that city, in 1572; but that his design of sending for her was not to live with her, as some imagined, but to be delivered from her. He added likewise, that Dr. LEWIS^g, bishop of Cassan, died not long before his arrival at Venice, which had somewhat hindered Dr. HAWKYNs's designs, so that he must make a new plot. That all the talk in that city was, that the Spanish preparations was design'd for England. He concludes with wishing, that the affair of signior BASADONNA, a Venetian merchant, might have good success, that the correspondence between the queen and the state of Venice might go forward, of which there seem'd never to be more need than now: And indeed her majesty thought proper in December this year, to take occasion, in writing a letter dated at Richmond, concerning that affair, to that state^h, to express her high regard for Venice, and after mentioning the king of Spain's preparations against England, to declare herself fully confident, that they would not assist that king, and her hope and desire, that they would not lend him any ships, nor suffer any to go to Spain, lest he should, as he had done in the year 1588, seize them, and make use of them to her prejudice.

ANTONIO PEREZ on the 29th of December, 1595, N. S. acquainted the earl of Essex in a short letterⁱ, that he had written to Mr. WOTTON just after his departure with GODFREY ALEYN, to make all possible expedition to England; and that he had understood by RYVET, a young man, who had been put about him by his lordship, that a messenger, or some other person of that kind, was just arrived, being sent to Mr. EDMONDES by Sir ROBERT CECIL, whom ANTONIO styles in this letter ROBERT THE DEVIL, *Robertus Diabolus*, a name, which he usually

^d FRANCIS DE TOLETO. He is frequently mentioned in cardinal d'Ossat's letters.

^e Vol. viii. fol. 179.

^f Ibid. fol. 203.

^g OWEN LEWIS, educated at New College in Oxford, where he took the degree of bachelor of arts, Feb. 21, 1558. He afterwards went abroad

on account of religion, and became rector of the English college at Rome, archdeacon of Cambray, and at last bishop of Cassana. WOOD. Ath. Oxon. vol. i. fol. 263, and 288. and Fasti, vol. i. fol. 87.

^h Vol. vi. fol. 173.

ⁱ Ibid. fol. 169.

talk'd him by among his friends while he was in England. He added, that the night before, while the king was talking to himself and Mr. EDMONDES in their ear, the latter advancing nearer to his majesty, desir'd to speak a word to him, upon which ANTONIO drew back. This letter is a full proof of the jealousy, which he began to entertain of Mr. EDMONDES, and of which GODFREY ALEYN gave an account in the letter in cypher to his father above cited.

Sir HENRY UNTON, who had been ambassador in France in the year 1591, being now sent by the queen thither in the same capacity, the earl of Essex, who had engaged him in his interests, furnished him with the following secret instructions, dated the 23d of December, 1595^k.

“ 15 [Sir HENRY UNTON] is sent ambassador into A. [France] to discover, how
 “ 99 [the French king] standeth affected towards 100 [queen ELIZABETH] and
 “ this state, and partly to excuse our late proceedings, as denying of succours,
 “ not taking hold of the treaties, and such-like. If, when he comes there, he
 “ discovers 99 [the French king] alienated from us, and treating openly or under-
 “ stand F. [Spain] he is warranted by his instructions to seek by all means to re-
 “ cover him, and upon 15 [Sir HENRY UNTON's] advertisements new overtures
 “ will be made to 99 [the French king] to please him, as treaty, and offer of good
 “ succours. If he find, at his coming over, that 99 [the French king] is no way
 “ looking to F. [Spain] nor so discontented with our courses, as he pretends, then
 “ upon this news we will leave all things as they were, and 99 [the French king]
 “ and his ministers shall be thought to be but men of words; and such coun-
 “ sellors in B. [England] as have given credit to the French advertisements, and
 “ persuaded 100 [queen ELIZABETH] to satisfy 99 [the French king] are utterly
 “ discredited. Therefore 99 [the French king] and his ministers must remember
 “ what they have written and spoken, and be constant to themselves for the causes
 “ before recited. For our excuses; if they in A. [France] do much impugn
 “ them, we shall have everlastingly a battle of letters and words, while the op-
 “ portunity passeth away of impeaching the enemies designs, and uniting these
 “ two crowns. The soundest and surest way then is, to give us jealousy, and to
 “ awake us with matter of fact, and not with words and threatnings. So shall
 “ 99 [the French king] be more respected, his friends gain credit on this side,
 “ and those, that have traversed him all this while, be convinced and driven to
 “ cry *percevi*. Let him shew his means to treat, not as if he would make osten-
 “ tation of it, but let him devise, that it may come to 15 [Sir HENRY UNTON's]
 “ knowledge. Let him not impugn our excuses, but allowing them say, he is
 “ sorry we are not able to keep him, and as sorry, that he is not able to make
 “ the wars without us. But when he sees, that 15 brings nothing but words, he
 “ must seem to take this worse than all the rest, as either meant to do him a scorn,
 “ or else that he hath cause to think he hath some other secret design than is
 “ pretended, for on so idle a message he could not believe that we would have
 “ sent him. To conclude, he must so use the matter, as 15 [Sir HENRY
 “ UNTON] may send us thundering letters, whereby he must drive us to propound

^k Vol. vi. fol. 175, 176.

“ and to offer. He must give some public shew of coldness at 15 [Sir H. UNTON's] first coming, and of discontent after he hath heard him, but so as it be without offering him disgrace; and he must welcome him as 15 [Sir H. UNTON], tho' he do not as ambassador. He must propound no treaty, nor make no request; for that will make us value him less than we do. He must cast out words, that either 100 [queen ELIZABETH] is carried to some secret treaty with F. [Spain]; the hope of which makes 100 [queen ELIZABETH] abandon him; or else that some of her ministers are corrupted to seal her eyes, and gnaw with their envious teeth the cards of amity betwixt B. [England] and A. [France] asunder. But all this without passion, for any shew of passion will make us think him destitute of all other remedy to his affairs.

“ 93 [ANTONIO PEREZ] must write to 19 [Earl of Essex] such a letter, as may be shewed, wherein he shall say, that the sending of 15 hath made all things worse than ever; and he must expostulate with me, why I, knowing the humours of 99 [French king], and the affairs of A. [France] so well, as I do, would not stay his coming, since he brought nothing else. He must write also, that he fears, ere he shall have leisure to send again, and to treat, 99 [the French king] will be so far gone to be brought back. But let him put nothing in that letter but that, which may be seen, for the ordinary courier shall bring it.

“ For all matters touching 93 [ANTONIO PEREZ's] particular, I will write by Mr NAUNTON or ROBIN VERNON, which in my letters by 15 [Sir H. UNTON] I will tell him.”

The earl, by the new ambassador, sent a letter to the French King¹, in which, having mentioned his acquaintance and friendship with a man of ANTONIO PEREZ's virtues, accomplishments, and experience in affairs, as the most valuable acquisition, which he had ever made in his life, he thank'd that king, for his royal favours towards ANTONIO, promising to take all opportunities of obeying his majesty in promoting the satisfaction of that gentleman, and desiring to be honoured with some other commands of his majesty, the execution of which would be as dear to him as his life.

Mr. BACON being induced to undertake the procuring favour for one Mr ROBERT BOORME, who had fallen under the justice of the Court of Chancery for some criminal practice, and having employ'd Mr. STANDEN to apply to lady EDMUNDSES, one of the court ladies, for that purpose, that gentleman wrote to him from the court on the 27th of December, 1595^a, that he had offered her 100 l. for her interest with the queen, which she treated as too small a sum, the lord keeper PUCKERING desiring that matter to be brought, as Mr. STANDEN expresses it, *to her will*; “ for I heard him, adds that gentleman, say to her, *Madam, it is not the cause you do desire, but only the Booty*. She answering, *Yea, my lord*; then said he, *Do your endeavour, and you shall find me ready*. This ruffianry of causes; I am daily more and more acquainted with, and see the manner of dealing; which groweth by the

¹ Vol. vi. fol. 186.^a Vol. vi. fol. 221.

OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

“ queen’s straitness to give these women, whereby they presume thus to grange
 “ and huck causes. Here is great whispering about Irish matters, wherein it is
 “ said the lord treasurer to have been notoriously over-wrought. Time will tell
 all.”

Mr HUDSON having written letters to Mr ASTON on the 9th and 16th of December 1695, the latter in his answer dated at Holyrood-house in Edinburgh on the 29th of that month^a, informed him, that as they were *wisely written*, so they were *well taken*, “ And to confirm your opinion, *says he*, I have direction by his majesty’s
 “ own mouth, upon the sight of your letter, to signify to you, for the better confir-
 “ mation of that is already past, to the end you may the better both satisfy yourself
 “ and all others, his resolution is to defend her majesty’s crown and estate, and to
 “ peril both his crown and life in that quarrel. Let the cunning of the world judge
 “ as they please, his actions shall better witness; and as he protested under the
 “ great oath and by the word of a prince, that he was never upon any course
 “ prejudicial either to her majesty’s crown or estate, but always hath and ever shall
 “ defend that as the apple of his eye, grounding himself upon these reasons, that
 “ he might ever be answerable, it was not the overthrow of England, but the pre-
 “ servation he sought. All this he avows both private and public, and is so earnest,
 “ as none dare reason to the contrary. Brother, resolve yourself of this, that I
 “ have written, for if I knew it not to be true, I would not abuse you. The success
 “ you shall see from time to time. His majesty is minded to send a very sufficient
 “ gentleman to her majesty, with full resolution now in this great time of practise and
 “ danger; which I hope shall give her highness such contentment, as shall be accepta-
 “ ble both to herself and all that wish her honour and standing.” Mr ASTON adds,
 that they were surely advertised, that Mr. BOWES was upon his dispatch from En-
 gland to return to Scotland; which the king was very glad of, and would fain have
 him there before the dispatch of his own ambassador, who was extremely unwilling
 to undertake the journey, but that, as he said, the king, upon so honourable a reso-
 lution, as what he was coming upon, thought him capable of doing good offices.
 Mr. DAVID FOULIS was to attend him to England, tho’ the ambassador had not so
 great a liking of him as of Mr. GEORGE YOUNG. This ambassador was, accord-
 ing to Mr. ASTON’s character of him, a very sound man, and had done the king
 considerable services; religious, and a lover of the amity between the two kingdoms.
 He was preparing himself for his journey, but linger’d to see the issue of Mr. BOWES’s
 dispatch.

Sir ROGER WILLIAMS’s death^b was greatly lamented in Scotland, especially by
 the king, who wish’d he had lost five thousand of his own people for his life, and in-
 tended to write his epitaph.

“ All our affairs here, *continues Mr. ASTON*, go very well. The king becomes a
 “ new man. He is so earnest to repair the abuses, that have been, as he takes no
 “ rest. The horners are so hotly handled, as the best earl of them all is glad to

^a Vol. viii. fol. 175.

^b He died, as was mentioned above, p. 315, on the 12th of December 1597.

“ agree with creditors, or otherwise to enter in ward. The offices of comptrollery
 “ and collectory are presently to be changed. The king finds, he hath been greatly
 “ abused in those offices. He hath ript out the treasury, and means it shall pass with
 “ the rest. Yet for the present, Sir ROBERT keeps foot. The queen’s council joins
 “ with the prior and others of the king’s council for reformation of the king’s parti-
 “ cular affairs. All is revoked, that hath been done by the king’s mother or him-
 “ self. Judge what will become of the rest, when all is taken from WILLIAM
 “ MORRE and JOHN GIBBE. Yet the king will have consideration of them some
 “ other way. CARMICHAEL is appointed warden of the West March, if the com-
 “ munity may be found to grant him such conditions, as he desires, which is presently
 “ in doing. To say the truth, he is the meetest man for it. Mr. RICHARD hath not
 “ delivered his negotiation as yet. He hath seen the king, but no more. You
 “ will hear by my next how the king takes all his doings. The king speaks publicly,
 “ that Mr. RICHARD has plaid the knave with him.”

Mr. STANDEN did not yet discontinue all application to the lord treasurer, whom
 he solicited for the place of Garter King at Arms, in a letter, the date of which does not
 appear. In this letter having observ’d, that the disorder committed the day before by
 that officer within her majesty’s chapel seem’d in the judgment of many to threaten
 the unfortunate man with notable disgrace, he proceeds, “ If it fall out in his office,
 “ I am humbly to revive my late suit to your good lordship, and to intreat your gra-
 “ cious favour therein for myself; which I will endeavour to acknowledge by all my
 “ poor means possible.”

Mr. GEORGE GILPIN, brother of BERNARD GILPIN*, rector of Houghton in the
 Spring in the county Palatine of Durham, and distinguished in that age by the title of
The Northern Apostle, being employed by the queen as her resident in Holland†,
 gave the earl of Essex frequently an account of the affairs of that country. In his
 letter from the Hague of the 31st of December 1595‡, he informed his lordship,
 that little matter worth the writing then offering, he had proposed to wait for some
 opportunity, if it had not been requested by Mr. BODLEY to make his excuse, as
 being then entered into the midst of his business with the states general upon the re-
 ceit of the last packet from the lord treasurer, wherein the motion of the project
 formerly made by Mr. BODLEY was reviv’d, and having been treated of by him with
 the advocate BARNEVELT, Mr. BODLEY intended within three or four days to write
 to the earl concerning it, and whatever else related to his negotiation.

Mr. GILPIN then takes notice, that he had, according to his lordship’s advice,
 written to Sir ROBERT CECIL about his suit, taking knowledge of Sir ROBERT’s kind-
 ness as from his lordship. “ But hitherto, *says he*, no answer is come, and I will expect
 “ in great duty to hear somewhat farther thereof from your honour, when leisure
 “ shall best serve to vouchsafe me that honourable favour, being ever ashamed to be so

* Vol. vi. fol. 216.

† Vita BERNARDI GILPINI à GEORGIO CARLE-
 TON episcopo Ciceriensi apud BATES vitæ selecti-
 orum aliquot virorum, p. 299.

‡ He discharged that post till his death in Septem-

ber 1602. Historical View, p. 203. He translated
 into English PHILIP MARNIX de St Aldegonde’s
 Beehive of the Romish church.

* Vol. viii. fol. 165.

“ troublesome.

"troublesome. But your most noble mind and kind nature emboldened me thereunto, and I heartily crave pardon, if I presume too far."

Among other articles of news he mentions that since his last letter, the men, who were gone out of the garrison-towns of Brabant, to seek and raise the mutinied Italians by Turnhout, missed of their purpose; for the latter having had some intelligence aforehand by the boors, were risen and retired towards Telemont with their carriage, having with them good store of money raised from the boors. It seem'd now, that the truce between them and our men were broken, and that wherever they met, there would be blows. Their deputies were said to be sent into Spain, to offer their service to the king, meaning not to serve the Spaniards longer then they could choose; for the cardinal's coming made them doubt, that somewhat would be done against them by his forces; while he would leave the Dutch in quiet, amusing them with the colour of peace. By advertisements in those parts it was affirmed, that the cardinal was thought to be come by that time to Luxemburgh, whither most of the nobility from Brussels were gone to meet and conduct him thither; so that they lived in quiet in the United Provinces, and feared no alarms as long as the open weather lasted.

Mr. EDMONDES still attending the French king in his camp before La Fere, wrote from thence to the lord treasurer on the 31st of December 1595^{*}, and sent a copy of that letter to the earl of Essex, with another to his lordship of the same date[†], in which he remark'd, that since his last there had fallen out there an accident, which for the time caused a great storming against the duke of Bouillon, by reason of a letter, which he wrote to a gentleman of the reform'd religion at court, concluding with these words, that he heard, that his journey into Gacony would serve to purpose for the public, to take a good resolution against the tyranny and malice of their evil-affected enemies. This letter falling by mischance out of the gentleman's pocket, was carried by the person, who found it, to the king, who failed not to make the worst interpretation of it, as if it contained a meaning, that the duke would practise against him. Upon this the duke was persuaded to come to the camp, and to satisfy the king against those conceits, which he was resolved to do, and was expected there the next day or the day following, and he would no sooner see his majesty, but they would be reconciled, and the duke have as great interest in him as ever. Only the fear was, that the king importuning him (as undoubtedly he would) to forbear his journey, and he not yielding to it, it would much distemper them a-new. The duke was obliged to take that journey for the settling of his particular estate; but that would not be received for satisfaction against greater jealousies. Yet his enemies fear'd nothing so much, as to see him resident with the king, knowing him to be their supreme insufficiency, and that he would govern all; and his old uncle was of that number.

BALAGNY[‡], who had hitherto been more happy than wife, being now left so the proof of his wit, made himself the fable and contempt of the world, in

^{*} Vol. vi. fol. 193.

[†] Fol. 199.

Valence. He had attached himself to the league.

[‡] JOHN DE MONTLUC Seigneur de Balagny, He was afterwards made marshal of France, and natural son of JOHN DE MONTLUC bishop of prince of Cambray by HENRY IV.

hope to make a new fortune by means of madam de MONCEAUX, the king's mistress. He was going to marry her eldest sister, call'd DIANA*, by whom the duke D'ESPENON had formerly a child; and who since had continued a most basely abandoned woman. To honour therefore so worthy a marriage, the following verses were written.

“ Si tel, qui vist DIANA nue,
 “ Dust aussitost teste cornue;
 “ Combien doncques cornu sera
 “ BALAGNY, qui l'espoufera!”

Monsieur DE SANCY was not yet departed for Holland, by reason that the king had stay'd him to settle an order of the finances that year, of which he was of principal council. He was desirous, that Sir HENRY UNTON might first arrive; and that Monsieur DE SANCY might first pass thro' England into Holland.

Mr. WRIGHT the jesuit, after his return to England, having drawn upon him the suspicions of his brethren of that order, occasioned Mr HENRY GARNET, one of them, afterwards Provincial, and at last executed for being privy to the design of the gun-powder plot, to write to him the following letter.

“ Good Sir,
 “ If the mischance, which you had at your first entrance, of falling into the hands of those, which have the custody of you, had not hindered me, I should long ere this have had occasion to renew my old familiarity with you, and to declare the perpetual good-will, which I have borne you. So soon as I heard of your arrival, and divers speeches were given of your actions, I spared not any commendations of you, to satisfy those, which were over-busy to interpret your behaviour, and to declare that honesty and virtue, which so many years together I knew in you. But after that I received a letter to that effect from our friend R. P., who, I assure you, wrote very lovingly and faithfully of you to me, besides the special comfort, which I received myself, I have been able with greater facility and authority to give that testimony of you, which you deserve, and I doubt not, will deserve to the end, whereof I give you my faithful promise also for the time to come. Yet that this good will may be the more stable and reciprocal between us, I thought good to let you know of a certain report, which some malicious tongues, neither well affected to you nor us, have spread abroad, that, according to your charity, you may seek to salve it as well as you may. For some do not stick to give out, that you do commonly report the cause of your departure from our society to have been grievous disorders, which you saw therein. This I am assured you never uttered, as I know the thing itself to be most false. Neither can I possibly imagine, that either so orderly and holy a company, in so few years of my absence, should receive so great a fall; or that you should forget your dutiful affection to so careful a mother, from whom you have sucked whatsoever you have either of virtue or learning. Therefore, good Sir, I do earnestly desire you, that for the controuling of these evil tongues, you will write unto me three or four words, whereby your opinion and affection towards the society may

* DIANA D'ESTREES, eldest daughter of ANTHONY marquis de Cœuvres.

• Vol. viii. 163.

• Probably ROBERT PARSONS.

" be testified to such, as shall be needful. And therein as you shall undoubtedly please
 " almighty God, and of him receive a just reward; so shall you in particular
 " bind me unto you more, and give me a perfect token of our antient love and
 " friendship. God and our blessed lady give you means and strength daily to in-
 " crease the honour of his holy church. *Primo. Januarii.*

" Your loving and faithful old friend,

" HENRY G."

Mr. WRIGHT return'd from Westminster a long answer to this letter, declaring, that whenever his quitting that society was mentioned, the reason, which he always did and should allege was, that he left it, not for that it did not deserve him, but because he did not deserve *so holy a company*, not having that health, which such *continual and heavenly exercises* required. He assured Mr. GARNET, that he had delivered to some of the principal of the kingdom, that they should not any more be afraid of jesuits or seminaries, as of persons pretending to persuade or help an invasion from Spain; but that they were as much opposite to it as either protestants or puritans. For, as for the jesuits, they had made a decree in the last general congregation. *sub pena peccati mortalis*, not to deal in any matters concerning the state; which decree was as urgent to them as death, and more too; and he knew them to be extremely averse to the Spanish invasion; and the seminaries did not come into the kingdom with any design against it. He therefore urg'd Mr. GARNET to persuade them to this temper and conduct, since the queen, who on that account, favour'd divers catholics in England, would deal much more mercifully, if she should perceive the same disposition in all priests and jesuits. That he did not write this to Mr. GARNET, as thinking him in any wise inclin'd to the contrary, having known his upright dealing to be religion, and not civil or unnatural policy; and therefore presum'd to persuade him to persuade others to the same, *whish*, says he, *I think you have done heretofore*. " Another thing, adds he, is, that I hear, and it is too common now in England, that all jesuits and seminaries are sworn enemies to her majesty, intending, persuading, and procuring her death; the which is against all prudence, wisdom, and charity: for I can assure you, if such plotting and practising had never been invented, the poor catholics in England had enjoyed more peace and tranquility. For, as for my part, because her majesty understandeth, that I pretended nothing in England but religion, I have found that favour, which perhaps none hath obtained hitherto; which is, that none shall trouble me for my conscience; and so I think many more should obtain, if they proceeded in the same manner. Good Sir, resist as much as you can any such Machiavelian treasons, and let her majesty understand, that all ambition, covetousness, or any other pretence, is far from us, whose vocation is religion, and not suppressing of princes. For otherwise I am afraid, lest all our priests be rather put to death for matters of state than religion. I can assure you now, and *in verbo sacerdotis* I swear, that I have heard divers learned men among the jesuits affirm, that now her majesty hath almost *legitimam causam occidendi seminarios propter suspicionem prodendi regni, et occidendi reginam*. And so

“doubtless they shall be no martyrs. I desire you, good Sir, to procure, that my words be confirmed true; I mean, that jesuits deal not with matters of state; and that you will write into Flanders and Spain concerning this matter. For I hear, that since the decree was made, some have been too busy (and I could name you them, and in what manner, but for just respects I will conceal them) lest the world say (as I have heard some protestants so persuaded) that the decree was rather a cover of craft and policy than a sincere rule and law.” He concluded with hoping, that Mr. GARNET would shew himself a loyal subject, zealous in religion, and loyal in obedience; “and God send us a merry meeting, as we had sometimes at Rome.”

Dr. HAWKYNs, in a letter from Venice to Mr. BACON, of the 3d of January, 159⁸, containing the occurrences of various countries, mentions, that there was then secretly negotiating in the court of Rome the creation of another English cardinal, who was like to be one POLE, son of JEFFREY POLE. He was particularly caref’d by cardinal FARNESE; but his *primus moter* was the king of Spain, who still found the English cardinals to be his best champions, cardinal ARAM standing alone to the pope’s face against the absolution of the French king.

Mr. BODLEY wrote to the earl of Essex from the Hague, on the 4th of January, 159⁸, tho’ he could not, he said, remember, that the country, where he resided, was ever so barren of occurrences so long together; which made him unprovided to answer, as he would, his lordship’s letters of the 29th of November, and 5th of December, in which the point of submission of the earl of Tyrone was wonderfully welcome to those of the States-general, to whom he had imparted it, since the good or ill success of such affairs of her majesty might likewise greatly make or mar in all the actions and doings of those, who waver’d in that country.

By letters out of Germany it appeared, that the cardinal of Austria would be in the Low Countries shortly; tho’ from other places it was written, that he made no such haste. However Mr. BODLEY saw no cause to stand in fear of his arrival, if her majesty and the States-general persever’d in a purpose of mutual support. For by all, that he could gather by guess or by knowledge, there was not the least inclination in the principal parts of the body of the United provinces to run any fortune other than her majesty’s, or to sever or swerve, in any cause whatsoever of weighty respect, from her courses. How he had been busied to persuade Monsieur BARNEVELT to give the adventure once again in the matter reviv’d of his overture of late, and what had been contrived between them about it, he had made a long rehearsal to the lord treasurer; in which point, if they should miss of the mark, at which they aim’d, they should likewise lose the fruit of a great deal of pains; which if they had bestowed, when the time was fitter for it, there was likelihood of driving a far better bargain. But Mr. BODLEY still liv’d in good hope of very good success; with the report of which, and that of the state of that country, which latter the earl was particularly desirous of, and which Mr. BODLEY had always in mind, he trusted to return before it was long to England.

Mr. BODLEY's letter to the lord treasurer of the same date^f inform'd his lordship, that upon receiving his letter of the 15th of December, on the 28th, he thought it requisite, before he should procure a meeting of the States, to speak with Monsieur BARNEVELT, that, if he could be won to undertake his former offer, they might jointly cast a plot to set the matter forward; and also make, if need required, some special addition to the form of that verbal, which his lordship had conceiv'd. The chief substance of Monsieur BARNEVELT's answers was to this effect, that his forwardness and zeal to do service to both sides had been term'd in England simulation and cunning. That the state of the affairs of the United Provinces, since Mr. BODLEY and himself had talked together, had been notably changed; and that the college of the States was grown very jealous of his dealing in that matter (tho' he did not think, that they knew the particulars) so as now the second time to intermeddle in it would be to hazard over-much his credit in the country, if it should not succeed to their general liking, which he had no reason to put in adventure, since it touch'd him no more than every man besides. This was in debate for two days together; yet in the end with very great difficulty, and many sorts of persuation, he made this answer, that tho' it was apparent, that since the time of that overture, there had happened many things there, which were evident impeachments to the course, that he propos'd; yet he continued in his hope, that in order to stand in good assurance of her majesty's amity, and to obtain a full release of all her demands, the country might be drawn to yield to some offer beyond their ability, wherein he would take pains to satisfy her majesty by all the ways he could invent, notwithstanding there had pass'd just occasion of discouragement. But that it was not in his power to find so ready a means to attain to what he would, as when it was *integrum*. For which reason it would be necessary to have a little patience, till his colleagues might be wrought by convenient degrees to allow the propos'al. It was also to be thought upon, that he of all others might not now, as at first, propound the matter in their college; but if Mr. BODLEY would bethink himself how to set it once on foot, he should see every day by his [Monsieur BARNEVELT's] careful proceeding, that he fore-saw'd no occasion to second him with vigour. Mr. BODLEY upon this told him, that his commission would not bear, that he might use any such speech in their public assembly of any new motion, as proceeding from her majesty: But he would, after declaring her pleasure to them, venture to cast out a word in general terms, by way of proposing his private opinion, and with a true protestation, that he had no commission from her majesty to do it, to such effect as this; that he had weigh'd with himself very often and thoroughly, as much as they could allege in excuse of their refusals; and that he saw notwithstanding, how backward soever they had shew'd themselves, that they might easily devise to satisfy her majesty, and make no dangerous diminution of the strength and welfare of the country: and if after upon this in their private consultation Monsieur BARNEVELT would take a fit occasion to provoke his colleagues to a conference, and to send some two or three to know the means, that Mr. BODLEY could plot to give her majesty contentment, he would then, as of himself, break the ice unto Monsieur BARNEVELT's hands, and recommend such an overture, (altho' he meant to make it better) as they had in communication.

^f Vol. viii. fol. 82.

Of this kind of proceeding Monsieur BARNEVELT took great good liking, so that three days before the date of this letter, Mr. BODLEY obtaining audience of the States, after he had imparted the points of his charge, proceeded to deliver his private advice, as he had formerly us'd in many other causes with their approbation, but always with a preface of submission to their judgment, and with a special protestation, that he spake but of himself, without the notice of her majesty. He requested them to think, that tho' for the present her majesty had been pleased, for some greater considerations, to seem to say little, and to wink at their dealings; yet since it was a matter, which touch'd her in honour, in regard of her earnest and often pursuits and the censure of the world, which would follow upon the issue, she would not so give it over, but when the season served for it, they might be troubled with the fruits of a prince's indignation. That it might happen, that the Spanish preparations would prove but a scare-crow; that the enemy might otherwise be driven to his ships by some notable damage; or that they in their affairs might attain by some attempts to a greater amendment of their means; in any of which cases they were to imagine in their wisdom, that it would cost them very dear, so that her majesty might perceive, that it were not to ruin the state of their country. Whereas now, if they would, they might prevent it all in time with some kind presentation to be made by their deputies, such as she might accept consistently with her dignity and honour, and they afford with willing minds, without the impairing of their estate. That he had no such occasion to know their estate, as they themselves; yet of somewhat he was certain, and could clear it unto them by plain demonstration, that the country was provided of a competent means for a reasonable offer; so as if they would but fall to fashion a project, and recommend it to their people with some caution and love; as they had the skill to handle it well, it was like enough to pass without any opposition. That they should therefore look to it, and speedily take hold of this offered opportunity, and not spare a little labour to compound so great a matter; wherein he, for his part, would be ready, when they would, to communicate further, and to yield any aid in other sort, concurring with the duty and credit of his place.

To that, which Mr. BODLEY declared in her majesty's name, they made this answer; that they were surpriz'd beyond measure at the sharpness of his message, after they in their letters had so plainly reported the state of their affairs, that they thought it impossible, if her majesty had vouchsafed to ponder every reason with the exquisite balance of her princely judgment, but that she would have given way to their true allegations. That they would consider farther of it, and, as occasion should be offered, Mr. BODLEY should know their resolution. And as for what he had uttered of his own proper motion, they took it as proceeding from affection to them, and of an inward desire to make a crooked arrow strait, for which they gave me many thanks. But yet touching the matter, they found it very ticklish to be bruik'd abroad, that they and he were in talk to find out a way to dissolve the contract with her majesty, and to take order for reimbursement, which might be hurtful to themselves for not being authoris'd, and perilous also otherwise for pushing on the people to some other alterations. Nevertheless they would resume it, and discuss it amongst themselves, and after a while Mr. BODLEY should

should have an account how far they durst proceed. He had immediately upon this some farther talk with Monsieur BARNEVELT, by whom he was inform'd, that the answer made to Mr. BODLEY went current in their meeting, as taken to be grounded upon the very true reason and circumstance of things, as their state stood then, and in the nature of that cause, for which the matter yet required some time of digesting; which Monsieur BARNEVELT would set forward the soonest he could, and travel to effect it with his greatest dexterity. For if his colleagues should be urged very hastily, he thought, that out of question they would either not give ear; or, if they should, and should not like, it were no more to be renewed. For which reasons he would endeavour, not directly by persuasions (since that would be too open) but by other kind of preambles, to prepare underhand the humours of his colleagues; which would be the harder, because they were not one man's children, and scarce met in one conceit in the weightiest causes of the country. The least contributing provinces, as Guelderland, Overysse, Utrecht, and Groningen, were none of the stiffest in refusing a peace, and had nothing so much feeling of her majesty's offence, as Holland and Zealand, which stood upon their traffick, and could quickly make their reckoning to how much danger they were subject, if her majesty would be drawn to make tryal of her puissance. However, because Holland and Zealand, by reason of their greatness, gave law in a manner to all the rest, Monsieur BARNEVELT would first take upon him to found the chiefest of them; and if they would comprehend it as beneficial for the state, he would make the less doubt of the rest of the provinces.

It was a very fortunate incident, that he was then newly appointed with several principal men of Holland, to go immediately for Zealand about some public causes, which he thought, would keep him away about ten or twelve days, and give him very good leisure for managing the matter with those of that province. And there would be then, after about a fortnight, a full meeting in Holland, where he was resolved to do his best; and as he should find these affected, he would apply himself to some others of the lesser provinces, and when the time should be fit for it, would procure Mr. BODLEY to be call'd to explain his meaning in his former proposition, and afterwards to conclude and determine upon it. So that Mr. BODLEY was in good hope to see the issue of it in four or five weeks, being assur'd, that there would be no defect in the endeavours of Monsieur BARNEVELT, who was very earnest with him, that there might be no mention of what he intended, or of his name, as of a plotter of that project, which would rather disadvantage than advance her majesty's service, and might perhaps purchase a number of bitter foes. It might likewise, in Mr. BODLEY's opinion, more endanger than farther this matter, for himself to deal with others, as well as with Monsieur BARNEVELT, unless some men should of themselves give the first occasion, as was done by that gentleman. And Mr. BODLEY found it not so easy, where mens natures were so jealous, as they were in that country, and so fearful to listen to any new devices, to get them suddenly to a point of such consequence, as would bereave them of the benefit of a singular treaty with a prince of so much power, whose countenance and aid had maintain'd their state so many years together against the force of such an enemy. For which reason he took it to be the best, till the matter should be riper, to use the help of one alone, who was

already gained for it, and, for his credit and experience, served instead of many others. "As likewise I must say, adds Mr. BODLEY, that for his soundness of dealing, I have had it in trial for a number of years in very many causes, in which I have found him often harsh in respect of his carriage, but always very trusty in regard of performance, where his promise hath been past. And so I trust I shall have cause to report in this cause." Mr. BODLEY subjoins in his postscript, that the purpose of the States was to have sent their deputies for England about the first of February: but this was talked of no more, nor, as he could learn, was intended then at all, on account of the speech, which he had deliver'd in the name of her majesty, unless that point should be granted, in which he was then busied.

The testimony, which Mr. BODLEY gives in this letter to the sincerity of Monsieur BARNEVELT, is a new evidence in favour of that able minister, whose long and important services to his country are as memorable in the history of it, as his unhappy catastrophe is a dishonour to it. He was born on the 14th of September 1547¹, at Amersfort in the province of Utrecht, of the antient and noble family of OLDEN BARNEVELT. Having made some progress in his studies, he went in 1564 to the Hague, where he began to practise his profession of a lawyer, during that and the following year; but in 1566 and 1567 he prosecuted his studies at Louvain and in France, which in the latter end of 1567 he was obliged by the breaking out of the civil war to leave, and thence pass'd thro' Swisserland to Heidelberg, where he continued his application to the study of the law, which having finish'd, and travelled in 1568 and 1569 thro' Germany and Italy, he return'd to the Hague, where he settled, and was admitted an advocate of the court², and was one of the three, who in 1572 first acknowledged WILLIAM prince of Orange. The year following, to avoid being surpriz'd by the Spaniards, he removed to Delft, and the same year went a volunteer to the raising of the siege of Harlem, as he did in 1574 to that of Leyden, till sickness forced him to leave the army. He was made counsellor and pensioner of Rotterdam in 1576, and in 1585 sent to England on an embassy with others deputed by the nobility and free cities of Holland and West Friesland. Upon his return, out of gratitude to the memory of the deceased prince of Orange, who had been murdered in July of the year preceding, he used his interest and endeavours to settle the government of Holland and West Friesland on count Maurice, his son, before the arrival of the earl of Leicester, appointed in the beginning of 1586 stadtholder and governor general of the United Provinces.

In 1586 Monsieur BARNEVELT was with much difficulty prevailed upon to accept of the office of advocate general, resign'd by PAUL BUYS in 1584, and afterwards distinguished by the title of pensionary of Holland and grand pensionary. This office he often petitioned to be released from, but the public service requiring his continuance in it, he discharged it for three and thirty years with uncommon diligence, abilities, and success. From the year 1588 to 1606 he made thirty-six

¹ Hist. de Hollande depuis la Treve de 1609, par M. de la NEUVILLE, tom. i. p. 261. edit. Paris 1693. The real author of this history is ADRIAN BAILLET, who publish'd the *Jugemens des Espagnols*, and many other books.

² BARNEVELT's Apology, written by himself in Low Dutch, at the Hague, April 20, 1618, and soon after publish'd. It is printed in French in the *Mercurie François*, and in English with scurrilous remarks translated from the Latin in 1618, 4to.

journies to count Maurice in his camp, and performed five embassies, three to queen ELIZABETH, one to king JAMES I. and one to HENRY IV. of France. At the entrance into his post, he found affairs in a general disorder, occasioned by the death of the prince of Orange, the violent conduct and ill designs of the earl of Leicester and his creatures, the seditions and revolt of the towns, the dissension of the provinces, and the progress of the Spanish arms. These various and complicated evils he removed in a short time by his vigour and capacity, and having found the republic in the utmost distress, raised money by his own credit for her support, re-establish'd her finances, and soon made her rich and powerful. But his zeal for a peace with Spain, and his great share in procuring the truce in 1609, broke off the friendship and harmony, which had subsisted between him and count Maurice, whose influence and power at last brought him to the scaffold at the Hague on the 23th of May 1619, N. S. after nine months imprisonment.

MR. FRANCIS DAVISON, son of WILLIAM DAVISON, Esq; who had been removed from his office of one of his majesty's Secretaries of state on account of transmitting the warrant for the execution of the queen of Scots, being in his travels, the earl of Essex, who had a great regard for his father, being reminded of his resolution to write to the son by Mr. BACON¹, sent to Mr. DAVISON the following letter on the 8th of January 1595-6².

“ S I R,

“ If this letter do not deliver to you my very affectionate wishes, and assure you,
 “ that I am both careful to deserve well, and covetous to hear well of you, it doth
 “ not the trust I have committed unto it. My love to your worthy father, my ex-
 “ pectation, that you will inherit his virtues, and the proof I have seen of your well
 “ spending your time abroad, are three strong bonds to tie my affections unto you :
 “ to which when I see added your kindness to myself, my reason tells my heart,
 “ it cannot value you or affect you too much. You have laid so good a foundation
 “ of framing yourself a worthy man, as if now you do not perfect the work, the
 “ expectation you have raised will be your greatest adversary. Slack not your in-
 “ dustry in thinking you have taken great pains already. *Nusquam enim nec opera*
 “ *sine emolumento, nec emolumentum sine operâ impensâ est. Labor volaptasque dissimilia*
 “ *naturâ societate quâdam naturali inter se conjuncta sunt.* Nor think yourself at any
 “ time too rich in knowledge or in reputation, as you may spend out of the stock ;
 “ for as the way to virtue is steep and craggy ; so the descent from it is headlong.
 “ It is said of our bodies, that they do *lente augescere, & cito extinguuntur*. It may be
 “ as properly said of the virtues of our minds. Let your virtuous father, who in
 “ the midst of his troubles and discomforts hath brought you by his care and charge
 “ to that which you are, now in you receive a perfect comfort and contentment.
 “ Learn *Virtutem ab illo, fortunam ab aliis*. I write not this as suspecting, that you
 “ need be admonished ; or as finding myself able to direct ; but as he, that, when
 “ he was writing, took the plainest and naturalest style of a friend truly affected to.

¹ Mr. REYNOLDES's letter to Mr. BACON, January 6th, 1595. Vol. viii. fol. 18.

² Vol. viii. fol. 158. See likewise *Scrinia Sacra*, p. 20. *edit. London*, 1654, in 4to.

“ you.

“ you. Receive it therefore, I pray you, as a pledge of more love than I can now
 “ shew you. And so desiring nothing more than to hear often from you,

“ I wish you all happiness, and rest

“ Your very affectionate and assured friend.”

The same day Mr. REYNOLDS acquainted Mr. BACON in a letter ^k, that the earl had been all that day occupied in sifting of GODFREY ALEYN's treacheries, and perusing the dispatch, which Mr. WOTTON brought: but that ALEYN's examination, of which Mr. REYNOLDS inclosed a copy, contain'd almost nothing but impudent denials, except in such matters, in which his lordship dealt with him *obsequatis tabulis*.

ANTONIO PEREZ had before this time received news of the death of his wife JOANNA COELLO, born of a Portuguese family, and eminent for her fidelity to him amidst all his distresses, on whose account she ^l had devoted herself and her seven children to imprisonment, in which she ended her life. He wrote a very pathetic letter on this occasion to the earl of Essex ^m. *Amisi*, says he, *comitem meorum laborum, consolatricem mearum ærumnarum, costam dimidiumq; animæ meæ; animam totam hujus corporis dixissem melius. Aliæ uxores corpus virorum; illa, & tales, si alteram natura novit producere, animæ corporum virorum.*— *Tandem cesso ab istis singultibus, ne dum in iis moror, à me appellari credeus mea fida conjux, huc revertatur iterum pro me moritura, quæ jam evasit à sepulchro, viventium carcere, ad sepulchrum cadaverum, ultimum miseram hujus sæculi asylum, naturæq; gremium securissimum.*

He sent another letter by Mr. WOTTON to the earl, who received it on the 7th of January 159¹ ⁿ, in which he mentions to his lordship a design, which he had formed since he had heard of his wife's death, of entering into holy orders. ^a “ Dum huic
 “ pelli ossibusq; miseris à naturâ in illius securissimo sinu requiescere permissum fuerit,
 “ vovi me, my lord, ecclesiasticæ vitæ: non quia vita, cupio enim dissolvi, sed ut
 “ diutius morer, verferq; cum sepulchris, requie vivorum hujus sæculi, miserorumq;
 “ solatio; propinquiôr; illorum aspectus me animet & consoletur. Forsan etiam
 “ inter illa obviam mihi fiet libera jam fida mea conjux. Non inde inferas, quasi
 “ magis Romanum, longius à te me abfuturum. Ad centrum enim divinitatis, si-
 “ cut ad naturæ gremium, eadem distantia à quacunque circumferentia. Vale, cen-
 “ trum gremiumq; meum a tuo ANTONIO PEREZ.”

The Earl about this time wrote to ANTONIO ^o, that Mr WISEMAN, who had been sent to France with the latter, and now return'd with letters to England, had been more than once dispatched for France, but recall'd by the queen's order. That his lordship was commanded to write both to the duke DE BOUILLON and to ANTONIO, but prevented by long delays, sometimes occasioned by a design of sending some person to Flanders at the same time, and sometimes by an expectation of

^k Vol. viii. fol. 57.

^l See her epitaph written by her husband, Epistol. ANT. PEREZII ad Comitem Essex, & alios, fol. 38.

^m Ibid. fol. 36. epist. 53.

ⁿ Vol. viii. fol. 60 It is printed with some alterations among his letters, ubi supra, epist. lv. fol. 39.

^o Vol. viii fol. 66.

ambassadors from France and Flanders, who should invite the English court to some considerable attempt. And thus, the earl observ'd, the counsels of England were always uncertain and fluctuating; but that himself, wearied with these procrastinations, now sent RIVET to ANTONIO with this letter, intending to dispatch Mr. WISEMAN, when he should see what the court would either propound, or agree to do upon invitation. That they were now, if he were not mistaken, determined to undertake some action; fitting out a fleet, demanding thirty ships of the States-General, and ready for self-defence, or perhaps to become aggressors, as the safer method; of which he would send ANTONIO an account in due time. *In the mean-while*, adds he, *what are you doing in France? You propose the siege of Calais; you demand of us 10000 men, with cannon, powder, and other things necessary; and this in order that you may possess the booty. But you are mistaken, if you think us so fond of war, of expence, and of danger, as to be drawn in by such terms. For my own part, I see the approaching fate of both kingdoms, England threatened by a formidable war, and France by a deceitful peace.* The original of this letter, as well as all the rest of the earl's in Latin, is too elegant to be denied the learned reader, who will justly admire the force and propriety of his lordship's style in that language, in which few in any age since the classical have equal'd him.

“ Exeditus erat WISEMANNUS, Reginæq; jussu revocatus, semel & iterum idem
 “ mittendus. Ad BOUILLONEM & ad PEREZIUM scribere jussus est ESSEXIUS, sed
 “ dilationes longissimæ intervenerunt. Aliquando differrebamus donec etiam in
 “ Flandriam eodem tempore expediendus erat aliquis. Aliquando oratores ex Galliâ &
 “ Flandriâ, qui nos ad magnum aliquid aggrediendum invitarent, expectabamus;
 “ & sic semper nostra fuere consilia. Ego his procrastinationibus defatigatus RIVETUM
 “ interim ad te mitto, WISEMANNUM etiam expediturus, cum certiores fuerimus
 “ quid vel proponemus, vel invitati faciemus. Parturimus jam aliquid, ni fallor;
 “ classem instruimus; triginta naves ab ordinibus Flandriæ petimus, parati ad de-
 “ fendendum, forsân aggrediendi consilium tutius credemus. Sed de his suo tempore
 “ te certiores faciam. Interim quid vos in Galliâ? Caleti obsidionem proponitis,
 “ 10000 militum a nobis petitis, tormenta, pulverem, aliaq; necessaria requi-
 “ ritis; sed ut vos prædam possideatis. Erratis, si nos tam belli, tam impensarum,
 “ tam periculi cupidos existimatis, ut his conditionibus erimus allekti. Video
 “ utriusq; regni fatum: Angliæ ingens bellum, Galliæ fucata pax minatur. Vale,
 “ & semper ama

Tuum.”

The earl wrote likewise a few days after another letter ^p in answer to that of ANTONIO PEREZ last cited, and his lordship sent it by Mr. ROBERT NAUNTON. In this letter he observes, that he now fulfill'd the promise, which he had made in that by Sir HENRY UNTON the ambassador, of sending over his friend Mr. NAUNTON, who, after infinite delays, was now hurried away with the queen's letters so precipitately, that his lordship had scarce time to write that single letter. He pass'd over the topics of sorrow and consolation, and the comparison between ANTONIO's and his own fortune, whose pleasure it was, that his joys and calamities should

always rise in conjunction and blended with each other. That ANTONIO ought not to compare the death of his wife, whose company he had not for a long time enjoyed, nor had the least hopes of enjoying again, to his lordship's loss of his friends, whom fortune had depriv'd him of, while he was either witness of their death, or in the way to have died with them. That himself had lost, not companions of his distresses, which were never wanting to him, but the comforts of his life, the supports of his fortune, and the partakers of all his labours and dangers. "Happy you, ANTONIO, who, melancholy as you are by nature, and wretched by fortune, yet have not the additional grief of seeing yourself in the midst of the tears and lamentations of women and children! Happy you, in your ecclesiastical character, who, while you see courtiers, soldiers, and all of us secular men, involv'd in misery, have retired into a sanctuary, where neither fortune nor death itself can reach you! For you live there as one ready to die, and you die in order to live for ever. But, St. ANTONIO, pray for us; for God will hear the cries of a sinner. If therefore your prayers, now ecclesiastical, shall not be heard, I shall conclude, that the interest of all the saints will be of no advantage to me. Pray for us, because we want comfort, and yet believe that saying of SOLOMON to be strict truth in this age, that *nothing is better than for a man to rejoice, and to do good in his life*. Pray for us, that we may have comfort; for we are still constantly expos'd to the attacks of fortune." The earl then informs him, that Mr. WOTTON was arriv'd with GODFREY ALEYN, whom he calls *Judas*, and GIL DE MESA's footman; and that soon after them came the messenger dispatch'd by ANTONIO immediately upon Mr. WOTTON's departure. That the traitor was imprison'd together with his father, by whose temptation he was engag'd in this crime; but that they denied every thing, except what they were forc'd to confess; forc'd, says he, by proof, for it was not allow'd in England to make use of torture. That he would shortly send him an account of the whole, and in the mean time let him know his own opinion, that the scheme of treachery had not been brought to perfection, nor carried on long, for it appear'd from all circumstances, that the confederates did not thoroughly understand each other, tho' there was nothing wanting but the opportunity of a proper messenger to perfect the whole design; the malice being fully ripe. However, that ANTONIO should not be too apprehensive either on his own private or the public account, since the criminals would out of fear conceal what they knew. His lordship recommends Mr. NAUNTON to ANTONIO's love and protection, during his continuance in France, whither he went only for that gentleman's sake; referring him for other particulars to the letter of Mr. BACON, whom his lordship styles ANTONIO's *preacher*, on account of the good advice, which he gave ANTONIO in it; as appears by a passage in a letter of Mr. REYNOLDES, the earl's secretary, to Mr. BACON, when he sent him a copy of his lordship's letter. "You may, *says he*, perceive his lordship's conceit of your letter to him [ANTONIO] in a word in the conclusion of this, whereunto he added words of good commendation to me, when he had read it. It doth well deserve them, for it containeth both godly and wise counsel." The earl's letter was as follows, "Promissi in epistola per legatum nostrum me NAUNTONUM amicum meum missurum. En hominem!

“ Post infinitas procrastinationes tandem cum literis reginæ impellitur & præcipitatus adeo, ut vix raptim hanc unicam epistolam scribere liceat.

“ Omitto luctus, consolationes, comparisonemq; inter tuam meamq; fortunam, quæ semper gaudia & calamitates nostras simul nasci vult. Tu uxoris absentiâ quam præsentem jam diu non habueras, neq; te habiturum speraveras, meâ orbitati comparere non possis : meos enim amicos mihi fortuna eripuit, cum vel eos morientes aspexi, vel, ut una cum illis morerer, in itinere fui. Ego non socios ærumnarum, qui nunquam deerant, sed solatia vitæ, munimenta fortunæ, omnium laborum & periculorum participes amisi. O te felicem ANTONIUM ! qui cum naturâ melancholicus, fortunâ tristis sis, foeminas & infantes lacrymanes & ululantes non videas. O te beatum ecclesiasticum ! qui cum aulicis, milites, immo nos omnes sæculares, miseros videas, in tale te asylum receperis, ut frustra te vel fortuna vel mors ipsa petat. Vivis enim semper tanquam moriturus, moreris in æternum victurus. Sed, sancte ANTONI, ora pro nobis ; audiet enim Deus peccatoris clamores. Ergo si tuæ jam ecclesiasticæ voces non exaudientur, nec mihi omnes sanctos profuturos existimabo. Ora pro nobis, quod solatiis caremus ; & tamen credimus illud SOLOMONIS in hoc sæculo optanda maximè duo hæc, lætari & benè facere. Ora pro nobis, quod solatia non habeamus. Toties enim sumus adhuc iterum fortunæ obnoxii.

“ Sed ad negotia : venit WOTTONUS, venit JUDAS, venit GIL DE MESA pedissequus, venit ille cursor statim post WOTTONUM expeditus. Incarceratus est et filius proditor & pater ejus, cujus lenociniò ad hoc scelus illectus fuit. Omnia negant, nisi ea, quæ fateri coacti sunt ; probatione, in quam, coacti, nam tormentis agere non licet. Brevi omnia intelliges : interea hoc te scire volui, me non credere hanc proditionem maturam fuisse, neq; diu durasse ; nam ex omnibus circumstantiis colligo conjuratores non satis se mutuo intellexisse ; sed sola defuit opportunitas talis nuntii, qui omnia perficere potuerit. Malitia matura fuit. Sed ne timeas vel privatis tuis vel publicis negotiis, nam quæ sciunt ipsi, præ timore celabunt. Timent enim maximè, ne deprehensi sint.

“ Ama istum nuntium, & dum illic erit, in tuum patrociniû recipere ; nam nisi tuâ de causâ ibi isse nolle. Cætera à tuo concionatore, cujus jam epistolam vidi, ANTONIO BACONO, inquam, accipe. Te magis in dies amat

“ Tuus, ESSEXIVS.”

Mr. NAUNTON, who carried this letter to France, and whom the earl styles in it his *friend*, was descended of an antient family in Suffolk, and educated a fellow-commoner of Trinity College in Cambridge, and afterwards chosen a fellow of Trinity Hall. When his uncle WILLIAM ASHBY, esq; was sent ambassador from queen ELIZABETH into Scotland in the year 1589, he attended him thither, probably in the office of secretary, and was sometimes sent by him on affairs of

* FULLER'S Worthies in Suffolk, p. 64.

trust and importance to the court of England, where he was in July that year, discontented with his unsuccessful dependance on courtiers, and resolv'd to hasten back to his uncle*, to whom he return'd in the beginning of the month following, and continued with him till January 1598, when Mr. ASHBY was revok'd from his embassy, in which he was succeeded by ROBERT BOWES, esq. Mr. NAUNTON was in France during the years 1596 and 1597, whence he corresponded frequently with the earl of Essex, who does not appear to have had interest enough to advance him to any civil post; for which reason it is probable, that, after his lordship's disgrace, Mr. NAUNTON retired to his college, and was in 1601 elected orator of the university of Cambridge. However he was afterwards call'd forth again into the world, being made first a master of the requests, then surveyor of the court of wards, and in January 1612, secretary of state, and at last master of the court of wards, which post he resign'd in March 1634, and died in the same month. He was a man of considerable learning, and well qualified for political affairs, and his letters contain many curious facts and just observations on the characters of persons and parties, but obscur'd, as well as his *Fragmenta regalia*, by an affectation of style less frequent under the reign of queen ELIZABETH, than her immediate successor.

Signior JACOMO BASADONNA, a Venetian, and friend of ANTONIO PEREZ, having received several letters from him, sent an abstract of them in Latin, about the 19th of January, 1598, to the earl of Essex†; whom he assures, that all of them were full of expressions of the strongest affection towards his lordship. That ANTONIO had apply'd to the French king's sister, representing the advantages, which he had left in England, and the evils, which he apprehended in France; which made such an impression upon her, that she promised to speak to her brother in his favour. That upon the news of the death of ANTONIO's wife, the king sent Monsieur d'INCARVILLE to see him in his name, and comfort him, and to assure him, that his majesty had in council, in the presence of the constable, ordered Monsieur DE VILLEROY, to draw up a warrant for ANTONIO to be a member of the council, assigning him the sixth place in rank in it, and to insert his name in the roll of those, who were to be created knights of the Holy Ghost, adding many things in honour of him. That ANTONIO had twice sent GIL DE MESA to the king's sister, to know, whether she had spoken to his majesty; and she not having yet had an opportunity, ask'd very earnestly of GIL DE MESA, what he desired? ANTONIO, after the death of his wife answered, that he should not be averse to entering into the profession of the church: Upon which Madame said, "Does he desire a bishopric or a cardinal's hat? He shall have all he wants of my brother; to whom I am resolv'd to speak upon that and other things." That Monsieur DE VILLEROY meeting GIL DE MESA at court, directed him to inform ANTONIO, that he had himself told the king in the presence of the constable, that ANTONIO was desirous of an answer to the earl of Essex's letters; upon which his majesty in great commotion walk'd twice with great precipitation the length of his chamber, saying, "Let ANTONIO PEREZ ask what he will, and I will do it." That upon

* Letter of Mr. NAUNTON, of July 6, 1589, among the original MSS. of WILLIAM ASHBY, esq; in the possession of the honourable PHILIP YORKE, esq;.

† Vol. viii. fol. 73.

GIL DE MESA's mentioning ANTONIO's desire to become an ecclesiastic to Monsieur DE VILLEROY, the latter approv'd of it, declaring, that whatever ANTONIO should ask, would be granted him by the king, who would enable him likewise to make the fortune of all his friends; And Monsieur DE VILLEROY offer'd his own interest to assist ANTONIO on this or any other occasion. Signior BASADONNA adds then the substance of some letters to himself from signior JACOMO MARENCO, who had been engag'd to furnish intelligence from Italy, and particularly from Genoa; and who now desir'd instructions in what manner to write, expressing his desire to deliver some things in person, which could not be trusted to writing. MARENCO observ'd, that it was thought, that count DE FUENTES would not leave Flanders, though he had been appointed vice-roy of Sicily by the king of Spain: That he had heard five months before of the death of ANTONIO PEREZ's wife, of which a confirm'd account was come: That many chests of money had been sent from Genoa, under pretence of being intended for Savona, but were privately lodg'd at Marseilles: That the cardinal of Austria stayed in Savoy upon the pretext of promoting peace, but in reality for other purposes: That six gallies had sail'd from Genoa to Naples, with a million in gold: That the gallies, which had convey'd the vice-roy of Naples, were in their return loaded with soldiers, who were to march towards Milan, but in fact design'd for Marseilles.

ANTONIO PEREZ in his letter to the earl of Essex on the 18th of January, 1595, N. St. "mentioned likewise his having received on the 16th letters of the 21st of December from his Genoese friend, by whom he meant signior MARENCO; and that these letters contain'd many things of importance, some of which he had himself communicated to HENRY IV. reserving others yet; as it would probably not be agreeable to that king, that they were come to ANTONIO's knowledge, if his majesty was inclin'd to peace, and he might be exasperated on that account against ANTONIO's friend. ANTONIO expresses a strong sense of his own dangerous situation. *O quam ego periclitor inter has scopulas! O miseram fragilem meam naviculam!* He desires the earl to communicate what he had told the king, but to conceal from every person but the queen what he had yet reserv'd from his majesty's knowledge; and not to mention the authors, when his lordship related the facts. That MARENCO had written to him, that the king of Spain was sending to Marseilles 2000 soldiers from his garrisons in Africa, Oran, Mazalguivia, &c. and that they were convey'd in twelve gallies of Genoa: That 500 soldiers more were enlisting in that state, and would go to meet the 2000 Spaniards, in order to enter Marseilles. That vessels were every day passing to that city with money and other things, required by the people there for their support. That in those twelve gallions there was brought from Spain a million and half in gold; and that twelve more gallies on the 21st of December touch'd at Genoa from Naples with the count DE MIRANDA, vice-roy of that kingdom, which were expected in Spain, in order to bring from thence two millions more. That MARENCO lamented the lethargy of France, knowing, that upon the temper of the tyrant of Spain depended the fortune of the princes of Italy, and even that of Europe, says ANTONIO, and of all mankind. But he much more regretted the negligence of England, and the inatten-

tion to what he had foretold, and the not having intercepted in time the Spanish treasures, to which purpose he had given in a paper to the queen. That the second part of MARENCO's letter gave him still more concern for the public, for England, and for himself, who would be in danger, if he did not leave France. For MARENCO inform'd him, that he had learn'd in great confidence from one, who had been formerly in the service of ANTONIO, and was now secretary to the Spanish minister at Genoa, and of whom ANTONIO had given the earl of Essex some account before, that the pope had been vehemently press'd by the king of Spain, since the absolution of HENRY IV. to procure a peace between those two kings; and that the duke of Savoy was solicited by his father-in-law, to conclude his own peace with the latter. That the Spaniard had ordered the duke of Sessa to assure the pope, that the vast armaments and treasures, prepar'd by Spain against the French king, were design'd to force him to consent to peace, and agree to the pope's proposal. That the seizing of Marfeilles was intended, that the restoring it might be one of the conditions of the peace. The Spanish ambassador had likewise orders to offer the pope, that all these preparations should be turn'd against England, in order to reduce it to the obedience of the see of Rome. *Imperat tandem Hispanus suo oratori, offerat pontifici totam illam molem virium convertendam esse contra Angliam, ut obedientia illius sedis restituatur regnum.* ANTONIO concludes with remarking, that if he should perish, he should fall with the satisfaction of being over-power'd, and not deceiv'd; since those, who are oppress'd, are pitied, whereas those, who are deceiv'd, are laugh'd at; and that he had rather be the object of pity than ridicule. *O me felicem! qui saltem, si periero, oppressus, non deceptus peribo. Oppressi desentur, decepti iridentur e malo deseri quam irrideri.*

He wrote again to the earl on the 22d of January, N. S. that the king had not sent for him, according to his promise, on the Monday following, but the day before the date of this letter, when he carried him into his privy chamber, and after having complain'd, that he lov'd England more than France, and embrac'd and kiss'd him, *me amplectens et osculans*, said to him, "You shall live no where, ANTONIO, in more security than with me; and I desire you not to leave me." His majesty then pursu'd his discourse with great seriousness, for which reason ANTONIO would not answer him directly, that he might vex the king still more.

He then visited the king's sister, who inquir'd of him, what news there was with regard to his own affairs; to which he answering, that there was nothing, she said, "I will deal freely and openly with you, ANTONIO, my brother has told me what pass'd between you the other day. He desired me to pacify you, and to know of you, whether you will be satisfied with a bishopric and a number of ecclesiastical benefices capable of maintaining you in a plentiful manner, and with the dignity of Cardinal. For if you can be contented with these advantages, and the other honours granted you, he will satisfy you." He desired the earl to conceal this, tho' he had himself told GIL DE MESA, that the king was desirous to confer on him a bishopric, and to procure him to be made a cardinal. Madame added, that she had told the king, that ANTONIO was apprehensive of

danger to his life; and that his majesty answer'd, that he would promise to do whatever ANTONIO should desire; and she offer'd him four, six, or eight of her Swiss guards to attend him. He return'd her thanks, and said to her, "I do not deserve, Madam, so many favours. But what will these guards signify in the midst of so many dangers? What I am ambitious of is the public service, or the particular one of your brother; and it is not my temper to mix my own concerns with those of the public." He adds, that the king had spoken to Sir HENRY UNTON, the English ambassador, concerning him, desiring him likewise to pacify ANTONIO; which was the only circumstance, of which he had been informed by Sir HENRY. But he was desirous of being nearer the earl, in which situation alone he could find ease of mind; for he could not expect to be with his lordship, being unwilling, while an useless servant, to eat the bread of sons and servants, *Sed, my lord, te vivo, & tranquillitatem animi mei prope te, non apud te, nolo enim panem filiorum & servorum occupare inutilis servus.*

Two days after he wrote another letter to the earl*, that a messenger had brought the king an account of the Spaniards having seiz'd Marseilles; but that for his own part, he was not so much affected by this event, as by what Signior MARENCO wrote to him in cypher in a letter just received, that the king of Spain and duke D'ESPERNON were treating for a confederacy between them, and for an exchange for Boulogne held by the duke's sister. That the cardinal had instructions, if the French king would not consent to a peace, to lay siege to some sea port town; but not to attack Calais or Boulogne, till he should be informed by the Genoese ambassador, whether any thing was concluded with the duke D'ESPERNON concerning the exchange with Boulogne.

He insisted upon the same subject of the danger of Boulogne in his letter of the 20th of January N. S.†; upon which account he advis'd, that the English would hasten to obviate the growing evil; and not quarrel with their friends, but rather contend with their enemies: give timely assistance to the French king; and consult the common interest; and after they had rescued themselves from that wild beast, who lying in his den devour'd men, turn their thoughts and strength to the confirming of Boulogne, and joining in a strict league defensive and offensive with France, to afford that country the proper aids: and if Boulogne should surrender to them, it would be of great advantage to both kingdoms, and open a way to the recovery of other towns held by the enemy; or, if it should not surrender, it would be necessary to besiege it, before the enemy should seize it or lay siege to it.

He inform'd the earl in another letter‡, of his having sent GIL DE MESA to the duke of Bouillon upon the duke's first arrival, to desire him to assign an hour, when he should wait upon him; and requested Mr. EDMONDES to speak to the duke to the same purpose; but that the latter answer'd, that he would not permit ANTONIO to come to him, but come himself to ANTONIO within two days; and sent his secretary to him with a message of the same kind, and meeting ANTONIO at court assured him of his resolution of coming to him: but disappointed him after all; which

* Vol. viii. fol. 58.

† Vol. vii. fol. 52.

‡ Vol. vii. fol. 59.

ANTONIO imputed to the duke's desire of avoiding to give any new suspicion to HENRY IV. who laboured under the infirmity of jealousy both from nature and his office. *Qui hac infirmitate laborat & à naturâ & ab officio.*

In another letter * he shews great dissatisfaction with Sir HENRY UNTON's behaviour, observing, that the arrival of that ambassador had been much desired by the king and the king's friends; but that after he was come, he was more acceptable to his majesty's enemies, and those, who wish'd the common ruin. He tells the earl, that if his lordship procur'd that embassy for his friend, he did not sufficiently attend to his own interest, or the temper or circumstances of France, or its impending destruction, or the wavering disposition of the king. He complains of the reserve of the ambassador with regard to himself. *De oratore aliquid postea dicam, si oratorem mutum (mibi saltem) possum magis appellare quam album nigrum.* That the protestants had conceived the greatest hopes, and the Roman catholics equal apprehensions, from this embassy; the former imagining, that the ambassador brought something to their advantage, and the latter fearing, that his employment concealed something destructive to them. ANTONIO then gives an account of the king's having sent for himself, and carried him into the privy chamber of his young CÆSAR, apart from the duke of Bouillon and others, under pretence of talking with him freely about his desire of leaving France. The king asking ANTONIO, whether he had understood from the English ambassador what instructions the latter had brought over, ANTONIO answer'd in the negative, that the ambassador was absolutely silent with respect to him; the cause of which he was entirely ignorant of. The king replied, "It is no matter; you shall hear now and always every thing from me, who love you, and confide in you, and have sought your bosom, in order to ease my own mind. Notwithstanding which, you still are fond of England, and desire to return thither." The king upon this related to ANTONIO the substance of what the ambassador had said to him, and his answers; and then began to give his opinion of the ambassador himself, whom his majesty lov'd, commending his fortitude in war, of which the king had full experience, the ambassador having received a wound from a musket shot in the reins by his majesty's side. He highly extolled likewise his vigour and resolution in action, and his prudence in counsel; but expressed contempt for the character of ambassador, with which he was sent from England, affirming, that nothing could have happened more agreeable to him, than if this embassy had been committed to some other, who was not his friend, in order that he might have treated with him without any respect to a person known to and esteemed by him; declaring, that whomever the queen had sent, he would not have given audience to him for many days, nor even to this ambassador, if he had known the subject of his commission; and that he could not believe, that Sir HENRY UNTON, whom he thought a prudent and cautious, and not a self-interested man, would have undertaken the burden of that embassy, if some other latent business was not committed to him. ANTONIO pressing the king to know the meaning of those words, which shew'd a suspicion in his mind, his majesty answered, "Why do you ask me, ANTONIO? ask all the council; you will find not one, who does not almost laugh at the embassy and me, or think, that I am laughed at. And that you may not think,

“that I say this at hazard, hear this. The queen wrote with her own hand to Mr. EDMONDES^b, to tell me in her name, nay she ordered him to deliver to me a French translation of her own words, that it was not necessary, that there should be a convention of commissioners; but that she would send an ambassador, who should conclude what the commissioners to be named on each side were to treat about. But now these points are forgot by this ambassador, and her council offer nothing besides a meeting of commissioners. Who can reconcile these things? My council think these extraordinary proposals mere empty words, or rather design’d to deceive. For who can believe, that the queen or her council, after so many days deliberation, should not remember these things, if words can be stiled things.” ANTONIO replied, “I cannot deny this; but what is to be done? Would it be proper to sink into despair? Persevere, and exert your courage and resolution.” The king rejoin’d, “What will that signify, if the flesh be weak, and strength be wanting. I will be no longer troublesome to any person. I have done enough in respect of fortitude, enough for my honour, enough for my friends and allies, enough for the world in general. I should be esteemed proud, if I should not give way to the circumstances of time, occasion, and an exhausted kingdom. I will hear my counsellors; I will hear necessity itself, of all counsel, lords of the highest authority.” ANTONIO perceiving the king so much mov’d, durst not proceed farther, especially as he was left absolutely uninstructed by his friends in England and the ambassador. “Who knows?” *adds he*. Perhaps you have some design in hand, and at the desire of the Spaniard, for some considerable advantage to yourself, are willing to abandon this king to distress, that he may the sooner embrace a peace with Spain. The views of princes are a great abyss.” *Quis scit? Porro vos aliquid machinamini, & ab Hispano rogati pro aliquo vestro magno beneficio oblata, vultis hunc opprimere & derelinquere, ut pacem citius amplectatur cum Hispano: fines principum abyssus multa.*

ANTONIO adds, that the ambassador would inform his court of all that had pass’d between the king and himself; of which his majesty had given ANTONIO a particular account; while the ambassador met the council, in order to communicate to them the business of his embassy, and to hear their answers. Monsieur DE VILLEROY gave ANTONIO the particulars of this conference, commending the manner, in which the ambassador behav’d, who said, “If what I have heard, be said to me in the king’s name, or shall be confirmed by him, I will immediately depart.” For which reason he desir’d a private audience of the king, of which the friends of the king of Spain were apprehensive; “for what kingdom is there, *says ANTONIO*, “in Europe, in which that disturber of nature has not sow’d his mammon, in order to subvert the foundations of the earth, and the faith of men?” These friends of his were fearful, lest, when things were brought so far in their favour, the ambassador should recover the French king into the path of the common interest of his country and of England; for they consider’d the ambassador as a man of great prudence, dexterity, sagacity and diligence, and who perfectly understood the king’s temper and genius. But ANTONIO had not the same apprehensions, or rather hopes, unless the ambassador had some points to propose, which he yet conceal’d;

^b This letter was dated the 12th of November 1595. See Historical View, p. 28. & seqq.

it being usual with princes, when they employ prudent persons, in whom they can confide, in embassies, to leave them at liberty on such occasions; and the Romans gave this instruction to those, whom they sent, that they should take care, that the commonwealth received no detriment. This provision ANTONIO thought ought to have been taken by the English court, if they had a due regard for their own and the common safety, and knew the infirmity of the French, who, according to CÆSAR's account, were very changeable in their counsels, and commonly inclin'd to pursue new measures. ANTONIO was therefore jealous, lest the king should take a precipitate course, especially upon the intelligence of what was lately receiv'd from Italy. "If your ambassador, *says he*, had treated or would treat me with confidence, I might have made some proper observation. But he is silent, and I am made so by his example. I am not ambitious of your secrets, but only of your safety. Maintain your taciturnity, and may you long prosper. I will not deny, (that I may not be thought querelous in all respects), but that your ambassador shews me many instances of kindness; he invites me to dinner, and gives me many good words, in order perhaps to draw something from me." ANTONIO desires, that this part of his letter relating to himself may not be communicated, nor the least hint of it given, to the ambassador, and that no part of it might be intrusted to any person, but after it should be read more than once, committed to the flames.

After he had written this, he was inform'd by a friend, that one of the Spanish faction had with great industry procur'd, that the private audience promised by the king to the ambassador that day, the 23d of January, should be delay'd. "You cannot, adds he, believe how many guardians of your money you have here, and how careful they are, lest you spend it in assisting the king. Love them, if you prefer to your own safety the wretched-substance of gold and silver; for what can be more wretched, than what makes men wretched? And are not they wretched, who advise princes, I speak of counsellors, to prefer such goods, as must be left behind them, to that, which they will carry with them, the glory of virtue?"

The next day, January 24th, ANTONIO wrote, that those, who had procured the delay of the ambassador's audience, had likewise gained this point, that the king should send for him the day before on the very hour of his departure for La Fere, when he had scarce time to salute him. The ambassador perceived the artifice, and told the king, that he would not detain his majesty, but return the next day; and thus shew'd himself too cunning for those, who had used their arts against him. He went the next, January 24th, to the king, being attended by ANTONIO, as a testimony of his regard for her majesty and of her ambassador, who had a most private audience in the cabinet; upon his entrance into which, the duke of Bouillon, the Constable, and others, who were most familiar with the king, came out. The king and ambassador sat together two hours; and the latter in the coach being ask'd by ANTONIO, whether he was more satisfied with this private than the public audience, or the conference with the council, he answer'd, a little more. But ANTONIO ask'd no more questions.

Dr. HAWKINS,

DR. HAWKINS, whose chief residence was at Venice, wrote from thence to Mr. BACON on the 12th of January 1595^c, that the Spaniard was daily more and more fix'd in Italy, the blame of which was particularly upon laid England, both for letting his fleet pass the last year, and for abandoning France to all extremities. "Will you know, *says he*, what is said, *nell senato & in Piazza* of 183 [lord treasurer] "*Il vecchio e contaminado di Spagna*." He mentions likewise, that there were at that time in Venice the lord Willoughby of Eresby and lord Grey, and Mr THOMAS SACKVILLE come out of Germany, with divers other English gentlemen.

Mr. ASTON, in a letter of the 12th of January 1595^d, from Scotland to Mr. HUDSON^e, gave an account of the apprehension there of an Irishman, who was come from Rome with letters to the earl of Tyrone and his confederates. He was committed to close prison, and all his letters intercepted by great chance, having been put into the cover of a book, and passed thro' many hands, and at last discovered by a boy. The contents of them were to encourage the earl of Tyrone and his followers to persist in their rebellion, with a promise, that they should be relieved with all speed. The king examined the man himself, who confess'd nothing but the letters, which he said were delivered to him by two of his countrymen, who passed thro' England, and durst not carry them. The king intended to handle him sharply, and after he had brought him to tryal, and drawn out of him what he could, to send him to queen ELIZABETH. The man appeared to be of credit, being greatly commended in the letters. He had many bills from the pope, with many gifts of bishopricks and benefices. Mr. ASTON adds, that the queen of Scots was far advanced in her pregnancy, tho' it was not known to many: That the provost of Edinburgh was preparing himself for his embassy to England; and that they wondered, that they heard nothing of Mr. BOWES, whose presence in Scotland was very necessary.

The earl of Mar, who was greatly solicitous, to procure and maintain the good opinion of queen ELIZABETH, having written a letter to that purpose, the earl of Essex return'd him the following answer on the 16th of January^f.

" My Lord,

" I must assure your lordship, that your last letter hath not only taken away all
 " jealousy, which was conceived here, but established you more in my sovereign's
 " favour and good opinion than ever. For we apprehend no cause of jealousy but
 " your silence, so as now your clear and frank dealing hath dispersed all mists, that
 " were cast betwixt you and us. For my part also I do confess your lordship had
 " some reason to be silent, till you saw what success your adversary had by making
 " court to us. For it had been wrong to you to have proceeded with him farther
 " than compliments, without giving you satisfaction. But as Mr. FOULIS brought
 " me from the late chancellor nothing but a general offer of doing good offices be-
 " twixt our sovereigns, so he carried nothing back but a conditional promise of
 " good acceptance, if he did so. And to the end your lordship shall have no far-
 " ther cause of doubt, I do send you herewith the copies of the chancellor's letter

^c Vol. viii. fol. 201.

^d Ibid. fol. 176.

^e Ibid. fol. 200.

“ and of my answer. Your lordship knows I cannot refuse any thing, that is sent
 “ unto me, whereis her majesty’s service is pretended; nor can forbear to send
 “ such answers, as I am commanded. But if I do not ever serve you in all things,
 “ that I do negotiate that way, then think me an untrue and unworthy friend. I
 “ have both undertaken for you for the time past and to come, and assured my
 “ sovereign, that they, that put those doubts into her majesty’s conceit, do hope
 “ with these practises to rob her as well of the devotion of so honourable a person,
 “ as your lordship of the favour of so excellent a princess.

“ And now to turn my style from your private matters to the present public
 “ affairs, I must answer you, that her majesty did ever purpose to give the king
 “ knowledge by her ambassador, what she understood of the Spanish intentions,
 “ and how she prepared to frustrate them. But sometimes her majesty was diverted
 “ from dispatching him by multitude of other business; and sometimes the gentle-
 “ man was very unready, so as his journey hath been, I know not how, longer
 “ delayed than I did wish. For your lordship’s satisfaction I will let you know,
 “ that six weeks or two months ago all our friends from neutral places, and all
 “ our intelligencers from Spain itself, did send us alarms very hotly, that the
 “ enemy prepared accordingly and purposed to invade us; which report at this
 “ present is grown much cooler. It may be the dead season of the year is the
 “ cause of this so sudden a calm; and that since the Spaniard is already provided
 “ with shipping and all other provisions for the equipping of a fleet, we shall
 “ hear no news of him till he draw his men, that are to be embarked, down to
 “ the sea-side. I neither believe them, that do make this fleet so wonderful great,
 “ nor them, that think, now his money and his malice is increased, that he will
 “ do nothing. He never dare invade the main of England or Scotland till he
 “ have joined his great fleet, that comes from Spain, with his disciplined army in
 “ the Low Countries. For his new Besogneres without the other dare never come
 “ to blows; nor the shipping of Dunkirk can transport any out of those countries,
 “ nor, if it could, durst come without the great armada; and ere ever they shall
 “ be able to join, your lordship shall hear of many blows given; for her majesty
 “ doth arm to the seas, and is resolved in April to draw out her ships, and with
 “ them to keep the mouth of the narrow seas, so as she shall be able to succour
 “ any place, that shall be attempted. My opinion is, that his first design will be
 “ upon Ireland and the haven of Brest in Bretagne; in both which his purchase
 “ would be great, if he mean to make wars by sea. But whether he come to
 “ us, or near us, we are prepared and resolved to fight with him both by sea and
 “ land; for her majesty is for both royally provided, and will suffer no place,
 “ that is now friend, to be made Spanish, without giving a battle.

“ We do hear many ways, that Sir FRANCIS DRAKE hath taken St. John de
 “ Porto Rico, an Island in the West Indies, and in it a great deal of treasure,
 “ that was left in a ship of the last Spanish Indian fleet. But we hear nothing
 “ from our men, and therefore I dare not bid your lordship believe it. Yet he
 “ hath good captains with him, that will do some great thing ere they return,
 “ wheresoever he turns them ashore, or lose themselves. Therefore I will hope of
 “ as

“ as great a matter as that which is reported. I will wish your lordship all
 “ happiness, and rest

“ Your lordship’s very affectionate friend,

“ ESSEX.”

The earl of TYRONE having consented to a conference with Sir HENRY WALLOP, treasurer of the wars in Ireland, and Sir ROBERT GARDINER, chief justice of that kingdom, the two latter sent an account of it in a letter dated from Dundalk the 20th of January 1597, address’d to the lord deputy of Ireland, in which they observ’d, that they could not yet assure his lordship what full effect their letters would in the end receive, yet they thought proper by way of taste to present to his view what in presumption would prove the best of the same. For which purpose they sent the letters received from TYRONE and their own answer; by which it might appear with what difficulty they had his presence, as standing upon time, place, and manner of their meeting, grounded, as he said, upon suspicion of former practices. Whereupon finding him to refuse coming to Dundalk, they desired him and the rest of his associates, in writing to set down his and their demands, with such offers, as they in duty would make to redeem her majesty’s wonted favours. This they thought the more necessary, as by knowing these demands, they should be the better enabled to accept or refuse what might stand best for her majesty’s honour, and the quiet of her people. Accordingly, on the day before the date of this letter, by their messenger, who had hard access to him, the ways being guarded by his company, tho’ they had received very insolent demands, with no dutiful offers on his and his companions part, they agreed to meet with TYRONE and O DONNEL in this manner; that the two commissioners would come to some open place in the field named by them one mile from Dundalk, near to Sir JOHN BEDLOW’s house, having in their company only the Sheriff, Sir HENRY DUKE, and GARRET MORE; and TYRONE and O DONNEL to have as many, who should stand within the view of the others, all without weapon, except swords, during the time of the parley. About ten of the clock of the 20th of January the commissioners went out accompanied in the manner abovementioned, till they saw TYRONE and O DONNEL with about 200 horse and foot coming towards them; whereupon they stopp’d, and sent to the latter, that their coming was not according to the agreement. But after many messages on both parts, that the former conclusion should stand, and farther, that on either part two should be sent to search and view the ways and weapons either part had, and that the troops should stand a quarter of a mile distant from the commissioners, who were to have two horsemen betwixt them and TYRONE’s troops, and the like for them; at Sir JOHN BEDLOW’s they met, and the commissioners agreed, that one of them should parley with TYRONE, and the other with O DONNEL, because they judg’d it the best way to deal with them separately. “ After we had, *say they*,
 “ laboured to remove their suspicion, and to make our coming acceptable, we
 “ thought best at the first not to make known our articles, but orderly, as their
 “ demands are set down, to require upon what grounds they conceived the same,
 “ and to use our best endeavours to lead them by persuasions to desist any farther

“ therein, because the grounds by them alledged were in part false, and in the rest
 “ by them in duty not to be mentioned, but rather to submit themselves to her
 “ majesty’s mercy, and to be willing to meet your lordship and some of the coun-
 “ cil at Drogheda, which they should do with a good assurance, because Dundalk
 “ and the borders thereof would be, for many respects by us delivered, most dis-
 “ commodious; at which their coming they should plentifully not only taste of her
 “ majesty’s mercy, but also receive allowances most fit for themselves and their coun-
 “ tries. But to come thither, or into any other town to your lordship, they utter-
 “ ly refused. In this treaty we continued this stormy and windy day about three
 “ hours on horseback, because to light they refused, and in the end we found them
 “ to continue very untoward, not much drawn from their former articles of demand,
 “ especially O DONNEL, who was most resolute. After our parley thus a-part we
 “ joined again together, and then after many reasons, with persuading courteous
 “ speeches, we wished them to better conformity, setting down hard examples they
 “ were like with their whole country to fall into, if they so persevered. But in the
 “ end they answered, if we would stay some reasonable time, they would return to
 “ their company, and give unto us a resolute answer; which short time of conside-
 “ ration by them demanded gave to us suspicion they would conclude in their former
 “ disloyal desires: and thereupon we said, it were better for them to return, and
 “ take longer time of consideration in so great a cause; with some speeches to like
 “ effect. Whereupon we agreed to meet at the former place again to-morrow.
 “ We also gave them some taste of our most easy demands in her majesty’s behalf,
 “ partly presuming they would hardly digest the stronger until they were better
 “ prepared; but chiefly because, under your lordship’s reformation, we thought
 “ it best, if they should persevere in such their undutiful course, rather to take ad-
 “ vantage of their said disloyalties, and thereupon to insist to their great con-
 “ demnation, than to give them cause (altho’ without cause) to judge her majesty’s
 “ demands were hard, except your lordship, for any respect by you to be consider’d,
 “ by your next shall otherwise direct; which we desire may be with speed, as well
 “ because the cessation now agreed upon doth end with the end of the month; as
 “ also because we did let them understand we had authority to prolong the same,
 “ of which they seemed not take any great hold. And if these our proceedings of
 “ this day be not so full, as were to be wish’d, we trust your lordship will impute
 “ the same to the unfitness of the place, being in the field, and unseasonableness of
 “ the weather, which then happened.”

The demands of the earl of TYRONE, O DONNEL, and other chieftains in the
 north of Ireland, on the 19th of January 1598, referred to in this letter were as
 follow *:

That all persons may have free liberty of conscience.

That the earl may have her majesty’s most gracious pardon for himself, lands and
 goods, and for all the inhabitants in Tyrone; and that his lordship and all they
 may be restored to their blood; and also all the chieftains, and all the rest whatsoever,

who have taken the earl's part in his wars, may have like pardon for themselves, their men, followers, goods, and lands; as namely, MACGUIRE, MAC MAHONE, O HANLON, O REILY, the MACGINNIS's, NEILE, MAC BRYAN, FORTAGH, SHANE, MAC BRYAN MAC PHELM, and the rout; and that all they shall depend upon the earl's peace, he the said earl yielding for them unto her majesty from henceforth such rents, services, and risings out, as their several ancestors have paid unto her majesty's predecessors.

That O DONNEL^a in like sort may have like pardon for himself, his tenants, and followers, as also for MAC WILLIAM and RANN, MAC WILLIAM BRYAN OGE O ROURKE, and all those of Connaught, who have taken O DONNEL's part, and every of them, to have their several lands; and that he may have such right in Connaught, as his ancestors have had; and he will from henceforth yield unto her majesty such rents and services, as had been given to her predecessors out of the premises; and O DONNEL to answer for every of them.

That FEACH MAC-HUGHE may be pardoned and restored to his rights and lands, and to depend upon her majesty, yielding unto her such services and duties, as heretofore his ancestors have done.

That no garrison, sheriff, or officers shall remain in Tyrconnel, Tyrone, or in any of the inhabitances before named, excepting Newry and Carricfergus.

That the earl, O DONNEL, and the rest before named (if these requests be granted) will remain dutiful to her majesty from henceforth, and will perform what they have undertaken, and after a while, when the great fear, which they have conceived, may be lessened, they will draw themselves to a more nearness of loyalty to her majesty.

The commissioners at the end of their letter observ'd, that they had learn'd, that O DONNEL had sent some part of his forces into Connaught, and purposed himself, if this parley had not happen'd, to have gone that day thither; and that the earl of Tyrone told PHILIP HOARE that morning, who was sent to him by the commissioners on some messages, that Sir JOHN REILY, however they conceiv'd of him, was consenting to those articles, and had join'd with him.

The next day, January 21st, the earl of Tyrone and O DONNEL wrote to the commissioners¹, that since in their conference the day before nothing had been concluded with regard to such requests, "as under our hands, *say they*, together " with others we have signified to you, we have thought good to make known to " you, that we and the rest do ground ourselves upon the obtaining of those requests. " Therefore we desire you, if you so think it good, to repair to Sir JOHN BED-

^a O DONNEL being question'd by the commissioners what right he demanded, answer'd, that his ancestors did give all the county of Sligo to the ancestor of O CONNER SLIGO, reserving 120 horse, and 240 Gallowglasses for risings out, with other rents and services, which he remembered not. He claim'd also certain duties in Tyrone, in the county of Mayo.

¹ Vol. v. fol. 6.

persons or goods of any, that have or shall submit themselves to her majesty's obedience, during the cessation of arms.

That none of the Creaughts of any such, as adhere unto them, feed or graze upon any ground or place of any such persons, as remain under her majesty's obedience.

That if any of the contrary part shall during the time of the cessation come and offer themselves to her majesty's obedience, it shall be lawful to receive him or them so offering themselves, without being imputed any breach of the cessation.

That they nor any of them shall not during the continuance of the cessation draw, seek to draw, or receive into their countries or adherence, the person or goods of any her majesty's subjects, which at this present are reputed and taken for subjects. To this article the earl and O DONNEL would not yield, unless like measure be shew'd to them, that none in their adherency be drawn or received from them into her majesty's obedience.

That for the true performance of all things contain'd in these articles on the earl's part, such pledges, as he hath already delivered in, shall be continued, or such other in their places to be delivered, as the lord deputy shall like of; which said pledges, in case his pardon be not granted, shall be redelivered. Upon this article O DONNEL remark'd, that he had no pledge to deliver, and his country was so far off, that the time would be expired before he could send any. But that he would with all loyalty observe the cessation.

That O DONNEL shall for the like performance of all things in these articles contained, and on his part to be performed, deliver in such pledge or pledges, as the lord deputy shall allow of.

This cessation was to be continued till the first of April following, according to the computation of England, and farther to the first of May, if the lord deputy should not before or on the first of March give warning, that the same should continue but for the first two months.

The situation of affairs in Ireland occasioned the lord deputy, on the 26th of January, 1597, to send an account of it to the earl of Essex in a letter written from the castle of Dublin, which he begins with informing the earl, that the former several advertisements of the Spanish preparations for those parts were once again confirm'd by a merchant of that city, and that in such secret and particular manner, as he greatly fear'd to be discover'd to be the author thereof; whose report he left to his lordship's wisdom to have that due consideration of it, which in a matter of that weight was most requisite. The lord deputy then observes, that the commissioners for the treaty of peace being then upon the border of Dundalk found the traitors offers and demands most insolent and unlike to their submissions, as would

pear from the inclos'd copies of letters, the lord deputy having for a long time expected little better. PHILIP O REILY had of late shew'd himself openly with the earl, and by him gotten the title of O REILY, meaning thereby to command all the Breny. BRYAN O ROURKE had gotten the title of O ROURKE, and intended to sway the whole country of Longford. One GLASNEY MAC CAULEY, according to the custom of Tanistry, was made MACGENIS by TYRONE upon the death of Sir HUGH MACGENIS, to the disinheriting of ARTHUR his son, notwithstanding he married the earl's daughter. So that the lord deputy, to discharge his duty, and express his sentiments plainly, protested, that he thought all the Irish in general were either in action or conspiracy, insomuch that the whole kingdom would be lost, if the government of it were not better supplied, and that presently, unless her majesty would be pleased now, while the Irish were in their treaty, about the peace, to send over 300 good horse, with which the English should yet make good shift to slay the pale, being a champain country, without wood or bog, and fit for the service of horsemen. Her majesty's charge need not be much thereby increased, for the lord deputy had a purpose to cashire as many irish horse and foot, who might no longer be well trusted, as would countervail the charge of the 300 English horse, or at least the greatest part of them, tho' he could wish they might be allow'd a groat a day more than ordinary; for else they would not be able to live, all things being far dearer there than in England; and yet must they have oats convey'd thither with them after the rate of a bushel and a half a week for a horse, there being neither oats nor hay to keep them, but what must come from England. The rebels first demand touching freedom of religion was a matter so dangerous to be made known at Dublin, that the lord deputy thought fit to keep it secret even from those of the council there, assuring the earl, that without such a number of horse to be a stay for the pale at the present, and some report of 3000 men to be drawn out of Scotland, of whom the Irish stood most in fear, in respect of a foolish prophecy among them, that none but the Scot should prevail against them, and another report of the levying of a like number in England to be in readiness upon the sudden to come over, so as the rebels might have just cause to think, that her majesty would roundly proceed with a war upon their neglect of his mercy, there would neither any peace be concluded, their demands being so insolent and unreasonable, nor means to defend the English pale, but all would fall to wreck on the sudden. The lord deputy therefore intreated the earl to further the sending of the horse immediately, according to the necessity of the time, and before the rebels should get notice of it. In which respect he had mov'd it without the rest of the council in Ireland, that they might the more freely go in expectation of the peace, which hitherto they had too great a conceit of. He requested likewise, that money and victuals might be dispatch'd over to Ireland, which with much hindrance to the service had been long wanted.

The commissioners on the 29th of January 1594 wrote again to the lord deputy and council from Dundalk * informing them, that by their last of the 28th sent by JOHN BREMINGHAM the pursuivant, they had signified their having agreed to another

* Vol. ix. fol. 144.

conference with TYRONE and O DONNEL the day following, being the Monday preceding, and that what they should gather from that conference, they would with speed advertise, and so from time to time, as occasions should be offered, and thereby require a speedy resolution to the effectual parts of their said letters, which as yet they had not received; but had received the day before at eleven of the clock, as they were going to a farther parley, the lord deputy's and council's letters, in answer to theirs of the 23d; whereby, amongst many grave advices, the lord deputy and council wish'd they had at first imparted her majesty's articles to the rebels, which would have been a means to have driven them from insisting so strictly upon their own frivolous demands, and to have inclin'd to her majesty's conditions, when they should have been brought to see, that those conditions had been drawn from their own submissions, and thereby were a good ground to work a continuance of a cessation for two months or more. The commissioners observe upon this, that if their lordships would review their former letters, it would appear, that they, the commissioners, had intimated all the reasons mentioned in the lord deputy's and council's letters, with some others, which they thought fit for such a purpose, except the shewing of her majesty's articles, which they reserved until they might compass a new cessation, fearing, that they would seem to the rebels too hard, and not alterable, being sent from her majesty, and that on that account the rebels would not agree to any such cessation. Yet, as the commissioners had formerly acted, they imparted all the easiest of the articles as from themselves in her majesty's behalf devis'd, whereby the rebels would the rather have been inclined to conceive full hope of some change of them, which they would not so readily have done, if the commissioners had said, that the articles came from her majesty; nor would the rebels have suffered any farther addition or alteration, as might probably have been conjectured. The commissioners fearing the worst, and finding O DONNEL's often disposition to depart, had since their last letters of the 25th labour'd as well by divers conferences, as by letters, messengers, and other devices, to draw the rebels first to a cessation, and thereupon to impart her majesty's demands and merciful disposition towards them, by granting to them a free pardon for life, lands, and goods. This cessation for two months certain, and farther for a third month (if it should please the lord deputy and council) they had with many difficulties obtain'd; and fearing, that O DONNEL would depart immediately after the conference on the 28th, they thought good to devise certain articles in her majesty's behalf (for in the articles from England little was said touching O DONNEL) which they delivered to him immediately after his hand was obtain'd to the cessation. But the commissioners perceiving, that he had great dislike the said articles, notwithstanding their many reasons and long persuasions, they at last advis'd him to consider thereof against that morning of the 29th before his intended departure, ; which, they thought, he would perform, desiring him to set down by way of apostil or cotation his liking or disliking; which they promised to impart immediately to the lord deputy and council, in order that her majesty might be acquainted with it within the time of the cessation, and signify thereupon her full pleasure, from whom, they said, the Irish chiefs needed not to doubt but to obtain bountiful mercy, and in likelihood some change of their demands to O DONNEL's good liking. But now the cessation being obtained, and the pleasure of the lord deputy and council signified, the commissioners might, without

without the danger before conceived, offer to the earl of Tyrone such articles, as came from her majesty, with some few additions of their own, which they were agreed upon, and according to their promise they had sent them to TYRONE that morning, requiring him to signify by cotation or other writing to how many thereof he would assent, and from how many dissent; which might be transmitted to her majesty, as they had promised to O DONNELL, whom they found to continue as arrogant and insolent, as they had formerly signified; but TYRONE, in terms submissive with shews conformable, yet still persisting, that he could not conclude without the consent of the rest, according to his oath to them formerly made. He press'd the commissioners the night before for his departure that morning, for want, as he said, of provisions; but at last, at their earnest motion he said, he would stay till Friday, if he might find means so long to relieve his company; at which time, if he should depart, the commissioners intended the next day to return homewards.

The earl of Essex having written a letter to Mr. GEORGE GILPIN, on the 15th of January, 159 $\frac{1}{2}$, the latter received it at the Hague on the 21st, and in his answer from thence on the 24th^r, observ'd, that after the receipt of his lordship's letter, Mr. BODLEY having likewise communicated to him the contents of one of the earl to himself, they had the next morning early dispatch'd the packet towards Sir FRANCIS VERE, who undoubtedly had it the next night, and was then on his way to the Hague. "How much it rejoiced us, *says Mr. GILPIN*, to hear of "her majesty's resolution in your lordship's respect, as well in that our love and "affection is altogether vowed to your honour's service, as that we are resolved "to depend on your honourable favour, there is no doubt but your lordship is "sufficiently persuaded, so as it would be but a trouble to stand thereupon longer, "only to beseech your honour, that I may be employed wherein soever it shall be "your noble pleasure, that I discharge the duty I have profess'd." Mr. GILPIN refers to Mr. BODLEY's letters for what concern'd his negotiation, which was still working, and labour'd hard by Monsieur BARNEVELT, who sought and us'd all the means he could to effect somewhat, that might yield her majesty contentment.

The departure of Sir FRANCIS VERE gave some dissatisfaction, because the choice of men in the United Provinces to command was but small, and it was doubted lest he should not return to serve the ensuing summer, when, as the opinion was, the States General would be hardly charged on all sides by the enemy, and the want of such chief men might dismay the people, if any rencounter should fall out contrary to expectation. Besides, as Mr. GILPIN had touch'd in his former letter, count MAURICE and Sir FRANCIS had been plotting of somewhat, which was even in the point of expectation; and this calling him away would hinder it. But her majesty's service must be preferred; and Mr. GILPIN did not think that the States-general would be willing, that Sir FRANCIS should depart in hope of his return shortly, and that by his other employment the country should receive good, and participate of the service.

Mr. BODLEY wrote the day following from the Hague to the lord treasurer¹, that he had, according to his lordship's directions, imparted the queen's pleasure to the States-general for the calling away of Sir FRANCIS VERE to be conferr'd with a while in some attempts of great importance against the common enemy. And to the end that Sir FRANCIS's departure might not seem over strange, nor fall prejudicial to the actions of their country, Mr. BODLEY let them know, that her majesty was desirous to proceed with their privacy and good liking. To this they made no other scruple in their answer, but that they would consult with the council of state, and likewise with count MAURICE, who had all the conduct of their affairs of the wars, and return their answer to her majesty; "wherein, as Mr. BODLEY observes, it may be they will signify how much it doth prejudice the state of their affairs to have any chief commander revoked on the sudden (for so they debate in their private communications) and will thereupon request to have him presently returned. But I think they will not use any other opposition; and, tho' they should, I know it will not prevail with Sir FRANCIS VERE." Mr. BODLEY sent presently to Duisburg the earl of Essex's dispatch with her majesty's letters by a Dutch post, that was trusty and speedy, so that he reckon'd upon Sir FRANCIS's coming within two or three days, who would not stay longer at the Hague than while he took leave of the States.

Two days before the date of this letter Monsieur BARNEVELT return'd to the Hague, having been employed into Zealand; and he and five others of the province of Holland, with four out of Zealand, were all, that were deputed to meet in that session. And tho' they came for other business, yet that being ended, they were contented all at last, being dealt withall before, and privately prepared by Monsieur BARNEVELT's diligence, to deliberate there together about the matter of the overture, which they discuss'd at the least for ten or twelve meetings. Many dangers and doubts were alledg'd amongst them, as well in regard of inconvenience to the country, which, as diversely discours'd, by a voluntary dissolution of their treaty with her majesty might be mightily damnified, as of peril to themselves and their own proper welfare; since they should be cited to be movers and advocates of such kind of projects. The effect of their objections had been formerly dilated upon by Mr. BODLEY in several letters to the lord treasurer. They urged most of all the composition of their States of such diversity of factions, humours, religions, where so many were desirous, if good matter were offered, to set all on fire: the weighty burthen of their imposts and other kind of taillages: the people's weariness in general to continue still in war: the fair conditions of accord presented by the enemy, which their neighbours, the Germans, as the enemy's pledges, would undertake to see performed; and a number of other baits and fraudulent devices, which would be practis'd, they thought, by some, who were corrupted or ill disposed of themselves. To which when this should be added of her majesty's intention to end her contract with their country, whereby they should be forced to surcharge the common people to raise another regiment, some were wonderfully afraid it would turn all upside down, and cause a great confusion. Against these in the end other arguments prevailed, to which thro' orderly per-

¹ Vol. viii. fol. 77.

suasion they thought the people would give ear, her majesty's vast expences for ten years together; her present urgent need in her domestical affairs; her earnest pursuit so long continued for some convenient reimbursement; her impression deeply fix'd of their unthankful disposition; her assistance reduced to very few companies, and those not likely to be cass'd and revoked; her undoubted inclination not to leave them unsatisfied, if they should hereafter be driven to extremity; and lastly, but in special, her suspected resolution (for they doubted it very highly) to watch a time of revenge, when they should be haply forced to a large restitution. Upon this they concluded by plurality of voices for the first point, that it was expedient for them to entertain 4000 soldiers of the English nation, not only in respect of their valour above others, but to countenance their wars, as well in the opinion of their own inhabitants, as also of other countries, and of the enemy chiefly, as if her majesty would protect and support their cause to the last. For the second point, that it should be referr'd to her majesty's choice to discharge or continue her auxiliary forces. For the third, at the day of her majesty's birth or coronation, or what other time she should be pleas'd, they would present a certain payment not yet agreed upon amongst them, but, as it seem'd, no less than 20,000 l. sterling every year. Fourthly, that they would not enter into treaty with the king of Spain, as they would also require that her majesty would not, without mutual consent. Fifthly, that they would always be ready, as they were at that present, to send to her majesty such number of ships with convenient provision, as their ability would permit, and her occasions should require. Lastly, that hereafter when they should be united with the rest of the provinces, or be otherwise established in peace and tranquillity, they would present to her majesty a far greater portion than the former; whereof, as before, there was neither any sum in special nor years accorded of continuance, but they left it as a matter, that would be easily resolved.

This communication was kept very close among themselves, which was had in the town of Zurickzee, the place of their assembly. From thence it was concluded, that they should presently return to their several colleges, and carry this conference with very great secrecy, every man endeavouring underhand and by degrees to procure the liking of the best and meetest persons of their colleges, by imparting to them privately the whole plot, or a part only, and more or less, as the parties gave occasion; and that publickly they should forbear to profess abruptly any articles to the effect mentioned above: Only this in open places was accounted sufficient, that as soon as they returned, they should deliver out of hand the tenor of Mr BODLEY's last proposition, and of the rest of his speeches, to the States General, and thereupon demonstrate how behoveful they had found it in their foresaid consultation to consider of some good course how to gratify her majesty, for which it would be very requisite, that some should be deputed with competent authority to move the general college at the Hague to resume that matter solemnly, and to advise upon some offer, that might be agreeable to her merits and dignity, and not displeasing at home to their towns and to the multitude. With this determination they departed to their principals with mutual protestation, that they would use such diligence, dexterity and care to prosecute the overture, as, unless the country would oppose it too eagerly, which they did not suspect, they would appear with full commission in the general college within twenty days after, and then labour to persuade the rest of the deputies,

puties, and by them the lesser provinces, which commonly concurred without any contradiction with Holland and Zealand, as their principal contributors in all money matters.

“ I will not, *says Mr. BODLEY*, weary your lordship with a tedious recital of
 “ other petty plots between me and Monsieur BARNEVELT, by which I am to nego-
 “ tiate with some persons in private in another kind of form, for the better digestion
 “ and ripening of the matter, which I find more full of weighty considerations;
 “ and were the motives unto me of my last unfortunate return, so that I was desi-
 “ rous, where the project was so hard, and so queasy, and so intricate here, and
 “ so new in like sort to her majesty’s ears, to gain and compass that in a very short
 “ time by the means of my presence, which could not, I was sure, be managed by
 “ letters or by messengers, for many special causes, but very lamely and defectu-
 “ ously, and with a dangerous loss of a great deal of time, and of the present op-
 “ portunities.”

The lord treasurer being desirous to know what opinion was held of count HOHENLO’s affection to the causes of that country, Mr BODLEY observes, that he did not find in conversation, that the better sort there judg’d him to be Spanish, or ill affected to their state, but rather, on the other side, so sure and so sound in his love to their country, as they made no question of it. It was true, that two months before there was secret notice given by letters out of Germany from some persons of quality, who probably had the means of knowing it directly, that he uttered some speeches in favour of a peace among the princes of Germany; and that, besides, he had determined to salute the prince of Orange in his passage towards Brussels. Again, it was observed, that there was much inwardness between the duke of Brunswick and him; which duke was undoubtedly consider’d as minister of Spain; and had of late resigned to the count divers lordships in Holland, as the barony of Liefvelt and the signory of Woerden, with several other quilllets, which could not yield him so little as a thousand marks a-year. But whether all this proceeded of benevolence in the duke, or that count had disbursed some money, or otherwise forgone of his own in exchange, Mr BODLEY could not learn. But these were such occasions, that of late on account of them the count had incurred the suspicion of a wavering and of a hollow heart to the state in the judgment of some few. But his continual professing of one religion, which had never yet been stain’d with any report, together with his long and loyal services there; his marriage of late with the countess of Buren, who was zealous in religion, and exceedingly addicted to all the causes of that country; and then the interest, which he had in her states and possessions, with his late new investiture in the duke of Brunswick’s lands, which lay in Holland; these were accounted special arguments of his trust and affection. However it was certain, that count Maurice and he were become incompatible, tho’ in their meeting they pass’d it with a shew of shallow civil courtesy; for which many wish’d, that count Maurice in his carriage towards him would use him better, or altogether worse, and determine to be fully reconciled (of which there was no hope) or devise some quiet means

* Count PHILIP DE HOHENLO. He married MARY countess of Buren, eldest daughter of WILLIAM prince of Orange, by ANNE D’ EGMONT, but left no issue by her at his death, which happened after a long illness at Ysselstein on the 5th of March 1606, N.S. METZGER I. xxvii. fol. 586. verso.

to cause him to depart. For every man fear'd, that this lingering heart-burning, with mixture of disgraces, would drive him in the end to some desperate course of dealing; which, by reason of his alliance and acquaintance with the Germans, was nothing needful for that country. The states, as Mr. BODLEY found, could be willing enough to give him his passport; but they ow'd at the least for the arrearages of his service 60,000 l. sterling; for the recovering of which he would be able with his friends to vex and molest every province in that country.

It was not much doubted, that he intended to have pass'd and visited the prince of Orange*, if his journey had lain near him, for the singular love, which he bore to that prince's father (of which he made often mention) and for his matching his sister, which might move him perhaps to treat with the prince to forgo his signories in these provinces, of which that prince was proprietor by the right of his mother the countess of Buren, tho' his sister enjoy'd the revenue.

There had nothing yet pass'd by writing or by message, nor any thing given out of any humour in that prince, as favouring or hating the people of this union; but one, who had been ever as his governor with him, did now, as formerly at the prince's being in Spain, both send and write to the countess of Hohenlo about the receiving of his rents, of which she had always and still allow'd him a certain portion.

Of the numbers remaining of the English bands, that were in the service and pay of the states, because they were not muster'd since the month of November 1595, Mr. BODLEY could come to no certainty. But what they were then, appeared by the list inclosed by him, with the places of their garrisons.

In other affairs of the United Provinces, and in the actions of the enemy, there was nothing then in talk, but what was either uncertain, or of that nature, that the lord treasurer would not care to understand it.

The cardinal of Austria was slow in coming, remaining still in Lorrain, or, as some said, at Luxembourg, with 6000 foot and 1200 horse; and till his coming it might be imagined there would be nothing attempted against the United Provinces, which, on the other hand, were not ready to do any thing of moment.

There were some of opinion, upon letters out of Guelderland, that Sir FRANCIS VERE was either gone, or going, about some piece of service; "which I am very certain, *adds Mr. BODLEY*, if the post come to him before his departure, he will give over. If not, for that I guess it is only some exploit of surprise, or to beat some convoy of the enemy, it will be quickly perform'd."

Mr. HUDSON having on the 28th of January 159 $\frac{1}{2}$ received a letter from Mr. ASTON, dated at Edinburgh on the 18th of that month, sent it immediately to Mr. BACON. In this letter Mr ASTON observed, that the king continued daily the re-

* PHILIP, eldest son of WILLIAM prince of Orange.

† Vol. viii. fol. 117.

formation of his estate, chiefly in composing deadly feuds, and punishing horners and that it was reported, that earl BOTHWELL should come into England; which would breed great evil; and Mr ASTON hop'd, that it was not so. The provost of Edinburgh was not yet near setting out for England, but preparing himself slowly. On the day of the date of this letter there was a Frenchman taken, who had come with letters, but he was not yet examined, nor the Irish priest farther than he had been before.

The king would draw out of that priest what he could, and then give queen ELIZABETH what contentment he possibly could. Mr. ASTON confirm'd the former account of the pregnancy of the queen of Scots, and added, that the king's fame never rang in the pulpits as it then did; and that he was in a course to make himself rich out of hand.

Soon after the arrival of Sir HENRY UNTON, the English ambassador in France, Monsieur DE VILLEROY, secretary of state to the French king, wrote to Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE, minister of the French church in London, a long letter, dated at Folembray the 25th of January 1592, N. S., mentioning, that on the 13th of that month he had answer'd Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE's letter, which mentioned Sir HENRY UNTON's being on his way to France, who came to Folembray soon after, and finding the king absent, could have no audience till the 12th, N. S. Monsieur DE VILLEROY observes, that this ambassador was very welcome with regard to his own person, and had been impatiently expected, but that his discourses in his first audience did not answer the hopes or necessities of the French court. The king design'd, that he should be heard in council the next day, where Sir HENRY made a long speech, representing the reasons, for which the queen of England could not assist the king, nor reinforce these whom she had sent to his aid: and tho' his speech was accompanied with a very strong declaration of her good will, yet as he concluded with no direct proposal, it rather scandaliz'd than satisfied the council; who did not think proper to debate his reasons, but only to remonstrate to him the necessities of France; the offers made by them to the queen to render their amity and fortune inseparable; the little regard paid to these offers by her majesty and her ministers; and the efforts, which the enemy was making to swallow up France, so that it could no longer subsist in that manner. That however they would consider what was most proper to be done for obviating the danger, which threatened them; which they would always do as far as possible in a way consistent with what was due to the queen. But that the last thing, which they would do, was to ruin themselves. That the king and queen had promised mutual friendship and assistance, and never to abandon each other; and were obliged to this by treaties: But that if her majesty fail'd on her part, they could not execute theirs. That their labours had secur'd her repose, and still did so; but that they were no longer able to do this, but obliged to turn their thoughts towards their own affairs, and, as they were abandon'd by England, to have on their part less connexion with it than they desired. And as Sir HENRY had concluded his speech with giving them hopes of referring affairs to a conference and assembly of deputies of both their majesties, which had been before proposed

by France and rejected by England, he was answer'd, that as the enemy was at their gates, the delays of a conference would be very improper. And as they judg'd, that his proposition tended only to gain time, and to occasion them to lose the opportunities of providing for their own interests, they resolv'd to send him an answer in writing, a copy of which Monsieur DE VILLEROY inclosed in this letter. The ambassador being dissatisfied with it, desired an audience of the king alone, with whom he treated a long time, and whom he found extremely concern'd to be forc'd to seek for other remedies of the distresses of his kingdom than what he had hitherto had recourse to: But he could not do impossibilities; and it was necessary either to agree with his enemies, or submit to them.

Monsieur DE VILLEROY remarks, that when the cardinal of Austria should be arrived in Flanders, as he would at the farthest in fifteen days, the enemy would have an army of fifteen or twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse, with which if they should attack any place, as it was evident they would, and particularly Monstreuil, they would undoubtedly carry it; for all the towns on the French frontiers were open, and destitute of every thing requisite for a defence: and if they should gain Monstreuil, they would make themselves masters of Boulogne, and perhaps Abbeville. That the duke d'ESPERNON had written letters to his sister, which Monsieur DE VILLEROY had seen, directing her to declare against and make war upon the king; and as she could not do this without being secure of the enemy, it was to be fear'd, that Boulogne would at last fall into their hands; a loss, in which the queen would be much interested. And if she thought of forcing the French to give up their towns to her, and to take advantage of their necessities, she was much mistaken, since France would not submit to such a compulsion, nor was it a proper method of proceeding with the king, or for the advantage of the common interest.

Monsieur DE SANCY's departure for Holland had been delay'd upon the coming of Sir HENRY UNTON, in order that the former might have pass'd thro' England, if Sir HENRY had brought any message, which might have been a ground for it: But this not being the case, Monsieur DE SANCY would now go directly to Holland.

Monsieur DE VILLEROY could not express how greatly all France was offended with the coldness of England; and urged on all sides to hearken to an agreement with the enemy. But he assured Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE, that they would not consent to it except in a case of extremity; and that notwithstanding what had been written from England, there had been no thoughts of sending either himself or any other person to Spain for such a treaty. That Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE should be one of the first, who should be acquainted with such an incident, when it should happen: "for the king, says Monsieur DE VILLEROY, has an intire confidence in you, and is assured both by your affection and prudence, that you will always form a right judgment of his intentions and actions."

Sir HENRY UNTON entered into a contest with the French court on occasion of a book, which had been dispersed in England, of what was said to have pass'd at Rome. "But the imposture, says Monsieur DE VILLEROY, is so evident and so

“ gross, that it confutes itself, as we have shewn him, and you may see also by the
 “ articles, which I sent you. When God thinks fit to chastise us, he confounds
 “ our judgments, and makes us pursue paths directly contrary to our own good.
 “ And it seems now, that when we have most occasion to come nearer to each
 “ other, we run to the greatest distance. I have spoken freely to Sir HENRY UN-
 “ TON, who seems to me to be sensible of it. God grant, that those may be so,
 “ who are on the other side of the water. I speak thus, because I see plainly, that
 “ if the enemy divides us, he will ruin us one after another. I am less apprehensive
 “ of our misfortunes, while we are united, than if we were divided. He, who has
 “ time, has life; and I assure you, that this is a considerable maxim in politics: yet
 “ when I consider the strength and violence of our enemies, I cannot approve the
 “ use of it on these occasions.”

Monfieur DE VILLEROY then takes notice, that the cardinal of Austria was at Luxembourg, and was solliciting the emperor's deputies to go forward, and exhort the States General to peace. The cardinal DE JOYEUSE was sent for the same purpose from Rome to France; and it appear'd, that the States were more affected by the preparations of war making against them than by any thing else. “ I cannot,”
 “ *says he*, tell, whether any offers are made to England, in order to lay that coun-
 “ try asleep as well as us. In truth I do not believe so, for I know, that the enemy
 “ wishes that kingdom worse than any other; and perhaps hopes or believes, that he
 “ is more capable of prosecuting and succeeding in his designs against it, from
 “ the inattention and negligence of England. If upon the arrival of the cardinal,
 “ the queen shall fail us, and the states be obliged to re-call their forces under the
 “ command of the admiral of Zealand, assure yourself, that all France will mutiny
 “ against the king, if he doth not make peace.”

He adds, that the duke D' ESPERNON was not dead; but only wounded by the blowing up of the mine. The people of Marseilles had received the forces of prince DORIA commanded by his son. However they were not masters of the city; but Monfieur DE VILLEROY was apprehensive, that the division, which began to appear among those, who commanded in Provence for the king, would greatly prejudice his majesty's affairs, the passions of the men of that time being extremely violent, and every one preferring his own private interest to the public; and the king's authority not being yet absolute could not remedy these disorders, as was necessary. His majesty had sent Monfieur DE LA TREMOUILLE into Angoumois and Xaintonge to assist his good subjects in that country against those, who were desirous to disturb it.
 “ Our weakness in this frontier, *adds Monfieur DE VILLEROY*, strengthens bad men
 “ in this kingdom. The king does more than he is able to remedy it. But I
 “ desire you to believe, that he must sink under it, if he be not assisted, or if God
 “ do not continue to him his extraordinary and miraculous graces. I write nothing
 “ to you concerning this siege [of La Fere] because there is no alteration; and I
 “ doubt not but the besieged will wait till the cardinal's arrival at Brussels to be
 “ relieved, or to surrender. I will inform you of what shall happen by your son,
 “ whom we have advised to stay till Monfieur DE SANCY's departure for
 “ Holland.”

Upon

Upon the receipt of another letter of Monsieur DE VILLEROY, Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE, according to the orders sent him, made a remonstrance to the lords of the privy council in England * to this effect, that the messages, letters, prayers, solicitations, and protestations of the king his master were so fresh in their memory, that it was rather out of duty, than necessity, that himself, by their leave, laid this short representation before them. That every person saw, that it was time and more than time for the king to take his resolution, either for peace, or the continuance of the war. If for war, he was to contend against enemies elated with the success of the preceding year, and a new governor, who at his entry would take his flight very high, and employ all his forces with the utmost expedition and to the greatest advantage possible. What these forces were, their lordships already knew. Those of the king were small and harass'd by the length and fatigues of the siege of La Fere, which if he should be obliged to raise, he would be himself no less distressed elsewhere. The Spaniard lodged in that town and Dourlens would from thence issue out and ravage the country as far as the gates of Paris and Roan; and there would not be one of the cities in the neighbourhood, but what would be in danger; and some ill affected person would join the enemy, who would fix himself in Picardy, and perhaps in those parts, which are nearest to England. If the king, seeing himself abandoned by his friends, pressed by his nobility and people, and solicited from divers parts, should be forc'd to submit to peace, there was nothing but his sacred faith and sincerity, to secure those of the reform'd religion in France. But his majesty, influenced by the sentiments of his own heart, would have compassion upon them, and remember their services; and by shewing himself a good king towards them, dissipate all factions, and disperse all heads of parties; and by the generosity of his conduct draw all his subjects to a dependance upon himself, consolidating by a general peace the several parts of his kingdom. This is what is desired, what he had promised, and what he would unquestionably accomplish.

But in case, that new misfortunes (which God forbid) should oblige him to leave the reform'd to destruction, England would lose the fruit of many past obligations; and by succouring them increase an expence, which it would be thought she would choose to employ in keeping up factions in France, rather than absolutely uniting in peace and good correspondence that kingdom with itself and with other powers indanger'd by the grandeur of Spain; who all had nothing more to deplore, than seeing their principal bulwark demolish'd, without desiring to add to its destruction. It was not necessary to insist upon the interest of England, since the eye of their lordships prudence was sufficiently open and intent upon it: But it was to be regretted, that France should be deprived of the means of enabling England to reap, as she desir'd, the harvest of what she had before sown.

The enemy having nothing farther to do in France, his whole force would be turn'd against the United Provinces: And the inconstancy and mobility of these people promised nothing of certainty, especially when, on the one hand, they should have fire and sword, and, on the other, peace and trade.

* Vol. viii. fol. 430.

The king was indeed a sincere and undisguised friend, and France oblig'd to England, but so weaken'd by the wars, that even twenty years peace would not restore her former strength and vigour; and so was an object of compassion, rather than of jealousy and fear.

The Spaniard is a violent tyrant, an enemy unbounded in resentment, provok'd, revengeful, and so powerful, as to render him formidable to all the neighbouring states.

"I shall not, says *Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE*, mention the example of king HENRY, the father of her most serene majesty, in the time of FRANCIS the first's distress. But you well know, my lords, that fifteen or sixteen years ago, when France was in a flourishing state, and Spain was not strengthened with the accession of Portugal, you then attempted with great expence to settle the duke of Alençon, the brother of HENRY III. in the ducal seat of Brabant and the earldom of Flanders, in order to engage France and Spain in a war against each other. And now they are in that situation, and that you may at a small charge keep them in it, and engage France to yourselves by a firm alliance, your prudence will judge what is at present to be done. I say at present, because you know, my lords, that the descent of a great and heavy body down a precipice is sudden and violent. France henceforth will excuse herself after so many steps taken to obtain an alliance: And I pray to God, my lords, that he will infuse into you right counsel for the advantage of England."

The French king about this time wrote to the earl of Essex, thanking him for the letter, which his lordship sent him by Sir HENRY UNTON, the favour of which letter was as dear to him, as his lordship's friendship was valuable, his majesty regretting his own misfortunes, that he found himself so useless to the earl's service. "I wait, adds he, from my good fortune proper opportunities for doing you some agreeable service, and to enjoy the honour of your presence, in order that my words and sentiments may confirm the feeble assurances of my letters. Before I finish this, I must inform you of the satisfaction I receive from Sir HENRY UNTON, as well for the advantage of his relation to you as his own merit, and the assurance, which he has given me, that he will serve as a cement to our friendship, and me as a pledge to you,

"How much I am your friend and servant,

"HENRY DE BOURBON."

Monsieur DE LA TREMOUILLE wrote likewise to the earl, that all honest men were of opinion, that if his lordship's advices had been follow'd, France would have had the assistance, which her present necessities requir'd: And that he had no doubt, but that time would shew of what advantage these advices would have been to England, and that with regard to France his lordship had urged what was de-

manded by the common interest, which he saw so clearly, that to represent to him any reasons upon that subject would be to tell him what he knew better than any other person. That among the good Frenchmen, those of the reform'd religion had a particular interest in this, esteeming part of their own repose to consist in the trouble of him, " who cannot, *says Monsieur DE TREMOUILLE*, have peace without our detriment. I believe, that if you and the Low Countries treat in conjunction with us, greater strength and security would arise to us of the religion, which cannot but increase during this war. We are in a situation of having the duke D'ESPERNON for an enemy, who holds places, which we desire to see in your hands rather in his, whose ruin is an event to be wish'd for by us. He is the only person, who in the midst of our towns is capable of doing us one day great mischief. Use your endeavours, I humbly intreat you, on this occasion; and assure yourself, that I esteem no man's virtues more than yours."

Sir HENRY UNTON, soon after his arrival in France, sent a letter dated at Cressy, to the earl of Essex, referring him to those, which he wrote at the same time to the queen and lord treasurer, to which he could add nothing but this; that if her majesty did not with speed content the king, all would grow desperate, being already in very bad terms. " My message, *says he*, was termed here *un discours du foin* by the French amongst themselves, and both the king and his council took great scorn thereof, as may appear by their answer, wherewith I was choaked, and am much discomfited, wishing I had spent twice so much as my journey will cost, that I had not been employed therein. For as before my coming hither, I was held for a disgraced man in England, that opinion was more fortified by this employment, which was said to be fruitless, full of contradiction, and rather putting them in despair of any good, than in comfort, according to former promises, so as now I do hide my head for shame, untill I may receive some more acceptable matter, wherein I will beseech your lordship to farther me, or to be the mean of my revocation; for I am much cast down in mind, which had been much worse but for the king's special favour, who took some pity of me for my former service. I do not like, that for all the king's usage of me, he would not wish me to recommend any of his desires to her majesty, and he hath disputed all his complaints at large; which sheweth, that he is either not willing to be reconciled, or that he delivers them the better to justify his separation from us, that I know not how to satisfy * * * and many arguments may be used *pro* and *contra*, whereof your lordship can best judge."

Sir HENRY then observes, that the coming of the cardinal of Joyeuse in post from Rome was credibly said to be for perfecting the general truce between Spain and France, whereof there appear'd to be a shrewd beginning. He fear'd the worst, yet hop'd well, if the king should be supported by her majesty, the States-general, and the princes of Germany and Italy. But nothing so much urg'd him on to the truce, as his necessities, which were never so great, and the fear of the cardinal of Austria's invading of Picardy, which was intended upon the maritime parts. If therefore he should receive no better assurance of aid from his friends, it

was not to be doubted, but he must and would precipitate himself. The king ask'd most kindly of Sir HENRY concerning the earl, whom he most highly esteem'd, and whom the ambassador intreated in the close of his letter to have care of the public, and *some regard*, adds he, *of my particular, who am infinitely discontented.*

Monsieur DE VILLEROY, in his letter to Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE from Folembray, on the 6th of February, N. S.^b expresses his surprise at his long silence, having received no letter from him since that of the 22d of December, N. S. to which he had return'd an answer on the 25th of January, and dispatch'd it by a courier of Sir HENRY UNTON. He was apprehensive, that Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE was sick, or had no pleasure in writing to him. Their hope was in God, who conducted and favoured them in a miraculous manner. That duke D'ESPERNON who spoke before in so high a tone, now humbled himself, and has recourse to the king's goodness, to whose discretion he resign'd his honour and life. That it appeared likewise, that the people of Marseilles, of whom the court in a manner despair'd, were in a disposition to submit to his majesty's pleasure. If both of these events should succeed, all those provinces would be reduc'd into a state of perfect tranquility, which would be no small advantage to the king and to France. The duke DE MAVERNE had seen his majesty at Monceaux^c, tho' his edict was not yet public; and the king was satisfied with the duke, as the duke was much oblig'd to his majesty, with whom the duke of Bouillon had been at Folembray, and was reconcil'd to the king, who naturally lov'd and esteem'd him, there having been a misunderstanding between them, which this interview had insensibly remov'd.

The cardinal of Austria's army, consisting of between five and six thousand men, was advanc'd into Lorraine, where the leaders of them spoke more of peace than war. This army was full of sick, and did not bring with it so much money, as had been reported; and the want of pay had induc'd a captain, whose name was ANTHONY CONSOLDAT, and who had distinguish'd himself above all the rest of the army of the constable of Castille, to desert the service of the enemy, and to engage against them, having taken two castles. Which was not a sign, that they abounded in money, as they had boasted. The cardinal was expected to arrive at Brussels within five or six days; but it would be some time before he could take his measures, and refresh his troops. Those, who came from thence, were not of opinion, that they would come to succour La Fere, but rather attack Monstreuil or Calais, or one after the other. They had in fact made vast preparations of victuals and ammunition, with which they promis'd them to carry immediately every thing, which they should attack, the French towns being in a very bad condition, which was not to be remedied but by forming an army equal in foot to that of the enemy, which could not be done by France without the assistance of its friends; "whom, God grant, says Monsieur DE VILLEROY, we may be able to excite to our defence, as hopes are given us. If not, we must have recourse to the remedies, which it is said the cardinal DE JOYEUSE brings us from Rome,

^b Vol. viii. fol. 129. ^c He came to the king there on the 31st of January, N. S. Journal du regne de HENRY IV. par Pierre l'ETOILLE, Tom. ii. p. 260. Edit. 1741.

“ as I wrote to you in my last. For we would not ruin ourselves, if it be possible
 “ to avoid it. And I desire you to believe, that in the course, which we may take,
 “ we shall do nothing against those of the religion, which shall give them occasion
 “ to complain; for it is so far from the king's intention to abandon them, as some
 “ have dar'd maliciously to publish, that he is desirous to assure them, that he
 “ will have more care of them than ever, as will appear by the effect. And I
 “ can venture to tell you, that even the pope himself will not press the king to
 “ act otherwise, for he is influenced by his fear of the Turk, who is resolved to
 “ march this year in person into Hungary, and to fit out a Fleet, which we wish
 “ that he would send to the coast of Spain: And the pope knows, that there
 “ can be no effectual opposition to the power of the Turk, except Christendom is
 “ at peace. The Tartar and the Poles, under the conduct of the chancellor of
 “ Poland, have entered into an agreement against the prince of Transylvania, to
 “ support in under the army of the Turk a prince, whom they have
 “ set up; which will greatly weaken Christendom.” Monsieur DE VILLEROY
 concludes his letter with remarking, that France must be assisted, or consent to a
 peace, to which she was solicited; but that she desired the former much more
 than the latter; and his opinion was, that this would be more for its honour and
 advantage.

Mr. HUDSON on the 1st of February, 1595, having received letters from Scotland,
 dated the 30th of January, wrote the same day to Mr. BACON^e, that he perceiv'd
 from them, that the king of Scots held so constantly his resolution for reformation
 of his estate, that every man esteem'd him a new man, especially in correcting
 the disorders of deadly foes and horners, who were out-laws.

Mr. HUDSON observes likewise, that at the writing those letters it was said, that
 the provost of Edinburgh and Mr. DAVID FOULIS would be ready to begin their
 journey to England within ten or twelve days. “ If you will, *adds he*, write in
 “ Mr. BOWES's company, I think you may send safely, as I will inclose it, and
 “ direct it to some unsuspected party. He goeth post, and that about the end of
 “ this week.”

Mr. NAUNTON being arrived at Coucy, where the French king was, in a letter
 from thence on the 1st of February to Mr. BACON^e, after thanking him for his
 favours, acquainted him, that he had discharg'd himself the best he could of his
 letters to the ambassador and ANTONIO PEREZ, and his messages by word of mouth;
 inclosing a letter from himself to the earl of Essex, dated the day following. In
 this letter Mr. NAUNTON informs the earl, that he had delivered her majesty's and
 his lordship's letters to the ambassador; and that with respect to his own enter-
 tainment, he was divided between the ambassador and ANTONIO. “ We dine al-
 “ together, *says he*, with my lord [ambassador] but I am afterwards with signor
 “ ANTONIO, who hath more want of company. These favours be far above my
 “ merit; but I must most of all esteem of their trusts and forwardness to com-
 “ municate with me what with convenience they may for my best information;

^eVol. viii. fol. 192.

^eVol. ix. fol. 79.

^eIbid. fol. 123.

“ which

“ which as I feel the comfort of it only thro’ your lordship’s commendation, so
 “ must I consecrate the use of it, and all the poor powers I have, to your lordship’s
 “ service. For state-matters, I may not soar so high, only this, which it pleased
 “ my lord to impart unto me, and it may be well that in his letters to your
 “ lordship he hath omitted it. I am in private duty to certify, that there was a
 “ billet inclosed within the letter, which I brought to this king, the contents
 “ whereof were neither in your lordship’s nor in Sir ROBERT CECIL’s copy; which
 “ the king perceiving, passed it over as a matter of no great importance, but yet
 “ forbore to intimate it to my lord ambassador. This morning we were at Folembay,
 “ whence the king had appointed to go see La Fere; but that purpose being in-
 “ tercepted by some little physic he had taken ere we came, my lord presented me
 “ with your lordship’s letters to the constable, which he entertained with promise
 “ of any favour I should be occasioned here to seek from him. I was the bolder
 “ to use my lord ambassador’s offer in this office, Mr. EDMONDES being at Paris,
 “ because the constable was departing from the court, and his return uncertain.
 “ Your lordship’s letters to the duke of BOUILLON, for that I doubt they may
 “ contain matter touching Mr. VERNON’s placing with him, which now upon my
 “ lord ambassador’s advice in his last letters your honour may haply consider farther
 “ of, I shall make less hast to present them, till my lord shall receive answer
 “ from your honour of your resolution that way.”

With regard to ANTONIO PEREZ, tho’ Mr. NAUNTON found him forward
 enough to put him in trust, and perhaps could be content to use the freedom of a
 novice’s pen in venting his inward designs and desires for his safest disposing of
 himself, rather than to break out into the plainest under his own hand; yet Mr.
 NAUNTON thought himself bound in duty and discretion to wait, till he knew how
 far the earl would be as willing for him to enter into the affair, as ANTONIO
 might be to make *an instrument and artificial use*, says he, *of my natural simplicity*. He
 adds, that ANTONIO was most abundant in protesting his unfeigned devotions to-
 wards the earl: “ All my fear is, if I have yet unsatisfied him any way, it is in
 “ this, that I have not been as frank to avow and warrant your lordship’s, yea
 “ and her majesty’s earnest and long desire of his return into England, as if I had
 “ received expresse instructions and direct commissions to sollicit him to that effect.
 “ My answer is, that I am but a stranger as yet unto your honour, far unworthy
 “ to be so familiarly inward to your lordship, as that I may presume of myself
 “ either to give assurance of your affection in every particular to him, or infor-
 “ mation unto your honour. I know your love towards him was better known
 “ to himself, and confirm’d by his own so long continued and so constant ex-
 “ perience, than that I needed to take upon me to enlarge thereof. Another time,
 “ after he had honoured me with the treasureship of some of his own secrets, and
 “ suddenly grew upon me with his *Quando tandem promiss ea secreta, quæ babes*
 “ *de me a domino comite & BACONO vestro?* I answered him, that in this point of
 “ favour I was much more bound to him, than that I might aspire to hope for
 “ like communication of secrets from your lordship; and yet that I was in modesty
 “ to forbear to utter all the many great words and often testimonies, which I had
 “ heard your lordship and Mr. BACON deliver of him, for fear I should seem too
 “ gross a flatterer to his face; and that I wished he might rather find and track out
 “ the

" the deep impressions, your honourable opinions and conceits of him had wrought in me by mine own observances; than by bare and naked rehearsals of your words and speeches ordinarily passed of him. *Atq; hic vix tandem quievit percontator inquietus, credo equidem præ amore nimio, ut fit, nimium zelotypus.*"

Mr. SIMON SENHOUSE, who was sent to France by Mr. BACON, gave him an account on the 4th of February 159 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^a, of his arrival there, and his kind reception by Sir HENRY UNTON, to whom he had been recommended by Mr. BACON, and among whose followers he had his diet, tho' he had not yet been employed by him in any respect, being lodg'd in the same chamber and bed with Mr. NAUNTON, at the lodgings of ANTONIO PEREZ. He mentions, that the king's council was to remove that day from that quarter to Compeigne, but that Sir HENRY UNTON and ANTONIO PEREZ resolv'd to stay at Coucy, which was within a league of Folembray, the king's quarter, where Sir HENRY was upon the Monday preceding, with intention to have gone with his majesty to see La Fere, which still held out, but was prevented by the king's taking phyfic that morning.

Mr. BACON had not long before this sent over likewise to ANTONIO PEREZ Mr. EDWARD YATES, one of his own servants, to whom, after his departure, he wrote a letter^b, upon hearing of ANTONIO's indisposition by a fall, giving Mr. YATES a new charge, to employ all care and diligence possible to attend upon and serve ANTONIO, "as you would, *says he*, myself, and to support what extraordinary humour or words soever his pain, fortune, or crosses may occasion; for in so doing, you shall content me, and thereby procure yourself credit and your friends comfort. For your expences, as I have written heretofore, my meaning is not you should charge signor PEREZ with them any farther than ordinary for diet and lodging; which likewise I would very willingly defray, if I could offer it without offence. This gentleman, Mr. WYLTON, the bearer hereof, is dispatch'd expressly by my lord; and I doubt not but will bring signior PEREZ welcome news and contentment."

Mr. YATES gave Mr. BACON an account of his arrival in France, and entrance into the service of ANTONIO, in a letter from Coucy on the 6th of February^c, informing him likewise, that the king was going to lodge at Guise, and that the English ambassador and ANTONIO were determin'd to remove with the council to Compeigne, and to reside there for some weeks. That the duke DE MAYENNE had been with the king at Monceaux, upon entering into whose chamber, as Mr. CONSTABLE, who was present, told Mr. YATES, the duke made two salutations; and approaching his majesty would have gone to the ground, if the king had not caught him about the middle, and said, *mon cousin, que faites vous?* and caused him to be covered. The duke desir'd his majesty to excuse what was past, protesting, that he would by his future service endeavour to blot out his former fault. The king answered, "Leave off these excuses;" and then made him all the best cheer, that he could devise, and set him at supper next to his mistress. The duke's habit was of tawney, and his hat with a green feather lapt round it. Mr.

^a Vol. ix. fol. 147.

^b Ibid. fol. 117.

^c Ibid. fol. 115.

YATES observes, that in a former letter by way of Roan he had given an account of the execution of PENILLA, the Spaniard, who had intended to kill ANTONIO PEREZ, and was broken on the wheel, and his man hang'd. He adds now, that PENILLA spoke very sensibly four hours after his breaking, and would never confess any thing but that he came to find ANTONIO.

Mr. NAUNTON in a second letter to the earl of Essex from Coucy, on the 10th of February, 159 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^k, referr'd to ANTONIO PEREZ's letters for state matters, who, he remark'd, grew daily more and more out of love with France, discontented in mind as well with the French humour in itself, which was absolutely unsuitable to and even incompatible with his own nature, as for his quick apprehensions of the dangers, in which he liv'd. This disturbance of mind had been lately accompanied with a disorder of body by a fall, which he received by walking in the frost, which confin'd him three days; but he was now well recovered in all respects, except in the ominous interpretations and presages, "which, says Mr. NAUNTON, he is content to make use and advantage of, as he reckoneth it, to shun a farther fall, which he bears himself in hand this continent doth threaten him with. This fall hath done him the service to excuse him from accompanying the king about La Fere, who hath sent Monsieur *Le Grand*, Monsieur VILLEROY, and his own surgeons, to visit and comfort him the most they may."

Sir HENRY UNTON being still at Coucy, wrote from thence to the lord treasurer on the 13th of February, 159 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^l, that the day after the date of his last letter, which was written on the 3d of that month, the king had commanded him to attend him at Folembray, being then to dislodge, with design to carry Sir HENRY with him to see the works of La Fere. But by reason of his late departure, and Sir HENRY's being to go back the same night, the king desired him to defer his return till the next morning, and to meet him at the town, which Sir HENRY accordingly performed, and there found him early, where the king spent a considerable time in shewing Sir HENRY the works of the causey and forts; after which his majesty return'd to his quarters in his coach, taking with him Sir HENRY, Monsieur SCHOMBERG, and Monsieur DE VILLEROY; in which time, there pass'd nothing but ordinary discourses between them. Monsieur SCHOMBERG had orders to invite Sir HENRY to dinner, whither came also the ambassador of Ferrara, by which means Sir HENRY and he made acquaintance together. That ambassador us'd many compliments to him of his master's affection to queen ELIZABETH, and Sir HENRY the like on her majesty's behalf. After dinner they went together to the king, who for a space entertain'd them with kind usage, and afterwards withdrew privately to a window, and acquainted Sir HENRY with the advertisements, which he had received of the enemy's proposing to come to relieve La Fere, concluding his speech with some inquiries concerning her majesty. He then call'd Monsieur LAVARDIN to entertain Sir HENRY, whilst he gave audience to the ambassador of Ferrara, which continued half an hour, when that ambassador taking his leave, the king return'd to Sir HENRY, and told him, that if the enemy should enter France, he would challenge an old interest in Sir HENRY to accompany him to

the wars ; and after some speeches of former accidents of that kind dismiss'd him with very kind usage. The ambassador of Ferrara staid to return to Coucy with Sir HENRY, who, by the discourse, which he then and since had with that ambassador, found, that the special subject of his employment to the king was what Sir HENRY had informed the lord treasurer of in his last letter, tho' disguis'd under the colour of congratulating the king on his absolution at Rome, and of assuring the duke of Ferrara's patrimony in France. For the ambassador did not conceal from Sir HENRY in how great an alarm that duke and the rest of the princes of Italy were at the king's treating with Spain and the duke of Savoy ; and that the pope laboured it by all the means he could, as well to procure himself the glory of such a work, as to divert their armies against the Turk. He told Sir HENRY likewise, that he had pass'd by the duke of Savoy's court, and visiting him on the behalf of his master, that duke could not contain himself from saying to him, that he hop'd before long to be partly an instrument to effect for a good term a truce general between France and Spain, to the farther working of a peace in Christendom ; and that in such respect himself had already made a truce with the king for certain months ; tho' the ambassador told Sir HENRY, that in his conference with HENRY IV. concerning it, that king seem'd not to approve of any such matter, saying, that he would not be over-hasty to conclude any thing, but hear what the duke of Savoy would offer him. However, the ambassador inferr'd, that those proceedings afforded too apparent suspicion, and that the treaty of Savoy was a directory to the other with Spain, it being well known, that the duke of Savoy dar'd not to do any thing without the consent and allowance of the king of Spain. Besides the ambassador assured Sir HENRY, that the cardinal DE JOYEUSE's coming was expressly with such a commission, however otherwise disguised ; that cardinal being especially chosen to make underhand the first overture, on account of his being a Frenchman and the king's servant, and of his known superstition.

The day following the ambassador of Ferrara being upon his return came to take his leave of Sir HENRY UNTON, promising to give him knowledge of any thing, which he should farther learn of those proceedings in passing home by the court of Savoy.

About the same time arriv'd the ambassador resident of Venice, for an audience of the king, which gave Sir HENRY likewise an opportunity to make acquaintance with him. This ambassador visited him twice in the time of his short abode, and confirm'd to him the cause of his coming, and the advice, which he had received out of Spain from the Venetian ambassador resident there, of which Sir HENRY had advertised the lord treasurer in his last. He concurr'd in the jealousy of the ambassador of Ferrara, upon the same grounds of argument, reason, and suspicion ; telling Sir HENRY, that he had certain advertisement, that a principal minister of the French king (who was specially employed in the treaty of Savoy) was promised by the duke of Savoy a reward of 50,000 crowns to facilitate it ; and that the king notwithstanding had made him, the Venetian ambassador, the like answer thereupon as to the other ambassador. Sir HENRY ask'd the Venetian ambassador what hope there was of assisting the king with 200,000 crowns demanded of the state of Venice. To which he answered, that he did not think they would

be able to give him satisfaction therein. He us'd great protestations of the desire of that state to entertain her majesty's good amity, and immediately after the receiving of his audience return'd to Paris. Both he and the embassador of Ferrara were of opinion, that the cardinal of Aquaviva, who was at Avignon, would be sent legate to France; cardinal SALVIATI, who had been nominated for that charge, having excused himself on account of his age and sickness, and cardinal MOROSINI being lately dead at Rome.

The bishop of NANTES, accompanied with others of the clergy, had been lately with the king to urge the receiving of the council of Trent; wherein he gave them no kind of satisfaction; nor were the courts of parliament willing by any means to approve it, out of regard to the maintaining the liberty of the Gallican church. It was thought, that this proceeding of the bishop was to prepare the way against the coming of the cardinal DE JOYEUSE, who was supposed to have received a charge from the pope to make farther instance in that point. There was yet no account of that cardinal's arrival at Paris, but he was daily expected there.

Sir HENRY had received an assured intelligence, that the cardinal of Austria, in passing by the duke of Lorraine, used this speech to him, that he brought with him men and money to make war, and sufficient power in his bosom to conclude a peace with France, which the duke earnestly solicited.

The king had been advertised, that the enemy, upon the receiving of the news, that the inhabitants of La Fere were reduced to the last extremity with regard to victuals, were drawn up to Bencham near Cambray, with twelve or fifteen hundred horse, intending to come with the one half of their number charg'd with small sacks of meal of 15 or 20 pounds weight, to pass the better in the night, and to deliver it upon the bank of the river near the town, where those within should have attended them to receive it by means of a bridge, which should have been thrown over. The king went himself that night into guard, and had ever since continued very strong watch upon all the passages. He pretended to stop the river within a day or two, to cause his water-works to play, and hop'd thereby, or at least by famine, to carry the town within twenty days; which Sir HENRY UNTON did not believe.

All the intendants of the Finances, except Monsieur D'INCARVILLE and DEDICARTE, were lately discharg'd, with divers treasurers, thereby to suppress the greatness of their entertainments. And since that, the king had also dismiss'd 200 ensigns in his army to make the regiments smaller, and the companies more complete, and to reduce them to a better discipline.

The States-general had yielded to continue to the king their succours, under admiral Nassau, till the end of the siege of La Fere, but had yet sent no order for the farther pay of the other troops, commanded by Monsieur DE LA NOUE. They had made request by their letters, that the king would not send Monsieur DE SANCY to them, fearing, that this might give the queen of England too much jealousy, whom they might not in any sort offend. This greatly discontented the French court, but it would make them more respectful of her majesty.

Count

Count SOLMES, colonel of the Lanskenets, died lately, in whose place the king appointed count NANTUEIL, eldest son to count SCHOMBERG, to have the charge of that regiment, which unwillingly submitted to it, pretending to be at liberty to return home. They were extremely diminished in their numbers, being but 900; and the rest of the king's forces were much lessen'd by his winter-siege.

By the beginning of February the three regiments of the Lanskenets of the king of Spain's late levy were expected to join with the forces of the cardinal of Austria; upon whose arrival, it was certified, he would either directly march to the relief of La Fere (if the French king did not carry it before that time) or besiege Boulogne or Calais, thereby to divert that siege. And it was thought, that their invading army might consist of 16000 foot, and 4000 horse. This apprehension greatly troubled the king, and caused him to hasten all his forces, whose infantry would not be able to encounter the enemy's, being weak and fatigued.

The king was now come to Vernel, a castle within half a league of Coucy, expressly to meet his sister, who purposed to remain there. But the court did not remove from the king's quarters at the camp, and he was to return thither himself within a day or two.

Monsieur DE MONTPENSIER was arrived at court, whom the king entertained with hopes of his sister, who passionately affected the count DE SOISSONS, which the king could in no sort endure.

There came lately to Sir HENRY one LYILL an Englishman, now steward to the duke DE MAYENNE, whom, and the late duke of Guise, whom he had served fifteen years; and under colour of his former acquaintance with Sir HENRY at Oxford desired to see him; which the latter at first made some difficulty of doing, but at last admitted him to speak with him, and he in conference made great protestations of his good affections towards her majesty, and that he had never been a practiser against his country, but had received of the lord treasurer BURGHLEY and secretary WALSINGHAM many honourable favours; and as Sir HENRY gather'd from his speech, had an inclination to return to England. Because he was so inward with the duke DE MAYENNE, and had good natural parts and experience, Sir HENRY demanded of him, whether he would do any extraordinary service to his country, to render him the more acceptable; and that then he should find him most ready to do him any good. To this he seem'd well inclin'd, and willing, that Sir HENRY should make any use of him; which, if the lord treasurer should think fit, Sir HENRY intended to do, conceiving, that he might prove a good instrument, as things then stood.

Sir HENRY observes, that this was the fifth dispatch, which he had sent to England since his arrival at the French court; but without receiving any answer to them, which he daily expected.

Mr. THOMAS WRIGHT, who had come from Spain with important intelligence from thence, and had left the order of Jesuits, in which he had been educated, tho' he adhered zealously to his old religion, wrote a letter about the middle of Febru-

ary 159 $\frac{1}{2}$ from Westminster¹, where he was confin'd in the house of the dean of Westminster, to the earl of Essex, upon occasion of his having understood, that his lordship was desirous, that he should go into Italy, Flanders, or Spain, and from thence to send intelligence: "The which service, *says he*, cannot in any wise be effectuated by me, not only for that (as of late it hath been signified unto me) they have conceived an hard opinion of me, for that I am entertained by your honour; but also that it is an office improporionate to my degree and vocation. Yea I would think worse of myself, if I knew assuredly your honour had such a conceit of me, that I would debase myself so far, as to betray where I am trusted: yet because the mean your lordship wisheth cannot be employed, I hope to find as sufficient, if not a better." He then requests of the earl to be released of his imprisonment, either entirely, or in part: For tho' some might think it liberty, yet justly it could not but be esteemed *carcer honorarius*. "To be restrained, *says he*, to live in one city, in one house, not to go abroad but with a keeper, to write or receive no letters, which must not first be perused, to be able to speak with no catholics, lest both they and I should incur suspicion, finally to live in a chamber as dark as some prison, I call all this parts of imprisonment, and harder in practice than they seem in speculation." He desires therefore, that his keeper might be removed, and that if his lordship would not release him from Westminster, he might have leave to take a place adjoining to the church to study in, the chamber, in which he had lived for three months past, being so dark, that he had almost lost by it health, eyes, and time; and the dean had depriv'd him of all hope of amendment.

Mr. BACON, who carried on the correspondence with Dr. HAWKYNs at Venice, having sent a paper of remembrances to the earl of Essex in behalf of the doctor on the 18th of February 159 $\frac{1}{2}$, his lordship returned a particular answer to every article in the margin^m. In answer to the first, that Dr. HAWKYNs expected direction for JACOMO MARENCO, a friend and correspondent of ANTONIO PEREZ, at Genoa, the earl wrote; "He may be directed to seek to speak with *J. M.* and if he do so, he may assure him how well his endeavours are accepted. He may know whether my last token came to his hands, and assure him I will once every six months make him the like present, if I find he be diligent; and also that I will allow the charges and entertainment of any fit instrument he can get." Upon the second article desiring his lordship's confirmation and allowance of the doctor's purpose and endeavour to entertain intelligence with some at Rome, the earl wrote, *I do well allow of it*. And upon the third, representing Dr. HAWKYNs's request, that the earl would honour him with some letters of recommendation to the duke of Florence, by whose countenance and favour he might enter into acquaintance with the best, his lordship answered, "I have commanded H. WOTTON, to draw a letter, according to such instructions, as Mr. BACON shall give him."

Monsieur DE LA HILLIERE, governor of Bayonne, who had formerly had a correspondence with the earl of Essex, and whom his lordship had desired by his letters to apply himself to him upon any occasion that should offer, wrote now to him from

^m Vol. ix.

ⁿ Vol. ix. fol. 146.

thence on the 15th of February 159 $\frac{1}{2}$ *, to recommend MARTIN PEYRAC to be consul of the English merchants there at St JOHN DE LUZ, in the room of Monsieur CHASTEAU-MARTIN deceased, who had been honour'd by the queen with that commission and a salary of twelve hundred crowns paid quarterly, the principal design of his employment being to watch the designs of the Spaniards, and give intelligence of them, and at the same to assist the English merchants in every thing relating to their interests.

In the beginning of this year 159 $\frac{1}{2}$ some Scots agents came to Rome, whose transactions there will best appear from the abstract of a paper of father JOHN CECIL, a priest, and of some letters of the duke of Sessa, the Spanish ambassador, to the king his master, which were intercepted near Marseilles, and presented to the French king, who, at the desire and by the means of Colonel MURRAY, sent copies of them to the king of Scots. These agents, besides father CECIL, were Mr. WALTER LINDSEY, JOHN OGLEBY, a Scots baron, and LADYLAND^o. Cardinal d'Ossat^p, then ambassador from the French king, had some intelligence of a Scots agent's being there, and treating with the pope by means of cardinal ALDOBRANDINO; but own'd, that he could not give a good account of that negotiation. And the French king himself inform'd Mr. EDMONDES on the 20th of December 1595, that he had just received letters from his ambassador at Venice, acquainting him of the arrival of a person, who privately affirmed, that he was sent by the king of Scots to the pope, the Venetians, and duke of Florence, to desire their assistance^q.

Father CECIL's paper is a report to the king of Spain of a conference with the pope and the cardinals ALDOBRANDINO and CAJETANO on the 14th of February 159 $\frac{1}{2}$ N. S. In it he observes^r, that he had made a general report to his holiness, without entering into particulars, of the intention of the catholic lords of Scotland, and how they pretended to nothing else but the restoring of catholic religion in that country, and the delivering their king from the heretics, by whom he was oppress'd.

That he gave an account to his holiness in general of what he had transacted in Spain; of the intention, which his majesty the king of Spain had shewn, to help the said catholic to those two ends, without any other particular interest, having offered to procure the same of his holiness.

That he said to the pope, that touching the means and other particulars of the manner and fashion how they should conduct this matter, he had discover'd nothing thereof in Madrid, but referr'd himself to what they should advertise the duke of Sessa to shew to his holiness; and that he had no farther charge but to make the aforesaid report, as a witness, and as one, who knew the intentions of the catholic lords.

* Letter of Mr. BOWES to Mr. HUDSON, 13th of July 1596. Vol. xii. fol. 41.

^p Letter to Monsieur DE VILLEROY last of February 1595. Vol. ii. p. 62. edit. Amster.

^q Historical view of the negotiations, &c. p. 36, 37.

^r Vol. ix. fol. 126.

That his holiness answer'd him, that he remained very well satisfied, as well of the intention of the catholic lords, as of that, which the king of Spain had shewn for helping them, without respect to his own particular interest; and that he was very well contented with this so holy a resolution of his catholic majesty. But he said, that he had great fear of the delays of Spain, with which they wearied the world; and added, that the king of Scotland had beguiled him, and communicated to the queen of England the intelligence, which he had had with his holiness.

That one day, before he, CECIL, spoke with his holiness, he procured audience of cardinal ALDOBRANDINO, whom he found very ill inform'd of the forces and valour of the catholic lords; for he believed, that they were only banish'd men, without any dependencies. But after the cardinal had heard him, CECIL, it appeared, that he remain'd satisfied, and shew'd himself to be very glad of the good resolution of the king of Spain, and promised for his part to do all the good offices, that he could, with his holiness; tho' as for money, he put him out of all hopes by reason of the wars with the Turk; and the same was declared to him by his holiness.

That he had treated with cardinal CAJETANO upon the same points, who in particular took from him all hope of money.

The duke of Sessa in his letter to the king of Spain from Rome on the 30th of January 1592 N. S. observ'd, that he had on the 22d of December received his majesty's letter on the 26th of * * informing him, how he should proceed with the gentlemen of the contract of STEPHEN DE YBARRA; whom the ambassador had received the day before his majesty's letter arrived: And on the 3d of the present month, January, father CECIL deliver'd the king's letters dated the 17th of * * and written in his favour. But the letters of dispatch, to which his majesty in that letter referred him, were not yet come to the duke's hands. Father CECIL having been many days sick was prevented for some time waiting upon the ambassador; and when he came brought with him two Scots gentlemen, Don BALTAZAR and Don Ugo, who had arrived at Rome two days before, having embark'd at Barcelona in a light galley. They had no letters, alledging, that they had burnt all those, which they had received from the king, when they were forced to approach the coast of France, as the discovery of those letters might expose them to danger, if they should be known. They said likewise, that their purpose was not to treat of any matter with the pope, but only to visit the churches, to kiss his holiness's feet, to go afterwards to Loretto, and thence to Flanders, conformably to his majesty's directions, desiring a letter from the ambassador to the archduke. The duke did what he could to gratify them, and gave them good words, as father CECIL advis'd him.

The name of the gentleman of the contract was JOHN OGLEBY, baron of Pury, a man, as far as the ambassador could perceive, of good rank, and one, who followed the party of the *Politiques*, as the ambassador had found by him, having conferred with him divers times; and who, tho' young, yet seemed to be of good judgement,

* From the Manuscript collections of Dr. PATRICK FORBES in the possession of the hon. PHILIP YORKE, Esq;

* The king of Spain's Secretary and chief minister in Flanders.

* WALTER LINDSEY.

and ingenious, and proper to accomplish the business of him, by whom he appears to have been sent, and secret in such matters, as he had communicated to the ambassador, from whom he had other things. He had conferr'd with father CECIL, to whom he brought some letters from the Scots catholic lords, and who advertised the ambassador thereof. Lord OGLEBY informed the ambassador, that he dealt circumspectly with CECIL, and discovered nothing to him of what he treated with the ambassador, to whom he came only by night; tho' the ambassador desired, that CECIL, who was commonly in his company, would bring him with him some day to visit him. But on the other hand, CECIL always discovered to the ambassador what passed between OGLEBY and himself.

The principal subject of OGLEBY's conferences with the ambassador and CECIL, and the chief points of his negotiation, which he had discovered to the ambassador, were, that the king of Scots his master had sent him to procure such help and succour, as he could, from the pope, and the princes and states of Italy, as well to defend him from his rebellious subjects, as to assist him in obtaining the succession of the crown of England; that king signifying his desire to be instructed and reduc'd to the catholic religion, and the obedience of the holy see. But because the greatest part of his rebels were catholics, and desirous to transfer the possession of Scotland and England to the king of Spain, he was obliged to temporise and dissemble with the heretics and politiques, in order to support himself against so potent an adversary as that king, who, under pretence of favouring the catholics endeavoured to make himself master of both these kingdoms; which would not be expedient either for the pope or other princes of Italy. For which reason his king look'd for some succour of them, that might secure his state; and in case he found it not in Italy, he was resolv'd to put himself under the king of Spain's protection, and to treat for some agreement, which might be advantageous to both parties. OGLEBY declared, that he had received such a commission from his king, of whom his own opinion was, that he had no other religion than that which was taught him; and that in effect he was a politique. OGLEBY acknowledged, that in Flanders he had dealt concerning the points abovementioned with MALVASIA *, whom he perceived to be not well affected to the interest of Spain; of which he gave the ambassador some instances, which he had from MALVASIA. He own'd also, that he had passed thro' Venice, and had treated with some of the deputies, who said to him some things, which made him dissatisfied with them, of whom he had received general words, without substance, tending rather to obstruct the greatness of the king of Spain, than to any other purpose. He perceived the like disposition in the other Italians, with whom he had spoken, and particularly in cardinal ALDOBRANDINO, wondering, that this cardinal had discover'd so much to him in that respect. He said, that he had received great courtesy thro' the means of MALVASIA, and had been admitted to kiss his holiness's feet, who referr'd him to his nephew.

The ambassador had discover'd two things by another way, that before OGLEBY came to Rome, he had pass'd thro' Florence, and been with the grand duke. This was confess'd by one of his company to father CECIL; and he had conferr'd several

* The pope's Nuncio there.

times with cardinal TOLETO, by the pope's appointment, as he had mentioned to CECIL.

The ambassador assur'd him, that he would find little satisfaction in Italy, because he perceiv'd, that they entertain'd him only with words, without deeds or money; which was the thing sought and expected.

OGLBY, under great injunctions of secrecy, communicated to the ambassador a good deal of what had passed between him and STEPHEN DE YBARRA concerning the delivering of the prince of Scotland with certain places to the king of Spain, agreeably to what that king had already understood and mentioned in his letters. He concluded with desiring to be employed in that king's service, and to have an allowance of an hundred crowns a month, which COUNT DE FUENTES and STEPHEN DE YBARRA promised him in Milan; and upon the grant of this pension he engaged to serve the king of Spain as long as he lived.

The ambassador had at all times given him a favourable audience, and shew'd his satisfaction in OGLBY's professions of zeal and good will towards the catholic religion and the service of the king of Spain, assuring him, that what he should perform of that kind, would not be sown in barren ground; offering his assistance in whatever was within his power; and signifying, that he would shew himself grateful for the confidence, which OGLBY had placed in him. The ambassador declared to him, that the king of Spain's principal intention was to support and advance the catholic religion, and to exterminate heretics from all parts; and not, as the Italians imagin'd, to endeavour to make himself universal monarch. And that OGLBY might assure himself, that if the king of Scots should favour the catholics, and conform himself to the true religion, he need not fear the king of Spain, but rather look for his protection and assistance. The ambassador farther shew'd, that he knew nothing of the king his master's having been offended with the king of Scots, but only with the queen of England, who meant nothing else than to oppress the king of Scots, and to keep him in subjection, and in order to prevent him from applying himself to the king of Spain, suggested such fears and suspicions, infused jealousy between him and his catholic subjects, and caused him to join with heretics and politiques. The ambassador then represented to OGLBY, that in Italy he would find nothing but words and discourses, and little or no money, for which the princes there had occasion for themselves. As for the particulars, which OGLBY had observ'd to have pass'd between him and STEPHEN DE YBARRA, the ambassador declared that he knew nothing of the king of Spain's sentiments with regard to the delivery of the prince of Scotland, or of any places or forts of that country into that king's hands. And that it did not belong to him, the ambassador, to meddle in that matter; but that he rather believ'd, that his majesty's intention was as he had said.

Since that the ambassador understood from father CECIL, that OGLBY had persuaded himself that the king of Spain's intention was far different from what the Italians had represented: And CECIL believed, that OGLBY in his conference with the pope and his holiness's nephew, and in his letters written to his king, had declared.

declared himself to be of that opinion, and thought, that he had discover'd no little matter.

Father TYRRE, one of the assistants of the general of the jesuits, who had always spoken ill of the king of Spain's conduct, ascribing it to secret ambition, now, as CECIL said, talk'd very differently of that king. Which made the ambassador imagine, that OGLEBY had changed his opinion.

Among other things, which OGLEBY related to the ambassador concerning MALVASIA, one was, that the latter inquir'd much what he understood of the king of Spain's sentiments concerning England, and of the king of Scotland's disposition towards the catholics and their religion, and of the friendship and correspondence of that king with the princes his cousins on the mother's side, and what assistance he might expect from them: Whether the queen of England was desirous, that the pope should excommunicate the king of Scotland, as she was excommunicated herself: And whether the king of Spain had urged and procured this, and for what causes: And whether the queen endeavour'd to withdraw the king of Scotland from the friendship of the king of Spain; and by what means; and what measures he us'd to disjoin and keep at a distance the king and the catholics of Scotland. He observ'd, that MALVASIA shew'd a great desire to be informed of all these points, in order that he might advertise the pope of them. Tho' the lord OGLEBY mentioned to the ambassador only the common discourses, which he had had with MALVASIA; yet father CECIL suspected, that he had communicated to him all that had pass'd between himself and STEPHEN DE YBARRA, and that he had declared to him, that the king of Scotland did not a little suspect the queen of England of treating with the Bearnois¹, either to divorce or kill his wife², in order to marry lady ARABELLA STUART³, that the said queen might introduce him into the succession of the crown of England: That if she should find herself straitned by the king of Spain, she was resolv'd to send to Rome, and pretend herself a catholic: And that she had left certain communication betwixt STEPHEN DE YBARRA and an agent of the king of Scotland, who was in Zealand. Out of which and other such discourses, the ambassador observes, it might be gather'd, that OGLEBY was come to Rome with some artful design: Which being consider'd by the ambassador and father CECIL, they thought proper to procure his departure from the court. And because he had mentioned, that the king his master had ordered him, if he should not obtain his desire in Italy, to address himself to the king of Spain, they highly approved of this purpose of his, thinking, that by this means he should not only be removed from his negotiations in Italy, but likewise, in the opinion of father CECIL, be very pro-

¹ HENRY IV. born at Pau in Bearn December 30, 1553.

² MARGARET, daughter of HENRY II. of France.

³ She wrote her name ARBELLA, as I have seen in many of her letters to her uncle and aunt, the earl and countess of Shrewsbury, written with great vivacity, and a purity and elegance of style uncommon in that age. She was daughter of CHARLES earl of Lennox, younger brother of HENRY lord Darnley, husband of MARY queen of Scots, by

ELIZABETH daughter of Sir WILLIAM CAVENDISH by his wife ELIZABETH, afterwards married to GEORGE earl of Shrewsbury. Lady ARABELLA's marriage in 1610 to Sir WILLIAM CAVENDISH, afterwards marquis of Hertford and duke of Somerset, occasioned them both to be confined by order of king JAMES I. and she endeavouring to make her escape from her keeper in June the year following, was shut up in the Tower, where she continued till her death on the 27th of September 1615.

perly employed to reconcile the king of Scotland to his catholics. The ambassador also thought, that it would be adviseable for the king of Spain to send succours to Scotland, as this method of doing it would have a better appearance to the pope and all others, since the cause of the king of Scotland and that of the catholics was to be handled conjunctly.

OGLEBY having conferred with CECIL about his passage to Spain, said to him, that he had many secrets, which he did not chuse to reveal till his arrival there; requesting CECIL to go with him. CECIL hop'd, that by offer of rewards and good treatment he might easily be corrupted; and that some good use might be made of him, as he was a man of parts and quality: and that if this should not succeed, he might be well entertain'd and sent away, to prevent any mischief from him. The ambassador was of the same opinion; to whom CECIL had brought OGLEBY, that he might declare his intention of going to Spain, if the ambassador thought proper; who approved of it. While OGLEBY was preparing for this, CECIL expressed to the ambassador his impatience to remove him from Rome; and finding that he wanted money, and yet was ashamed to ask for any, the ambassador thought proper to present him with a gold chain of 230 crowns value; with which he was very well pleased, and promised to return privately to Rome, and agreed with CECIL to go together towards Genoa, and from thence to Spain.

Tho' CECIL had both by word and writing communicated to the ambassador his negotiation with the king of Spain with relation to the affairs of Scotland, and that king's intention to succour the secret as well as known catholics there; and would have persuaded the ambassador to communicate this and that king's proceedings to the pope, yet the ambassador had deferred it, alledging it to be more proper to wait till the king's letter should arrive. In the mean time the ambassador diverted CECIL from his design of going to Flanders, representing, that it would be more proper for him to return to Spain, and not to leave the company of OGLEBY, from whom he might by the way draw some secrets, and afterwards report them to the king of Spain; and from the good opinion, which OGLEBY had of him, and the confidence which he placed in him, he was a fit instrument to persuade him to what was expedient. By these arguments the ambassador engaged CECIL to consent to accompany OGLEBY, tho' the former resented the king of Spain's long delays with regard to himself, and wonder'd, that Don JOHN DE LOIAQUES had said to him, that he did not yet know what to write by the Scots gentlemen, who came to Spain before him, and after remaining there several months were to pass to Flanders to the Scots lords, by whom they were sent. CECIL complain'd, that such delays might ruin their business, and make them despair of any good success. However he had received some comfort by the letter, which father CRESWELL had written concerning the king of Spain's resolution, to take care of those affairs; and he shew'd that letter to the gentlemen, who were going to Flanders, in order to keep them in good hopes of an answer soon, since the galleys to be conducted by Don PIETRO DE MEDICIS would not stay long, and in them for greater security the expected dispatch would undoubtedly be sent. However they were so eager to depart, that it might be suspected to arise from the little agreement among those of their nation, who were not likely to continue long upon terms of concord with each other.

The

The ambassador told CECIL, that if the king of Spain's letter did not come within fifteen days, he was resolved, upon what his majesty had already written to him by CECIL, and the information given him by that father, to speak with pope, in order that the gentlemen might be dispatch'd. Both he and CECIL had agreed not to discover to the pope the particular and secret matters, nor the means of executing the design, but only the necessity and obligation of sending succours to the catholics, which they fought of the king of Spain for so good an end, the defence of the catholic religion in Scotland, and the procuring of liberty to the king from the oppression of the queen of England and the heretics: And to represent, that the king of Spain would, as a just prince, not fail to give an account of his proceedings in this affair to his holiness, and request his assistance in so holy a cause by his apostolical authority, and such temporal forces as he could spare. Tho' in this latter point the ambassador thought that there was not much to be expected, the pope being so intangled with the affairs of Poland and Hungary, and not well furnished with money; and it was not probable, that he would interpose in the affairs of Spain, unless he saw his enemies in Italy.

The king of Spain having in his last letter ordered the ambassador to acquaint the pope with the falsity of the report of the conversion of the king of Scotland, and of his having been persuaded to it by the queen of England, the ambassador promised to do his duty therein, and to see, if the same might be done with advantage, and not give occasion of greater suspicion to the pope, who was very desirous, that all men should approve of the absolution given to the Bearnois, which was a case of the like nature. "I suspect, *says the ambassador*, that he will allow it; and whatever he may say, he thinks the same, that pope Sixtus said of the Spaniards, that it could not be denied, that they were catholics, but that they did not think, there were any other christians in the word besides themselves. And this he said at divers times, and particularly when he went in procession to give thanks to God for the conversion of the marquis of B * *. And at this day I see more introduced into this court than is for the interest of christianity, especially an opinion of the principal heretics, that they are to be cur'd and not cut off."

The ambassador's next letter to the king of Spain, was on the 20th of February, 159 $\frac{1}{2}$, mentioning, that since his last of the 30th of January, there had arrived the ordinary post of Spain, which left Madrid on the 3d of February; but having brought no letters from his majesty concerning the affairs of Scotland, and the ambassador understanding, that the storms, which the gallees of the count de MIRANDA had encounter'd, might retard them in their return, thought proper not to detain any longer at Rome father CECIL, to wait for his majesty's dispatches; especially as his companion OOLEBY kept a ship at his own expence, and was also departed towards Nettuno.

The pope understanding, that CECIL was in Rome, and having some knowledge of his negotiation, and considering, that if he should return without speaking with his holiness, he might conceive some suspicion, he admitted him on the 13th of

February, the day before his departure; and what pass'd on that occasion with the cardinals ALDOBRANDINO and CAJETANO, CECIL would send to his majesty by that messenger, being better satisfied with the pope's answer and good disposition, than with what he found before in his conference with cardinal ALDOBRANDINO, who was much influenced by signior MALVASIA, and had always declar'd, that no support of money was to be hop'd for from his holiness. On the 17th, father CECIL departed from Rome for Naples, as it was thought better, that from thence he and OGLEBY should pass in feluccas to Genoa, than to oblige the latter to return to Rome, and to go to Florence; the ambassador having written to count OLIVARES, in his favour, and desired him to supply CECIL with money for his voyage, assuring him, that the king of Spain would take it in good part. He gave him likewise letters to the Spanish ambassador in Genoa, and to the doge, to favour him in his embarking, and to the king and don JUAN DE IDIAQUES. The other two gentlemen, Don BALTAZAR and Don HUGO, departed from Rome towards Flanders with letters from the ambassador to the constable of Castille, and the cardinal archduke; but in their first journey Don BALTAZAR's horse falling with him, and hurting his leg, they sent word of this accident to father CECIL, who sent them a litter, in which they both return'd to Rome, and were brought to the ambassador by that father, who had requested him to receive Don HUGO kindly, as a firm and zealous servant to the king of Spain. But tho' Don BALTAZAR endeavoured to persuade Don HUGO to go and speak with the pope, he refus'd it, being determined not to be diverted from the resolution of going directly to Flanders, and not meddling in any other business; but Don BALTAZAR had parted lodgings, and visited cardinal CAJETANO, by whose means he sought to have an audience of the pope, tho' he could not obtain it. The ambassador thought him a true catholic, but somewhat vain, and always desirous of the greatness of the earl of Huntley, from whom only he had commission. The ambassador observ'd, that 585 might occasion great suspicion to the rest of the catholic lords; but thank'd Don HUGO for the affection, which he shew'd to the service of the king of Spain, and the success of the cause. Don HUGO discours'd with the ambassador a little of the enterprise, urging the necessity of the king's sending his forces to the west parts of Scotland, which were nearest to Spain, as well as to England, and on the marches, where the catholic lords had most forces, and most interest in the adjacent counties of England, as he had already inform'd Don JUAN DE IDIAQUES. This discourse; the ambassador thought, proceeded from a suspicion, that Don BALTAZAR had desired to speak with him apart, as he did indeed, endeavouring to persuade him, that it was best for the Spanish forces to go to the east parts of Scotland into the Firth, which lies nearest to Flanders, and in the principal part of that kingdom; whereas if the queen of England should seize the ports there first, it would be of very ill consequence. Don BALTAZAR had declar'd this to the ambassador two several times, when alone, with other things contain'd in the report, which accompanied the ambassador's letter, particularly what had pass'd in his audience with the pope, which he had procur'd by means of cardinal CAJETANO. It seem'd to the ambassador, that he was firm to catholic religion, and zealous for the greatness of the earl of Huntley; and that father CECIL had told him the truth, that it was not of peace that he spoke to the pope, but communicated to his holiness his opinion of the king of Scotland's courage and disposition to the catholic religion, which

which he shew'd to be mere dissimulation, and that the king had no courage nor resolution, but was oppress'd by the queen of England, and his own ministers, and had discover'd to her the money, which the pope had sent him. His holiness had likewise received intelligence of this by some letters, which had come to the general of the order of the jesuits three days past, by which father TYRIE lost the good opinion and hopes, which he had of the king. The general had also told the duke, that he would procure father TYRIE to go to the pope, and satisfy him of this point. And it was thought very fortunate, that by means of them two his holiness would open his eyes before he had spoken the word, since otherwise he might have suspected the duke of Sessa, whereas now he would perceive, that he dealt sincerely. And from this must have proceeded the answer, which the pope gave father CECIL, so different from the disposition, which he had before found in cardinal ALDOBRANDINO.

Don HUGO seeing Don BALTASAR not likely to begin his journey for a month, determin'd not to wait for him, and so departed with letters for Milan and Flanders, and to the cardinal archduke.

Father CECIL inform'd the ambassador of all that had passed in his negotiation, and advertis'd him of several things, particularly of two, the first, that the pope should not meddle in that affair with father CREYTON, who was in Flanders, but that the general of the order should under some pretence draw him from that country. And in this point father CECIL supported his own opinion with that of Don BALTASAR. The general being spoken to for this purpose said, that tho' he esteem'd father CREYTON a good man, yet he would make use of some colour for the removing him out of Flanders. The second thing urg'd by father CECIL was, that the ambassador would take care, that Don BALTASAR should receive no particular grant from the pope for the earl of HUNTLEY, nor meddle with any point different from what had been treated of already, namely the assistance of all the catholic lords equally, without giving jealousy, that the interests of some of them were particularly intended; a point which the duke would mention to the pope. The duke observ'd, that Don BALTASAR seem'd to have no very great confidence in father CECIL, having declar'd to him, that he suspected that father's dealing with the lord treasurer of the queen of England, when the king of Spain sent him with a Spanish captain, he having been twice taken in England, and yet releas'd with impunity. The ambassador acknowledges, that in what father CECIL had done at Rome, there was nothing discovered to occasion an ill opinion of him; styling him a crafty and ingenious man, and adding, that ROGER BAIN, who had been some time secretary to cardinal ALAN, and was then entertained at Rome by the king of Spain, and was of known fidelity, had told him, the duke, as a secret not to be mentioned as coming from him, that he had discovered in CECIL an ambition to return to Rome, and that he had communicated to him his resolution of doing so in a short time, having left in BAIN's hands a number of crowns; and BAIN thought, that CECIL's intention was to procure by some indirect means, that the king of Spain should put him at the head of the English, who aspir'd to the rank, to which that king had rais'd cardinal ALAN. A circumstance, which increased this suspicion in the ambassador, was, that amongst the other advices, which

which father Cecil left with him for relocating those of the English college, and others of that nation resorting to Rome, to terms of better agreement amongst themselves, this was one, that the king of Spain should cast his eye upon some eminent person, who might hold the same place and authority, which cardinal Atan had enjoy'd of And the cardinal's officers, that if such a person could be found, he ought undoubtedly to be of the same rank, for that the English were very much disaffected.

The ambassador found himself greatly at a loss what to do in this affair, for want of the king's letters, which he presumed would contain instructions to him for the government of his conduct, he being perplex'd by the little conformity between Don Hues and Don D. ... and the suspicion of partiality in father CECIL. With regard to the pope, if no money could be procured of him, the ambassador supposed, that his holiness would agree with the king in other respects in such form, as his majesty should think most expedient, especially if he were persuaded, that in case the king of Scotland would join himself with the catholics, and return to the catholic faith, he should not be dispossessed of his kingdom, by Spain. And I find, says the ambassador, no inconvenience to hold his holiness persuaded of this; seeing that he having little hope of the conversion of that king, will acknowledge the fault to be in himself, and the good that your majesty hath done in favouring the catholics. And in case that he [the king of Scots] seeing himself put to a trial, either friendly, or truly should join himself to your majesty, not being able to maintain himself without the shadow of your majesty's assistance, shall be constrained of necessity, in order to assure himself of his kingdom, to take such appointment in the purpose of England, as shall be for your majesty's weal. And if I be not deceived, your majesty being resolved to assist the catholics in Scotland, there is no occasion to wait for a resolution from Rome; for your majesty shall more easily obtain of his holiness the authorising of what your army shall do in Scotland, than before it shall be sent thither; because they think, that it will never go thither, and that the declaring of it to his holiness, serves for no other purpose than to excite jealousy in the other princes, without bringing the enterprise to effect, as his holiness has signified clearly enough to CECIL.

The ambassador in another letter, dated the next day, February 21st, inform'd Don Juan de Tordes, that the business, which gave him most concern and trouble, was that relating to Scotland, from the want of his majesty's letters and instructions, and because he found the Scotsmen, who came out of Spain, of such different opinions, and so disunited among themselves, tho' outwardly pretending to agree, that he could not tell whom of them to credit most. He thought fit therefore to hear them all, and to advertise his majesty of what he could discover. However he was persuaded, that none of them dealt with thorough sincerity, and that the pope would also act warily and circumspectly; and there was but little probability, that his holiness would give any assistance in money. But if the king should resolve upon sending a fleet to Scotland at his own charge, it

^a He died on the 6th of October, 1597. ^b From a copy among the collections of Dr. ...

would, when done, be better accepted at Rome, than discourses of what was pretended to be undertaken, in which there was always matter found to fear and prevent the execution. And as far as the ambassador understood that court, this might be considered as a general rule justified by experience, that it troubled itself much less with what was done, than what was to be done. The king therefore might consult God and his conscience only in what was to be done, and needed not be curious to have his designs approv'd there, where they were always suspected; whereas his actions, if they succeeded, were approved; all which arose from their envy of his greatness. The ambassador then observes, that ROGER BAIN had given him the advice sent with that letter, and that he esteem'd him a man of honour, and firm to his majesty's service; tho' the ambassador saw great resentments among the English; and suspected, that GEORGE TALBOT would not continue so well satisfied with the pope, as was imagin'd.

He then inclosed the following advertisements communicated to himself by BALTASAR or WALTER LINDSEY, to be sent to the king of Spain.

That he understood, that his holiness would perhaps send secretly into Scotland one of the agents, who managed at Rome the affairs of 200.

That the king of Scotland had sent not only to that court, but also to France (from which he had but little hope) and to the States of the United Provinces, the king of Denmark, and to some of the powers of Italy, to see what succours they would give him; and that Sir WILLIAM KEITH, gentleman of his chamber, was then at Venice for that purpose.

That the queen of England had promised him assistance of money, ships, and other supplies for the war, and had lately given him hope of succeeding to the crown of England.

That the lord OGLESBY, who was going to Spain, was sent by the king of Scotland with the knowledge of the queen of England; and had discovered himself to no person so much as to father TYRRE the jesuit.

That in his opinion it would be best for the king of Spain to secure the arm of the sea call'd the Forth, which takes its rise at St. Andrew's, and proceeds towards Stirling; and the troops needed not land till they came to St. Andrew's, but go up the chanel of the Frith, and fortify the islands in it.

That it was necessary to do this as soon as possible, because the queen of England had desir'd those places of the king of Scotland; and tho' he inclin'd to grant them, his council refus'd, promising to deliver them to her as soon as any foreigners should land in Scotland: And the English had an eye to the Forth, considering it as the key of Scotland.

That there will be some difficulty in going from Flanders; and therefore it was best to send an army only from Spain, and to land it in the west parts: in which point Mr. LINDSEY agreed with the opinion of the rest.

It was very necessary and of great advantage to send thither some galleys.

The ambassador however perceiv'd from his dealings with CECIL, that the latter had some secret and particular instructions to treat with and communicate to the pope by some private means, which he desir'd to conceal from the knowledge of the king of Spain; and that these instructions were confirm'd by the earls of Angus and Errol, and some politic Scots, who had their dealings in that court, and that they contained the three following heads:

1. That his holiness should by no means excommunicate the king of Scotland, but only threaten him therewith by some secret messenger.
2. That no prejudice should be done to him with respect to his claim to the succession of England.
3. That if an army should be sent from Spain to Scotland, it might be not with an intention of conquering of it.

LINDSEY concluded, that it appeared to him very expedient, that CECIL should return to Spain, as well that he might be removed from Rome, as because Don JUAN DE IDIAQUES had him grip'd by the pulse, and knew how to deal with him, for the good of the cause.

The last intercepted letter of the duke of Sessa to the king of Spain, relating to this subject, was dated the 1st of March, 1592, mentioning, that since his last he had taken an opportunity of speaking with the cardinal CAJETANO upon it, who told him, that father TYRIE had determined not to be farther deceived by the chimeras, which he had had in his head about the religion of his king, and said, that all was but fiction and imposture. To confirm him the more in this, the ambassador thought proper to acquaint the cardinal with what the king of Spain had written to himself. The cardinal then offered to convince the pope, that his majesty was willing to assist the catholics; and that this would shew, whether the king of Scots would favour the king of Spain's design, and abandon the heretics, or not: And that it was no ways convenient to suffer the catholic religion to fall in Scotland. The ambassador represented the inconveniences, which might follow, if his holiness should bestow any thing on Don BALTAZAR for the earl of Huntley or others; but advised, that he should give him letters, and send him back to Flanders, letting him know, that he would concur with the king of Spain by spiritual assistance, since he could not supply any temporal. The cardinal approved of this, and advised the pope to follow it. In the last audience his holiness acted conformably thereto, and promised the ambassador to give no dispatch to Don BALTAZAR, and told the ambassador, that the king of Spain would do well to join with the catholics, and not to lose time; and own'd, that he found himself deceived by those, who would have persuaded otherwise with respect to the king of Scotland's intention, and who were sent in his name; and that he knew that king to be * * * by the queen of England and her friends. Upon the ambassador's letting the pope know, that the king of Spain's letter was not come, he sent father

father CECIL to tell him, that there was no occasion to do much for the present in that matter, in which he hop'd to conform himself to what should be done by that king; always presupposing, that in case the king of Scotland should really profess the catholic religion, and put himself into the hands of his catholic subjects, the king of Spain should not attempt to dispossess him of his kingdom.

CONDE OLIVARES had written to the ambassador on the 27th of the last month, that father CECIL and the lord OGLEBY were embarked for Genoa, in the company of captain JOHN DE LA CARTE, and that they had received from him, the count, 100 ducats for the expences of their voyage.

They both arrived in Spain, where OGLEBY affirmed, that he was sent by the king of Scotland with a commission to treat of friendship, and a league and confederacy between that king and his catholic majesty; and that the former would become a catholic, and enter into a confederacy with the pope and king of Spain against the queen of England. He produced at the same time a letter of trust and credence from the king of Scotland, with the reasons, which induced that king to be reconciled to the apostolical See, and to procure a confederacy with Spain; and offers to his catholic majesty for the advantage of both kings and kingdoms. But father CECIL presented to the court of Spain a memorial containing objections to the offers of OGLEBY, and to his credit and character, and to that of the king of Scots himself. OGLEBY being dispatched at that court, a Portuguese gentleman was appointed at Madrid to accompany him to Scotland, as he had desired: But OGLEBY afterwards chang'd his mind, and left his companion at Madrid, and went away without taking leave to Valencia and Barcelona, where he put on a gold chain of 500 ducats, which IDIAQUES the king of Spain's ambassador, had presented to him in that king's name. Within a few days after which, there arrived at Madrid, the secretary STEPHEN DE IBARRA, with whom OGLEBY had transacted much in Flanders, and who observing what the latter had proposed to and treated with the king, found it of a very different strain from what he had treated with himself in Flanders; where OGLEBY had owned to him, that he was sent by the king of Scotland, and by some heretics and politicians, to rouse up some people's spleen, and to make them friends to that king against the king of Spain; and that he had conferred with PAGET and GIFFORD, and other Englishmen of that herd; and that he knew it was all partiality and passion, and that the king of Scotland was an heretic; and that this agent being a catholic, would manage affairs the contrary way to what the heretics and politicians aimed at: And hereupon he had a promise from YBARRA of 100 ducats pension a month, and so went away to Italy. But YBARRA being afterwards informed, that he had negotiated so contrary to what he had promised, desired, for his own vindication, that he might be stopped till matters were inquired into; in consequence of which OGLEBY was detained at Barcelona, but with very good usage, till it should be known, whether the king of Scotland had sent him, or given him any such commission or credentials, as he had pretended. Thus stood the affair in the beginning of December, 1596.

¹ Wickwood's Memorials, vol. i. p. 1 & seqq.

Sir HENRY NEWMAN, being ambassador from queen ELIZABETH at Paris, in June 1599 was acquainted with this negotiation of OGLESBY, which he mentioned in a letter of the 27th of that month to secretary CECIL, for whom, he thought he could procure a copy of it, if the secretary had not yet seen it. This ambassador had likewise on the 28th of May been inform'd by the lord WREAMES, that the lord HUME was come to Paris, and to go thence to Rome, employed to the pope from the king of Scots, of whom the lord WREAMES delivered to Sir HENRY very many suspicions, as if that king declin'd altogether in religion, and began to entertain strait intelligence with the popish side and princes.

These and other discoveries having occasioned the court of England to expostulate with the king of Scots, he thought proper, upon sending thither the earl of Mar, and the abbot of Kinross ambassadors in the beginning of February 1602, to instruct them to endeavour the removal of the jealousies, which had arisen from his alledg'd dealing with foreign princes, and especially the pope and king of Spain. And in his letter to them from Holyrood-house of the 5th of that month he observed, that since their departure, he had caused so many of his council, as were best affected in that matter, to examine Mr. EDWARD DRUMMOND, who was charg'd "to have carried from us, says he, a commission to the pope, and to have made particular offers concerning our son the prince, the castle of Edinburgh, and suit of money for entertaining a guard; whereupon Sir HENRY BRUNKARD^k, on the queen's behalf, expostulated with us, of whose disposition we have sent you herewith the just copy. We have likewise caused to examine PURY OGLESBY^l, who was alledged to have used on our behalf a commission to the king of Spain, whose deposition you shall also receive. And because for the present we have no other adminicles, whereby the verity of their depositions may be impugned, and we persuade ourselves that the queen and council there would not have taken so great hold of these matters, except they had had some warrant, after you have made the queen, or such as she shall appoint, acquainted with their depositions, you shall crave them to give you such grounds and testimonies, as they have; whereby their declarations may be improved, and the contrary being verified, they may receive condign punishment, according to the quality of their desert. For which effect we have committed PURY OGLESBY to ward within our castle of Edinburgh. And because we had no certain accusation against Mr. EDWARD DRUMMOND, we have committed him to ward within his mother's house, under caution of great fums to appear before us and our council, as often as he shall be required, and in no wise to depart out of our realm without license. It appears to us very strange, that such jealousies should be fostered, and no certain authors known. And we think, that our by-past carriage in all our actions hath deserved, that we should be friendly satisfied, at least by detecting the authors; that if they be men of credit, and their delations be surely warranted, pains may be irrogated to the offenders; and if maliciously they be contrived to be a disquieting of the amity

^k WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. i. p. 52.

^l Ibid. p. 37.

¹ From a copy among Dr. FORBES'S MS. Collections.

^k He was sent ambassador from queen ELIZABETH

to congratulate the king upon his deliverance from the plot of earl GOWAY.

¹ The lord OGLESBY abovementioned. See WINWOOD, p. 8.

" betwixt our states, they may be punished, or at least known for seditious
 " enemies of the public repose, and we cleared of so vile imputations, from which
 " we have been always so far, as we never meddled in any course with whatsoever
 " prince, which we would not have known to all the world. And altho' the
 " friends of Pury O'neary have made great stir to us, that he should be at
 " liberty, under pecuniat pains; yet we have refused, because the said Sir Henry
 " Brunkard, amongst others his expostulations, alledged, that when such per-
 " sons, as had abused our authority, being out of the country, returned home,
 " their heads were clapt. We have made him safe, till tryal may be had, if he
 " have merited any more grievous punishment, which he shall not escape, if in
 " any case he be guilty: wherein we would wish them to keep the like severity,
 " both in tryal and punishment of such, as by termises and calumnies foster
 " jealousies; whereof the end, if remedy be not found, will breed more dis-
 " pleasure.

" You shall deal, as you find opportunity, that we may have certainty, that
 " nothing be done in our prejudice of our title, and observe carefully, that under
 " pretext of discovery of this action, no staff be forged to our disadvantage.
 " The rest is your discretion, and our former instructions.

B O O K VI.

SIR HENRY UXTON, in the course of his embassy in France, besides his letters to the lord treasurer and those of more confidence to the earl of Essex, did not omit to write likewise sometimes to Sir ROBERT CECIL, one of his letters to whom is extant, written during the month of February 1592, tho' the day is not mark'd. In this letter he observ'd, that by reason of the French king's absence he could give his honour no satisfaction, as he had promised in his last, concerning the points of the picture and of the king's journey into England. Yet for the latter he was persuaded, that if the court of England did not give him a better taste than he yet had, he would be far from taking such a journey, or from trusting us with his presence. Sir HENRY had learn'd from Monsieur DE SANCY, that the king had once a disposition to it, but was dissuaded from it, by some hinderers of the queen's amity, alledging, that we might seize upon his person, as we had done upon others; for which Sir HENRY had offered his life in hostage, but had no cause to hope it in the present state of things. "If you give him contentment, says Sir HENRY, and divert him from this truce or treaty with Spain, I doubt not but my credit may effect it. For tho' he doth affect me well, yet my grace must only proceed from her majesty's favour to him, and countenance to me, without which I shall be an unprofitable servant here or any where. To write plainly unto your honour, my cold message and your contradictions in England give them matter of jealousy both of her majesty's meaning and of my employment, and I am of opinion, that the king may yet be reclaim'd unto us, so it be done in time, and a speedy resolution is best to cut off the inconveniences, which delay bringeth. Until then my negotiation is at a stay, and my credit here in balance. I protest, I was never more cast down in my mind, than with the ill success of my service, which I do prefer before the hazard of my life or any other worldly respect. And if I receive not good matter, whereupon to work, I fear I shall shortly send you news not to your liking. The coming of the cardinal of Joyeuse doth much trouble me, and I know not how to satisfy doubts. I have been curious in the search of all things, and have opened my purse strings very liberally unto intelligencers, of whom the best and the worst do concur in this, that it is in the king's power to accept the truce for four years, and that cardinal Joyeuse cometh to effect it with the king's allowance. Yet I am in hope, that if the king may have assured comfort from us, it will make him stagger, and give a shrewd blow unto the impeaching of a truce, which is in so great forwardness, and taken to be in a manner resolved, whereof there is an ill beginning in Bretagne and other places." Sir HENRY adds, that he found, that the king had been earnest to have her majesty comprehended in his treaty with Spain, which was not at all approved of by the pope, who was the chief instrument, and most unfit for England; whose hope

therein was therefore in vain : And Sir HENRY much disliked the late instrument^s used to the agent of the United Provinces, amongst whom the president JEANNIN was especially employed to advise him to persuade his masters to consent to a treaty with Spain, for whom it seemed the king would undertake, in order to better his own conditions ; which shew'd an ill disposition in them to England. They pretended, that England was irreconcilable with Spain, and that they had less cause to deal for it in respect of its abandoning the king, and being now no way interested with him in his wars ; which Sir HENRY learn'd from good part. " So unless," *says he*, " we engage the king by a strait amity, we are to expect no good from him, and to bear the brunt of the wars with Spain ; whereof I doubt not but you will have due consideration. As also of the consequence of the long truce intended, which I take to be in a manner as dangerous to us as a peace, and is the mother of peace. In that manner did the king first deal with the leaguers, and the same course would they have him now take with the Spaniards ; which I beseech God to confound. Your honour doth perceive how openly I deal with you, not being ashamed to lay my imperfections before your honour, according to promise, hoping, that they shall not come to light to hurt me ; and that I shall receive advice from you of my errors, and how I shall carry myself ; wherein I humbly beseech your honour to direct me, which I will take as a most special favour, and shall increase my obligation unto your honour."

With regard to ANTONIO PEREZ Sir HENRY could say no more, than that he was much discontented with the earl of Essex's short and seldom writing to him ; and yet he continued towards his lordship a very liberal intelligencer ; " whereof," *says Sir HENRY*, " I can gather no particularities ; only I know they are prejudicial to my service ; and therein the earl doth not deal so kindly with me, as I expected. He giveth out in secret, that he is much trusted by her majesty ; which, if it should be, would not a little trouble me to find a stranger trusted before a servant. I beseech your honour let me know by yours, according to your promise, what he writeth, and what account is made of him by her majesty. He dineth daily in a manner with me for the earl's sake ; yet doth he impart nothing unto me but such generalities, as the lackeys do know ; so, as I fear he would be a spy upon me, I use him thereafter, whereof he groweth jealous. I think he resorteth the more to me, to give me the less suspicion, and to persuade the world here of his better credit in England ; whose company I can well spare."

At the close of this letter Sir HENRY desired Sir ROBERT CECIL's furtherance unto his father for the dispatch of his bills of transportation, which were not fully so much as the last, tho' in respect of the dearth of the camp before La Fere, they deserved to be enlarged. For he protested, that he spent seventeen pounds a-day in his ordinary household expences, yet had not half the company of servants, which he had before, nor above twenty-five horses, of which eight were for carriage ; it being a far dearer time than that of Roan : " So as if," *says he*, " I continue here long, I shall ruin myself ; whereof I hope your honour will take care, and remember her majesty of her gracious promise by you, that I should not stay longer than two months, which will expire by the end of this month. If my service shall be needful for the satisfaction of any particular service, I will be

" willing

“ willing to stay until our lady day, at which time I must be forced for my own
 “ private estate to return, having great payments to make there, and being utterly
 “ unfurnished here of money for a longer time. Herein I presume of your ho-
 “ nourable favour and of my lord your father's, which I will seek to deserve with
 “ my uttermost service.”

Mr. HUDSON being in Scotland wrote to his wife a letter from thence on the 23d of February. 1597, in order to be communicated to Mr. BACON, to whom it was deliver'd on the 2d of March. In this letter Mr. HUDSON writes, that he had found the king of Scotland very respectful to his friends, and very gracious to himself. “ I have had, *says he*, private time to do all my own affairs, even to my will; and have been most graciously heard, and so accepted in all I had to do or say; I find him in a very royal mind to keep precisely the happy amity begun, and to spend his life and crown for the defence of the religion; and the ill things are grown to a great change here from the worse to the better; so that the greatest oppressors are forced for fear of the law, even of their own accord, to seek to pay and satisfy that, which they never meant to do, nor the parties ever once hoped for. Where he conceiveth well, he will utter himself plainly with great wisdom and honour. He thinketh yet upon the hard speeches of the lord ZOUCH, and said to me, that if he might with honour render an account of his actions, being a prince, he would protest upon his salvation, that he never did or intended ought in thought or deed hurtful to religion, her majesty, or any part of her kingdom, or the amity in any degree, no not in his greatest extremities, when he had small assurance either of any friends, or yet of his own people: And yet rather than he would have joined either with his own papists or Spain, he would rather have perished in his honourable innocency, howsoever the world thought of him. But now I perceive an intent in him to keep himself from the like great extremities.” Mr. HUDSON then mentions her majesty's ambassador having had an audience of the king and queen, and that he was well accepted of. That there was held a public humiliation and fasting, which was to continue till the assembly. That he found no cause of doubt of any thing hurtful likely to occur. Some thought those, who had now the management of affairs, dangerous men, and that the king might be drawn to some hard courses by some, who were indeed formidable for credit and parts. But Mr. HUDSON was not afraid of that; the king being immovable from his honest grounds laid, and promised to God and queen ELIZABETH. Such, as were discontented, that the king should have his own to live upon, would make information and reports of dangers and doubts against those, who had injured them to help the king with his own. It was true, that the king had directed the ministers to make him acquainted with what, and how they dealt with the queen's ambassador; but to no other end, than that all might be done with a seemly order, and that they should not exceed bounds so far, as they had sometimes done, for there appeared in him no desire to hide his notions, nor stand in doubt of any discoveries from any foreign part. He would not grieve the queen of England in any sort, and loved all her most dutiful subjects best, declaring, that whoever was untrusty to her, was unworthy of regard; for they had all so tasted of her bounty,

that they had less fear than some crowned kings and princes. He seemed to live in great assurance of his own honour, without any fear of what envy could do to him, his grounds were so honourable and unspotted. He had given a very honourable answer to her majesty's ambassador, and to Mr. HUDSON for his cousin JOHN OFFLEY's ship, which the earl of Orkney was to bring with him within four days, as the king supposed, and that then they should have full restitution of all,

His majesty had for some reasons altered his purpose of sending the provost of Edinburgh ambassador to England; and would now, as Mr. HUDSON believed, send a gentleman of his own, Mr. DAVID FOULIS, who would have his dispatch after an audience granted to the queen's ambassador. There were confident advertisements brought to Edinburgh, that the Spaniards intended to be in Scotland; but there was very great resolution in the king to resist them, which kindled all his subjects courage to put all in God's hands.

The next day Mr. BOWES, the English ambassador in Scotland, wrote from Edinburgh to the earl of Essex; to inform him, that on the Sunday preceding he had an audience of the king, whom he found well inclined to do any thing in his power, that might any ways satisfy or please her majesty, as well as in her own particulars whatsoever, as in the common service against the Spaniard. And the kirk had now conceived a very good opinion of him and his late actions and protestations against the common enemies, and assured themselves of his sincere meaning therein, shewing to Mr. BOWES, that they hop'd and were certain, that he should now find the king very frank to advance all good causes for the benefit of religion and the country; wherein his majesty had in effect said as much already to Mr. BOWES himself, who hoped, that there would be all good courses run by the king for the advancement of those causes, and that all should be well, notwithstanding all practices to the contrary. The king was resolved to send the secrets of such practices, as were come thither, either with the Irish priest taken there, or any others, that he knew of, and to deal very truly and plainly with her majesty therein, and in all things else, so that the danger might be prevented. For which purpose Mr. DAVID FOULIS was shortly to be sent up. Upon new and late advertisements received by the king, that the Spaniards were to come to Scotland the next month, the king had been at several consultations with his council how to provide to withstand them; sometimes thinking it proper to enlist 600 men, to be ready to be sent wherever the enemy should land; to levy their pay for three months of 300 able and well affected persons, who should have been paid by taxations to have been taken of the country; but this scheme being found likely to give some discontent to the people, was laid aside; and the king and council fell upon other expedients. But it was now concluded, and proclamation made for all men to be ready upon 24 hours warning, and letters directed to every distinct presbytery, and to the best affected gentlemen therein, to have in readiness such especial gentlemen furnish'd, and of men of service, as they could, to be ready upon the king's warning to come to him. These, if the Spaniards should come, the king would take with him to fight them wherever they should land; and he thought, that he might best trust to these men

thus to be taken up; as he really might. And for general concurrency against the Spaniards, he was still agreeing and assuring the principal men and heads, as he already had GLENCAIRN and MONTGOMERY and others, and now was reconciling the earl of Mar, and the Levingstons and BRUCES, and would most probably force that earl to subscribe an assurance, who, to avoid it, would have leave to travel. Mr. Bowes heard likewise, that the king was obliging all men to get themselves releas'd from the horn, who at any persons suits were at it, and he would hold justice-courts to bring his subjects to obedience. He was now also in hand to reduce the islands to his obedience, and to rule as king in every part of his dominions. And it was certain, that now by his own management of his affairs himself, he was more honour'd, lov'd, and fear'd, and all good men better contented and pleased, than Mr. Bowes expected; tho' some disgust, he perceived, was taken at the eight exchequer lords, to whom the direction of the king's revenue was committed.

Monsieur DE VILLEROY, secretary of state of France, who constantly corresponded with Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE, wrote to him on the 25th of February 1593, N. S. from the camp before La Fere⁴, mentioning, that he had written likewise to him on the 22d by the courier, whom Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE had sent over with his letter of the 4th. By his present letter, which was sent by the way of Calais, he informed him of the arrival of a courier that day, who had left Avignon on the 20th, being dispatch'd express by an honest servant of the king to acquaint him, that on Saturday eight days before the date of Monsieur DE VILLEROY's letter the duke of Guise was introduced into Marseilles by some of the inhabitants of that city, who were weary of living under the tyranny of CHARLES CASAUX and LEWIS DE VIGULIER, and fearful of falling into the hands of the Spaniards⁵, CASAUX and his son being killed, and LEWIS DE VIGUIER said to have sav'd himself in a fort call'd Teste de More, tho' that could not long protect him from justice and the punishment of all his crimes. It was added, that they had taken in the port all the galleons there. But Monsieur DE VILLEROY could not believe them to be those of Spain, since there was advice of their having retired to GENOA. The duke of Guise's own messengers were not then arrived with the particulars of the success, being anticipated by the couriers; "but I was unwilling," says Monsieur DE VILLEROY, to delay "longer the satisfaction of the good friends and servants of the king and kingdom, "on account of the importance of the place, which, you know, is one of the keys "of the kingdom. You may carry therefore this good news to the queen in the "name of the king, till his majesty shall write it to you himself, as he will upon "the arrival of the duke of Guise's messengers." He adds, that St. Tropes and Draguignon were reduced for the king, so that Monsieur DE ROQUELAURE⁶ arrived very seasonably there for the duke D'ESPERNON, who was reduced to the keeping of Brignoles and Antibes, in a continual distrust of the inhabitants. There was therefore nothing now wanting but the taking of La Fere, and checking the influence of the cardinal of Austria, who ask'd, whether the king would wait for him in the field, which the French court had advice that cardinal was preparing to take,

⁴ Vol. x. fol. 111.

⁵ Thuanus, vol. v. l. cxv. ch. ii. p. 592. & L'ETOILE, journal du Regne d'HENRY IV. tom. ii. p. 275. & note 2c8.

⁶ He was an intimate friend of the duke D'ESPERNON, and sent by HENRY IV. to the duke to let him know, that he might come to court. GILAND, vie D'ESPERNON, tom. ii. p. 139.

having drawn out of the garrisons the old soldiers to reinforce his army, which was advancing. And indeed it was time for them to be in motion, if they would relieve La Fere, as appeared from the advertisements inclosed in Monsieur DE VILLEROY's letter, who had extracted them from several papers, which had been intercepted, as they were conveyed from that town to Flanders by two Spanish soldiers, who had been taken two days before. Monsieur DE VILLEROY had given an account of the success at Marseilles to Sir. HENRY UNTON, who being at Coucy could not write by that opportunity of conveyance by Monsieur DE BIDESSAN, who was to return the next day to Calais, of which he was governor, whence he promised to send this letter to Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE.

Monsieur DE VILLEROY sent to Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE, in a letter from the camp before La Fere on the 1st of March^s, a confirmation of the news of the reduction of Marseilles, which had been brought to the French court by a gentleman sent express to the king by the duke of Guise, after he was master of that city, at the entrance into which, it was certain, that CASAux and his son were killed with 60 or 80 Spaniards, left there by prince DORIA's son. VIGUIER likewise was not escap'd, as had been said, but taken prisoner, and was the next day to be broken on the wheel, as an example to such men, and a warning to posterity. DORIA had before this event arrived at the isles with a reinforcement of provisions and ammunition to succour these two tyrants; so that it was time for a stop to be put to their designs, which providence had done. Monsieur DE VILLEROY desires Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE therefore to relate or confirm to the queen of England this news, which was indeed one of the best, that could be wish'd for by the French court, which would now be at rest with respect to that part of the kingdom, and at leisure to attend to its pressing affairs on the side of Flanders and Bretagne, to which if her majesty would likewise heartily lend her assistance, those Jews would be soon sent back into their own country; otherwise there could be no tranquillity or security. The enemies were preparing as effectually as they could to succour La Fere, which was reduced to such want of provisions, that they must either lose it, or relieve it soon. Three or four thousand English in that crisis would be of vast importance, in Monsieur DE VILLEROY's opinion, who durst not however indulge any hopes of seeing them sent over.

The French army was on their part preparing for a battle, and in the mean time endeavouring to drown the besieged, if they could, having began to turn the river upon them, which had already reached the ramparts of the town; so that if the causeway of the besiegers would hold, it would be difficult to give any relief to the besieged.

The success at Marseilles was immediately follow'd on the 24th of February, N. S. with the defeat of the duke D'ESPERNON by the duke of Guise, of which a particular account; dated at St. Luc on Sunday the 25th, is extant among Mr. BACON's papers^a, probably sent over to Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE, from whom he might have it.

^s Vol. x. fol. 110.

^a Vol. x. fol. 113.

Dr. HAWKINS, in his letter to Mr. BACON from Venice on the 24th of February¹, mentions, that the continual diversion of the carnival had prevented the senate from returning an answer to her majesty's letters, which he had brought; but he was promised one the next week, with such satisfaction to her demand, as greater could not be desired: ¹⁰⁶²Wherein, says he, I will not say how much good my coming hitherto hath done, which was a confirmation unto the senate of her majesty's intention to perform what they have so long expected, who have been violently attempted by the adverse side, to believe, that her majesty had no such purpose as they expected. I hope by my lord's most honourable means it will please her majesty by name to recommend me in this service to the senate in her next letters, whereby my negotiation with this estate may be of more reputation, which could take no knowledge of me at this present but only by the letters of Signior GIOVANNI BASADONNA there written to the senate of me as sent by her majesty to that purpose. Myself have lived hitherto altogether retired and unknown, because I would not give any offence there in going too far without any commission; yet seeing of necessity some service to be performed herein, I was the bolder to enter it, hoping to be excused." Among other articles of news of intelligence, he observes, that it was written from Lyons, the chief leaders in France had agreed with the court, except duke d' AUMALE², in whose case some difficulty was found; and that there was a confirmation of the agreement between the French king and the duke of Savoy, who, after paying his devotions to a Madonna at Mondavi, famous for working miracles, would immediately begin his journey towards Lyons, in order to sign the articles of his agreement, and in the mean time was said to have licensed all his forces in Piedmont and the parts adjacent. The duke of Mantua was reported to be in some danger from his own subjects, on account of some disorder committed towards a fair lady of that city, whose husband, being a GONZAGA, was about five or six months before drown'd at Venice, under the bridge at the Rialto, as it was thought by the duke's procurement. The lady was of the family of LIVIERE, a principal house in Mantua, and would not submit to the unlawful solicitations of the duke, against whom an harquebuss was lately discharged, which only struck his hat from his head, and scorch'd his ruff, without any further damage. Great search had been made for the person, who made this attempt, but he could not be found; and the people in general were exasperated against the duke to such a degree; as it was apprehended would occasion some trouble.

Dr. HAWKINS adds at the close of his letter, that lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby, who had been long sick at Padua, was now well recovered, and would return shortly towards England; that lord GREY was gone to Vienna, and the earl of Rutland not yet pass'd the Alps.

The doctor's intelligence hitherto had not given much satisfaction to the earl of Essex, who therefore, on the 27th of February 1598, wrote him the following letter¹,

" I have seen the ordinary advertisements, which you do weekly send, and they are as good as others of their kind, tho' much be not to be assigned unto them. I have

¹ Vol. x. fol. 162. ² CHARLES DE LORRAINE duke d' AUMALE. ¹ Vol. ix. fol. 188.

“ seen also divers of your letters to Mr. BACON, and received one or two directed
 “ to myself. But I cannot give you great thanks for any thing yet come from you,
 “ but for the copy of the intercepted letter, which was more important than the
 “ rest, and which might have given me occasion to have directed you to have
 “ done some good service, if you had set down the particularities of your discovery,
 “ and your opinion how to proceed farther in it. For you will never * * * far,
 “ if you have no direction how to carry it, and be not furnished with means; neither
 “ of which I can yield you, if I be not from you advertised of all particularities. I
 “ know your good affection to do service, and I know your wit, and learning, and
 “ other good parts. Yet do I thus boldly use remonstrance, because I fear you
 “ take the first offer of intelligence, and of your own conceit upon the occasion,
 “ without applying farther industry. And tho’ intelligence, which is the light of
 “ a state, may be seen in an instant, yet practise, which is the heat of that flame,
 “ is not without time and labour. I touch you not, but wish you only to stir up
 “ yourself, and promise, that you shall ever find me.

“ This 27th of February,

Your very assured friend,

“ 1595.

“ E S S E X.”

Mr. ROLSTON having been at the court of Spain, according to his intention intimated in a letter to Mr. BACON in September 1595, upon his return to Fontarabia wrote to that gentleman from thence on the 26th of February, 1596, some part of the success, which he had had at court, tho’ he had met with some trouble thro’ malicious informations, which he had surmounted by the help of friends. He observes, that the Scotsmen were gone from court before his arrival there, and pass’d by Italy to Flanders, being remitted to the cardinal of Austria; having been before their departure from Spain, which was in September, made knights by the prince, one of them, LINDSEY, receiving from the king 2500 crowns, and the other, BERKLEY, laid of Ladyland, 1500, with entertainment to them both according to their quality in Flanders.

Upon the news of the sailing of Sir JOHN HAWKINS and Sir FRANCIS DRAKE from England towards the West-Indies, the king of Spain sent from Lisbon Don BERNARDINO DE AVILLANEDO with a Squadron of 23 ships and 2500 men, to meet the English admirals. The Spanish general with four counsellors, old VILLA VICIOSA, two esquirels, and one captain alquiro, each of the counsellors being allowed only 60 crowns a month.

ZUBIAUR was return’d from Lisbon to Renteria, in order to prepare with all speed the six new galleys, mentioned by Mr. ROLSTON in a former letter; and these were appointed to be ready within three months, or at least were to be at Lisbon before the end of June. It was said, that about that time the king would have 60 ships ready with all provision necessary for them, of which 24 galleons were to be of 1000 tons, the rest less, some of 600, 500, and the least of about 200.

Ten thousand men were to go in them, of whom 6000 were soldiers, and the rest mariners. The king had appointed a million for the payment of these soldiers and mariners: But for what end that preparation was, Mr. ROLSTON could not learn; for some said it was to defend the sea, and others to assist the rebels in Ireland. Don FERDINAND DE GERON was to be general of the foot, Don JOHN DE LUNA master of the camp, and Don ALONZO DE BAZAN general of the ships. The captains of this army were taking up soldiers in the ports of Spain with haste. Eight of the twelve Italian galleons, which were at Lisbon, were to return discharg'd for Italy.

The city of Marseilles had sent embassadors to the king of Spain, beseeching him to be their protector; to which he consented: so that now the city would become a signory, like Genoa, and no longer subject to the crown of France. The king of Spain promised to aid them at all times, if the French king should besiege them; and for this they engag'd to serve Spain with four galleys, but refus'd to receive a Spanish garrison. Mr. ROLSTON saw their embassadors when he was at the court of Spain.

There was news of late brought, that Sir JOHN HAWKINS and Sir FRANCIS DRAKE had taken the Havanna; which troubled the Spaniards extremely, till they should have farther advice. Others said, that those two admirals had taken four millions from Sancho Pardo in Puerto Rico.

There were letters brought, mentioning the departure of the fleet from Seville, on the 4th of that month, February, towards the West-Indies.

Mr. ROLSTON concludes this letter with saying, "I am now to try my fortune in coming home shortly to my country, in hope, that I shall find by your good help friends and protection; for I do protest, that I am to my prince and country in all points as dutiful a subject, and for my calling as ready to serve, as any man living: and it may be, if we happen to speak together, I shall tell you such points, as may import her majesty and the public; and that simply, if that I can find passage, I will go hence directly to Calais; where I will expect your answer and security for my coming into the realm. And if it do happen, that I do not find good commodity for Calais, then will I adventure to come the next way to London within two months after the date hereof, if it please almighty God, who now keep and preserve you."

Sir WILLIAM RUSSEL, lord deputy of Ireland, sending a servant of his, probably one of his secretaries, to England, wrote by him a letter to Mr. BACON, dated from Dublin castle, on the last of February, 1592¹, assuring him, that amongst the number of his good friends about the court, he thought himself more beholden to none than to him; "and therefore I have, *says he*, given charge to this my servant to visit and salute you from me. The like charge I have given to some others, that were sent, which, I fear me, they have neglected to my wrong, for prevention whereof now at this time I have thought fit to

“ write these few lines unto you, and briefly to impart unto you thus much, that
 “ since we have entered into any treaties of pacification and cessation from arms,
 “ her majesty hath received more loss by the cunning and treachery of the rebels,
 “ than in any likelihood could have befallen her by a course of war in twice so
 “ much time; insomuch, as if it be not speedily looked into, and horse and foot
 “ presently sent over, the whole kingdom is like to be endangered, as the
 “ bearer can more particularly inform you, to whose report I pray you give
 “ credit.”

Mr. HUDSON being still at Edinburgh, wrote from thence to Mr. BACON on the 1st of March, 156 $\frac{1}{2}$, that he thought Mr. DAVID FOULIS would be shortly with him after the receipt of that letter, being to depart for England on the 7th or 8th or sooner, by whom he would understand all thing so fully, that he intended himself to save that labour of writing, which otherwise he would have employed. “ I have used, *says he*, a means to farther his service there, that he knoweth not yet, how it came. Always I suppose it will avoid some stumbling blocks forth of his way. The king writes a mild and a sweet letter to her majesty, and in my conscience no otherwise than he thinks in his heart; for he is in as good a mind to keep a dutiful love towards her majesty, the amity and religion, and all his honest friends, as ever I knew him. He is like to do a miracle in this country in making it peaceable, and laws to be obeyed, and himself more able to live like a king of Scotland, than ever he hath yet been.”

Mr. HUDSON then observes, that there was no matter of news or state to be advertised but of the taking of the laird of Arkinless, who suborned a villain to kill the laird of Caudel five years before. There was likewise taken that night the laird of Nedereis, a follower of BOTHWELL, who had hid himself in a dove-house, but the king had sent intelligence of him. “ The king, *adds Mr. HUDSON*, hath another spirit than he hath been taken to have, and so it will appear, when he is tried. He purposeth to go lie upon the borders the next month to quiet them, and he hath promised good redress to her majesty’s ambassador, and hath given him very good contentment.”

The earl of CRAWFORD and the lord SANQUIR intending to travel into the Low Countries and Germany the ensuing summer, would be both suitors for the queen’s passport, that they might go thro’ England, and have the honour of kissing her majesty’s hands. They would solicit this by the ordinary way, the ambassador; but Mr. HUDSON desired, that the earl of Essex, when it should come in his way, would further their request, since they were men of honour and good parts, as any in Scotland; and would give her majesty good assurance of their affection to her service, and would be extremely glad to be honour’d with his lordship’s acquaintance. Mr. HUDSON concludes with protesting, that if he saw not a grounded assurance in the king to all that he had said, there was no respect in the world, that should make him say so much to the matter; but that he was not afraid of any default in his majesty’s own person, and therefore dar’d be the bolder.

Mr. NAUNTON wrote a long letter to the earl of Essex, from Coucy, on the 3d of March, 159 $\frac{1}{2}$, chiefly upon the subject of ANTONIO PEREZ, referring his lordship to the latter, and to Sir HENRY UNTON the ambassador, for news. He takes notice, that since his coming into France, letters had been brought on the 30th of January to ANTONIO from Don CHRISTOPHERO, the late king of Portugal's younger son, from Paris, advertising him, that a Spanish agent in Nantes, had intimated to a gentleman of Portugal, that ANTONIO PEREZ should be slain within a month; whom within two days after Monsieur DE VILLEROY certified from the king, that his majesty had knowledge of a Spaniard then in France, who was describ'd by all marks, and call'd himself Don RODERIGO DE MARTILOS, who had undertaken to kill the king and him. Of this ANTONIO was desirous that Mr. NAUNTON should have advertised the earl of Essex by MASSY the post, whom soon after suspecting, he would not suffer that gentleman to write by him. He was somewhat inquisitive with MASSY on the 11th of February, using Mr. NAUNTON, who stood by, as an interpreter, what letters he had brought to others, being somewhat grieved, that he had none from the earl to himself. MASSY was as short with him, and so took leave in choler, somewhat abruptly, and complained of ANTONIO and Mr. NAUNTON to the ambassador Sir HENRY UNTON, telling him of the French physician come out of Spain; of his entertainment in England; of his employment into France; and of his coming with him to Rye. The ambassador having by Mr. NAUNTON advertised ANTONIO of this, he immediately inform'd Monsieur DE VILLEROY of the whole device before they gave him any notice of it, tho' they understood it all before by letters from Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE sent by MASSY, which seem'd the principal cause of his dispatch. This concealing of the whole matter from him, both by MASSY and Monsieur DE VILLEROY, troubled him exceedingly, and cast him into a doubt, whether the king gave credit to Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE's letter against him or not, till two days after, February 11th, the king himself came in shew to visit him as upon occasion of his fall. But the ambassador, who came with him, seemed to suspect a farther project in his majesty's so sudden and abrupt breaking into the matter, and his insidious eye searching and piercing, as it were, into ANTONIO's mind thro' his countenance, and that with such a sharp charge, as had half discountenanced him, but that he had been so forward to write himself against himself before, as he alledged. The ambassador for the time animated him, as if this office of Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE had proceeded of a device of the earl of Essex, that by this forwardness in the king of Spain and some others to disgrace him in France, he might indeed be so much the more commended by their malice. To these ANTONIO added the following perils, that he could not live in safety any longer, since the truces made between the French king and the duke of Savoy, and the people of Bretagne: That the house of Guise hated him universally for the third part of his book, wherein he published the confederacies between Don JOHN of Austria and them: That the French generally malign'd him as more a lover of the English than of them, and Monsieur DE VILLEROY in particular for letters, which, as ANTONIO told Mr. NAUNTON, the king had often sent him to peruse, and either allow or disallow of them, being of Monsieur DE VILLEROY's own penning: That

his double cousin GIL DE MESA was employed by the king as a spy to intercept his doings, sayings, and all his projects; GIL being a jealous repiner against his affection to England; and having no other offices, wherewith to entertain his credit with the French, than by watching over him: That there had been letters sent intercepted out of Spain, of which the king had on the 24th of February told the ambassador, but had not trusted him, ANTONIO, with them, since Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE's first letter of the queen's knowledge of certain French mysteries of the like nature by his means only; much less since this second letter concerning the French physician: That he fear'd thereupon, that some of the copies of those letters, which GODFREY ALEYN had sent into England, had been intercepted, and might have been convey'd to the king by some instruments of those hard offices against him out of England; which, he said, the king might dissemble for a time, and reward him by surrendering him to Spain upon any final accord with the Spaniard: That there was now in the beginning of this month of March some stay made of his pension, which he was obliged to send for to Paris by GIL DE MESA; whereas formerly it was always tender'd by the financiers at his own lodging before the day, whether this delay proceeded from want thro' the charge of the siege, or of purpose to move his patience, or, as he interpreted it, to drive him to acknowledge himself the king's pensioner, or, as the ambassador conceived of it, that not only the council designed to disgust him, but the king himself could be content to be handsomely delivered from his liberty of speech, which he usurp'd to the discontentment of some of his necessary servitors, tho' the king had sometimes advised him to temper and accommodate his mind to his fortunes. Upon the Sunday preceding the date of this letter, being sent for by the king, he behav'd himself resolutely, offering his faithful counsel to help to disturb the king of Spain, the disturber of mankind. But that if his majesty required his advice how to treat of a peace with that king, he avow'd, that he should be an unsound counsellor, and so were all, who sway'd him that way: so that Monsieur DE VILLEROY finding himself touch'd, broke out into this speech, "Sire, they think I am a pensioner of the king of Spain." Which conceit, as ANTONIO said, had so fix'd itself in the king's mind, that he blam'd GIL DE MESA for telling some particulars to Monsieur DE VILLEROY, which he would have had him have intimated to himself.

From these perils and apprehensions of perils, mistrusts and suspicions, ANTONIO came to this conclusion to leave France, before he resolv'd, or would seem to resolve, whither to betake himself. His dilemma was this: If the treaty for the confederacy between England and France should proceed, then his residence in the latter would not be at all necessary for the queen's or earl of Essex's service. If it should not proceed, his continuance in France would be most dangerous for him. His intention, as Mr. NAUNTON touch'd in his former letter to the earl, was for England; but he would imitate AUGUSTUS, *specie recusantis flagrantissime cupere*. The reasons of his refusing England were grounded upon these unkindnesses; first, her majesty's communicating the secret of the Spanish letters intercepted to such, as gave Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE instructions to advertise the French court of it, to which ANTONIO imputed the wreck of his credit there. He said, that he was grieved at this, to find himself used like an orange, to be first suck'd, and then cast away. Again, Mr. WOTTON, at his being in France, told him, that

her majesty was very anxiously careful, that no displeasure or inconvenience might befall him upon the copying out of those letters of his; and yet vouchsafed him not so much as one line to comfort or encourage him against such a perplexity. *Hinc*, says Mr. NAUNTON, *illa lacryme & querela jam inveterata principum fidem se jam olim plus satis expertum, &c.* His other complaint of unkindness related to the earl of Essex, founded partly upon his lordship's own silence, and partly upon another man's letters. For after having with some impatience forbore to deliver an answer to the French king's offers to him, in expectation of the earl's advice and allowance, his lordship had not yet imparted his mind to him, not so much as by the least kind of implication. He shew'd Mr. NAUNTON one of the earl's letters to himself, wherein was this passage, *si te ornare non possumus, at conservare jam didicimus.* But this he took as written before the large offers were made to him in France: And upon this his lordship's latter letters, wherein he had promised to write by Mr. NAUNTON more particularities relating to ANTONIO's private affairs, the latter was ready to charge Mr. NAUNTON sometimes with knowing more of the earl's meaning, than he had yet opened to him. In conclusion he made this construction of his lordship's silence, that *qui tacet, minus assensura videtur.* For other men's letters, he shew'd Mr. NAUNTON one in Italian (suppressing the writer's name, but Mr. NAUNTON guess'd it from the hand to be signor BASADONNA's) in which he was informed, that upon offers of his being accommodated in France, the earl said, that he foresaw as much, that the French humour would never content ANTONIO; and that he was sorry to hear no better correspondence between Monsieur DE VILLEROY and him. But that when the writer of the letter began to grow farther into insinuations of ANTONIO's promise to return to England, the earl was somewhat extraordinarily silent, and uttered not any thing to remedy his discontent; but was less *gaillard*, as ANTONIO expounded the term, to Mr. NAUNTON, being written in cypher. From all which the writer infer'd, that ANTONIO being now absent, had many friends in England, who would be less friends to his return. ANTONIO to these added other conclusions of his own, as that he was not perhaps so well accepted of the earl's friends, much less of his lordship's back-friends; and that even his lordship himself might have completed his bounty towards him, and would not willingly undergo those greater obligations of ANTONIO's refusing and despising all the French offers out of affection to his lordship. That however he must bethink himself of his own estate and fortunes. That the king had purposed to employ him in Italy, where he knew in what account and reputation he stood. That there was small hope for him in England; for either the recovery of his estate, or release of his children, or any other thing but his bread, which yet some sepiners envied him, and grudg'd at. That therefore his conclusion was, that in the treaty of confederacy between England and France he would play the priest; that is, after he had consummated the bands of that matrimony (as he termed it) he would leave the couple to themselves, to live and love together, and betake himself to other contemplations elsewhere, where he might wear out his age with less danger and jealousy; for he said, *Vivus vidensque pereo: vivo ex miraculo.* However Mr. NAUNTON observes, that ANTONIO at other times talk'd in a different strain, desiring some hopes, arising to him from England: Then he remember'd many gracious favours of her majesty, which wrought so with him, that however he might be tempted by the duke of Florence and other

other great friends in Italy, yet upon honest invitations and conditions he both could and would only serve the queen of England. And that with respect to the earl, his lordship might, more from prudence than choice, forbear all that while to wrice his mind, in order to prevent all expostulations from the French king. That his lordship's silence cried aloud in his understanding; and that in not answering at all, he answered to this purpose, that he was content to let the king come off with these his honourable offers, that the queen might be the more earnest to recover him, ANTONIO, to England at a higher rate. That himself would never be persuaded, but that his lordship cordially wish'd his return thither, however he had none either English or Italian, to whom he might freely impart his mind in that respect. That in confidence of this, he would revenge himself of this malignant nation, the French, with a triumphant disdain and relinquishing of all their glorious oblations, whether they were dissemblingly or in earnest tender'd him, of which he never intended to make farther use, than by their refusal to recommend his devotion and love to England. That he had hitherto refused the order of the Holy Ghost, and all other advancements, because he would not lessen his freedom with regard to the French king, and his intire obligation to the queen, and the earl of Essex. That if the earl should happen to come to France upon the conclusion of the confederacy between that kingdom and England, he would let the French see, how slightly he valued them in respect of his lordship. That he never meant to serve the king settledly, but as his ambassador abroad, either in Italy, or in the Low Countries, or (if he might choose, and the king durst trust him) in England, where he could wish to live *cum dignitate, sine periculo, sine etiam onere eorum, quos tam amat*. And if he might not have that trust now upon the past experience, which the French had had of him, he was now too old to begin to raise a new foundation of credit out of the ground quite, which would not be perfected to bear any roof in a longer time than he had to live. That either at the first he must mount so high, as by his greatness to oppress envy, or else that envy would oppress him before he could climb to any height. That of purpose he used those provocations and freedom of speech, *ut tandem nanciscatur exilium pro premio*. That he was most glad to hear of these news of his dangers upon dangers, and of the little stay, which was made of his pension, out of that old text, which he much remembered, *Qui amicum vult relinquere, querit causam*. Lastly, that he was resolved to eat coals before he would mancipate himself to the French nation, or sell himself for any rewards, which he rejected with more magnificence than they were offered; and this either out of a philosophical humour (as he term'd it) despising these goods of fortune, or of a confidence of some friends, of whom he would make this experiment. He now look'd daily for Mr. WILTON, and by him for the earl's resolutions, which he had so long and impatiently expected with relation to the king's offers.

Mr. NEWTON adds, that both himself and ANTONIO had written to his lordship on the 10th of February; and that his lordship now saw by what he had written above, how uncertain ANTONIO was of any continuance in a settled resolution. "My lord ambassador, *says he*, doth most sweetly content him hitherto, and with some patience contains him in reasonable terms. I shall think mine own staying about him and endeavours most happily employed, if they may

“ yield the least contentment or use to your honour by these frank advertisements.
 “ what I find. But for entering into any course of persuading him either this
 “ way or that, I have not presumed so far, having no order from your lordship
 “ but to second his humour, as best I could. I am now advised by my lord
 “ embassador, to crave some piece of farther instruction from your lordship, how
 “ I may employ any such small interest, as in continuance of time I may gain in
 “ him by such daily offices, as pass between us, to bend or incline him this way
 “ or that, in case he should suddenly break out into any unexpected course for
 “ disposing of himself. He gives me in charge daily to pay all his debts, and to
 “ have all things in readiness for a sudden remove; yea, and sometimes between
 “ jest and earnest he bids me forgive him, tho’ he hap to give me a slip without
 “ bidding me farewell.”

The next day, March 4th, 159 $\frac{1}{2}$, Sir HENRY UNTON wrote to the lord treasurer BURGHLEY from Coucy*, taking notice, that on Saturday the 28th of February, he had received by SYMONDS the queen’s letters of the 5th, and his lordship’s of the 8th and 10th of that month, accompanied with her majesty’s reply to the king’s answer to Sir HENRY’s first negotiation with him. Upon the receipt of these letters he presently sent to demand an audience of the king, because he understood that his majesty was to go to St. Quintin’s for a few days, to give order to those parts, upon advice received of the enemies readiness to march to the relief of La Fere. The king granted an audience the next day in the afternoon, and Monsieur DE ROCHEPOT†, with others, were appointed to receive Sir HENRY, and to entertain him for a while in a lower chamber, till the king sent for him up to his own chamber, whence he commanded all men to depart except four or five of the principal persons, whom he directed to stay, but at the same time to withdraw themselves down to the lower end. After Sir HENRY had delivered her majesty’s kind salutations, which the king received thankfully, inquiring thereupon of her health, Sir HENRY signified to him, that her majesty having seen the declaration, which he, the king, had made in answer to his, the embassador’s, former negotiation with him, had thought good, for the better clearing of all doubtfulness between them, to send him her like reply to all the particular points thereof; which, Sir HENRY doubted not, would content him, for the weighty reasons and just considerations contain’d in it. The king received it of him, and finding it, as he said, to be very long, call’d for Monsieur DE VILLEROY to read it to him; during which he shew’d in his countenance many tokens of discontentment, and in the end of it broke out into this speech, that he did not desire to contest with her majesty, as that multitude of words did only infer, which was a consolation of poor virtue for his pressing necessity, and unnecessary for him to entertain at this time, in respect of their fruitless end; wherein his expectation was not deceived to his grief: But he would exercise his patience; and since he was thus resolved, the matter required the less deliberation. Sir HENRY told him, that he was sorry, that the passion of his necessity made him conceive otherwise of her majesty’s intent, than there was cause. But that if he would truly understand the state of her majesty’s affairs, and the reasons and sub-

* Vol. v. fol. 24.

† ANTONY DE SILLI, COMTE DE LA ROCHEPOT.

stance of her answer, he should find, that she had not omitted to witness her sincere love to him by all good effects, persisting still in the same affection. Sir HENRY insisted likewise upon the latter part of the reply, being the best part for his comfort, urging the conference, which, he said, might bring his majesty all reasonable contentment, and was of no small consequence for the establishing of his affairs, and for confirmation of a never ending amity between him and her majesty, who would not then suffer him to receive prejudice for want of her due assistance. That till then her majesty had reason to be doubtful, and might hitherto challenge not to have received answerable measure in the overtures, which had been made to him of a place, wherein their common interest might be alike respected; Sir HENRY dilating upon that point, according as her majesty had commanded him by her letters. The king replied, that Sir HENRY did more inforce the queen's answer than it imported, himself seeing no cause to apprehend any such hope thereby; but that he would better consider of it with his council, and make answer to it at his return from St. Quintin's, which he promised should be within four or five days: And so seeming loth to hear more of the matter dismissed Sir HENRY in an unpleasing humour, who thought proper in the mean time to give the lord treasurer advertisement of this conference, being much perplex'd for its having no better success, intending to inform his lordship shortly of the rest of his proceedings with the king by Mr. EDMONDES, who had importuned Sir HENRY for his return, in respect of his great necessity, tho' Sir HENRY had detain'd him yet; because by him he should be best able to send his lordship a full resolution of all things, which he intended to press with all earnestness and with his best skill, knowing, that contrary labours would not be wanting to countervail him in the affair, and fearing much the issue thereof, in respect of the pope's large offers, and the instance of the cardinal and of the king's Spanish council.

The cardinal DE JOYEUSE arrived at Coucy three days before the date of this letter, and was very kindly received by the king and his court. They gave it out with great cunning, that this cardinal passionately proposed a cessation of arms, having charge for that purpose from the pope, in order to prepare the king's disposition against the coming of the legate, who was now appointed to be the cardinal of Florence, the cardinal of Aquaviva having excused him on account of his incapacity from sickness of performing the journey. The design was to procure, that the compounding of the difference and the points of honour might with speed be referred to the pope's compromise, as the common father, and as formerly had been done in the like cases, and observed between catholic princes, the king of Spain being, as was said, willing to consent to it. The cardinal DE JOYEUSE urg'd likewise the sending of an ambassador to Rome from the French court to that purpose, alledging, that the pope complain'd of the neglect used to him by the king in that respect. This cardinal was about the age of fifty, superstitious, full of passion and violently bent against those of the religion.

It was expected, that the bishop of Evreux, would be at court very shortly to pursue the like course with the king, that prelate being on his way, and returning

without his cardinal's hat, but with a promise of it; and he was now confirm'd bishop by the pope.

As these things should further proceed, Sir HENRY hop'd to be able to attain to the knowledge of them. He found the greatest part of the king's council inclin'd to the compromise with greediness, and some running one course with the pope in liking and disliking.

The president ROCHETTI, late ambassador of Savoy, had lately sent to court a gentleman to assure the king, that the duke's deputies were ready, attending the coming to Lyons of those of the king's part, to effect the treaty of peace and the composition for Saluces; and that for the better advancement of it, the duke would make his nearer approach to Chambery. How confident he already was appear'd from a letter of the Venetian ambassador to Sir HENRY, specifying that particularity among other news. This letter likewise recommended to him in the name of the state of Venice the favouring of Signor BASADONNA's suit, for whom Sir HENRY desir'd the lord treasurer to employ his favour towards her majesty, to procure that merchant satisfaction, which would be very thankfully acknowledg'd by that state, and nourish their good devotion towards her majesty. The states of Bretagne had lately farther enlarg'd their truce for the comprehending also those of Normandy; but it was made this first time only for a month, having reference to a farther continuance. Monsieur DE ROCHEFORT was come to court in post out of those parts, and was to return presently again. He was one of the chief commissioners, who treated with the duke DE MERCOEUR, and a great instrument for that duke.

The king sent for Sir HENRY UNTON seven or eight days before the date of this letter to come to him to La Fere, as well to see the stopping of the river, as to acquaint him with the confirmation of the particularities of the news of Marseilles, which he had newly received, and which for the strangeness of the success seem'd to be almost incredible. He declar'd it to be thus; that one call'd LIBERTAT, a captain of a quarter in that town, having enter'd into intelligence with the duke of Guise, acquainted him, that it was the usual custom of CASAUX and VIOUVER to walk every morning with their guard of 200 upon the counterscarp without the town. He advis'd the duke therefore to come and lodge in ambuscade near the town, in order to cut them off upon the signals, which he would give him from the Port Royal, when he should be on guard, assuring him, that he would hold the port ready for him. It fell out, that the duke having been twice before in ambuscade, captain LIBERTAT was forc'd to disappoint him, because CASAUX and VIOUVER did not walk out according to their accusom'd manner; and the duke returning the third time, as CASAUX and VIOUVER were passing out of the gate, they met with a minime friar, who advertis'd them of his having seen near at hand certain soldiers in ambuscade, and therefore desired them to look to themselves. VIOUVER, who was the more confident of the two, said, that they could be no other than the accusom'd roaders; and therefore that he would go on horseback with a dozen horse to seek to take them. Captain LIBERTAT seeing hereupon his design frustrated, and that it would be discovered, and himself consequently likely to perish, took resolution,

solution, being accompanied with three others of his kindred, to whom only he had communicated his enterprize, to kill CASAU with a pistol in the port at the head of those 200 of his guard; which he perform'd, and therewith cried the restoring of their liberty, and acknowledging of the king, putting a white scarf about his neck. The guard astonish'd at this, and fearing that he had been assisted with some great party, rang'd themselves instantly with him, saying, that they would with him maintain the common liberty since the tyrant was dead; and thereupon drew the dead body into the town, with publishing of the former cry, which was followed with the general applause of the people, whose affections when he had so stirred, he disposed their minds to the farther ordering of things, and had before caused the signal to be given to the duke of Guise, the first part of whose troop thereupon advancing, those of the port having had no intelligence of the correspondence with the duke, discharg'd the first and second time the artillery and divers volleys of small shot upon them, killing four or five of them, and wounding five. At last LIBERTAT having settled some order (killing some few) in the town, came to the Port Royal, and received the duke, declaring, that the town was at the king's obedience; but that before they could permit him to enter, he must first subscribe to a capitulation with them; wherein the duke having satisfied them, they received him with only his private company into the town. VIOUET, who was out of the town, when he found, that CASAU was slain, enter'd by another port, which was more at his devotion, and began to assemble and head, but was quickly forc'd to fly the town to save himself, whom the duke of Guise afterwards took, and sent to Aix, to receive the judgment of the court of parliament to be broken on the wheel. The Spaniards during this event convey'd themselves with diligence on board their gallies, and out of the haven, except only fifty or sixty, who were overtaken and killed. If LIBERTAT had communicated his enterprize with the captain of the chain, the Spanish gallies might have been all taken, and prince DORNA likewise. The king was assur'd, that if things had not thus succeeded, CASAU and VIOUET had within four days after delivered the town into the Spaniards hands, prince DORNA having 12000 men in readiness at the isles to be convey'd secretly thither, and there being found in CASAU's house provision of armour for 20000 men. Amongst other things the king remark'd, that the names of *Libertat* and *Port Royal* suited well with the enterprize.

This relation the king was desirous to make himself for the strangers of it, and the goodness of the news; and did not otherwise long entertain Sir HENRY, because of the indisposition of the latter at that time, by reason of a great bruise received by the fall of his horse upon him in going to the king, of which he was not recover'd at the writing of this letter.

Of the state of La Fere Sir HENRY could not yet write any certainty, the king being still ignorant for how long time it was furnish'd with victuals. The water was once carried to a good height into the meadow, but since it was fallen again, and they dar'd not absolutely stop the river, for fear lest the over-great strength of it might break the causeway, as it had already done twice. The king was made certainly to believe, that the enemy pretended assuredly to come forthwith to the relief
 might

of the town; and he disposed himself to receive them, intrenching himself very strongly at Coucy.

Monsieur DE MONTIGNY^a going some days before to the war defeated, between the Chastelet and Cambray, 200 foot and 100 horse of Spaniards and Italians, of whom he killed 50 upon the place; and took some of the leaders prisoners.

The king was secretly treating to withdraw RHODNE, a Lorrainer, one of the best captains the king of Spain had, to his service, being an instrument of great hurt to him. He offered him the post of marshal, the sum of 50,000 crowns, and a pension of 4000 crowns.

The king's sister was fallen very sick at Compiègne, which made him forbear to press her at that time too violently in the matter of marriage with the duke DE MONT-PENSIER, and he had given her time till after Easter to advise thereof: whereupon the duke was return'd to Roan. But she remain'd very constant to the count DE SOISSONS, and passionate in her affection.

Sir HENRY acknowledges with all humility and thankfulness the queen's great goodness in so favourably accepting and approving his endeavours, testified by her own letters and those of the lord treasurer: And tho' this could not increase his care, yet the comfort of it made all burdens the lighter, that he should bear for her service; only his grief was, that the quality of his employment was such, as did not produce more profitable and desir'd effects. He thanks his lordship likewise for his particular advertisements, *which doth here value me*, says he, *very much for the matter of correspondence*. "I have not fail'd, *adds he*, heretofore to call upon the king and his council touching the ordnance at Dieppe: but they have still delayed me untill the coming of the governor of Dieppe, who is now here; and by Mr. EDMOND DES I hope to send your lordship their resolute answers."

About this time Mr. REYNOLDES wrote to Mr. BACON^b, that the earl of Essex was so full of business, and so much troubled with the crosses and traverses, which he found in the *intended journey*, that he could not then write himself; but had commanded him to return Mr. FOULIS's letter to Mr. BACON received in his packet, and to decypher it, his lordship not having the cypher, nor remembering, that Mr. FOULIS had left any in his hands. The night before the earl had received a letter from Mr. BOWES^c, the English ambassador in Scotland, which his lordship directed to be sent to Mr. BACON, tho' it contain'd little of moment, except that Mr. BOWES had better reception from the king of Scots, than it seem'd from Mr. FOULIS's last letter to Mr. BACON was intended. "What will become, *says Mr. REYNOLDES*, of *our journey* is uncertain. The queen will look into the charge, and consider thereof. There hath been an estimate made of it, and it mounteth so high, as I think she will be better advised by those, that know both the price and burthen

^a FRANCIS DE LA GRANGE, Seigneur de Montigny et de Sery, one of the minions of HENRY III. He was created marshal of France 7th of September 1616.

^b Vol. x. fol. 41.

^c Probably that of February 24.

“ of the charge, and importance of the service.” The journey mentioned in this letter was unquestionably the expedition against Calais, which was executed in the summer following.

Mr. BACON return'd on the 5th of March an answer ^a to Dr HAWKYN'S letter to him of the 17th of February, expressing the earl of Essex's concern for the indisposition of lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby; and advertising the death of Sir JOHN WOLLEY; chancellor of the garter; and that her majesty had of herself nominated Mr. HENRY SAVILE ^b to be secretary of the Latin tongue, and to hold the deanry of Carlisle in commendam, in order, says Mr. BACON, to stop his mouth from importuning her any more “ for the provostship of Eton. But neither my lord [Essex] for his sake, “ nor for himself, will relinquish their suit.”

The young baron of Zeirotine, a German nobleman, being now in England with a safe conduct from the emperor, and desirous to travel into Scotland, Mr. BACON wrote to Mr. REYNOLDES on the 5th of March ^c, to procure from the earl of Essex a passport for the baron and his company; and having received answer of his lordship's readiness to gratify the baron, he wrote another letter to Mr. REYNOLDES on the 6th of March ^d, expressing his satisfaction, that his own inclination to oblige the baron with the attendance of JACQUES PETIT, a Gascon servant of Mr. BACON's, was allow'd and warranted by his lordship's judgment, who would have five day's leisure to write such letters to Scotland, as his lordship should think proper. A passport being accordingly obtained for the baron, dated at the court of Richmond March 7th, 159¹/₂, it was sent by Mr. REYNOLDES to Mr BACON, in a letter of the 10th ^e, with letters from the earl of Essex to both universities, in recommendation of the baron, and a pass for PETIT, Mr. BACON's servant. But his lordship's leisure did not serve him to write then to the earl of Mar, tho' he resolv'd to do it by the next opportunity.

Mr. REYNOLDES ^f in a letter written just before takes notice, that Mr. (afterwards Sir HENRY) WOTTON, then one of the earl's secretaries, and himself, had had some *cross words* about the baron's passport, “ which, *says he*, he purposed to receive of “ Mr. WAADE, and to pick a thank of the baron. I will tell you the particulars, “ when I come to London. I observe some spleen in his manner of carriage. I “ think he hath more wit than to shew it to you; and therefore I do take it meant “ to myself, in respect, that it pleaseth you so use my service more than his, and so “ favour me so much.” But it appears from other letters, that Mr. WOTTON had conceived a secret resentment against Mr. BACON himself, which was shewn upon several occasions. Mr. REYNOLDES in the postscript to this letter adds, “ *Our jour-* “ *ney* proceedeth with all expedition, and, I think, with full resolution.”

The baron of Zeirotine in his journey towards Scotland falling sick at Cambridge, Monsieur HENRY EBERBACH, who attended him, gave Mr. BACON an account of it in a letter from thence of the 16th of March 159¹/₂, adding, that with respect to

^a Vol. x. fol. 19.

^b He was tutor to her majesty for the Greek tongue, and warden of Merton college in Oxford. Wood. Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 465, 466.

^c Vol. x. fol. 57.

^d Vol. x. fol. 15.

^e Vol. x. fol. 17.

^f Vol. x. fol. 36.

^g Vol. x. fol. 40.

the particular affair, it was his opinion, that JACQUES PETIT might proceed to Scotland under the protection of the passport, and without suspicion, as the servant of the baron, who would write to Colonel Stuart, to represent the reason of the delay of his journey, and that having understood, that he had received letters for him from the emperor's court, he desired him to deliver them to the bearer his servant, till himself could come thither in person. But Mr. BACON in his answer to Monsieur ESERBACH on the 17th of March^e, declar'd, that his intention had always been, and his desire now was, that his servant should attend upon the baron and him, while they should have occasion for him, but not go to Scotland, except in their train and for their service.

Mr. ROLSTON not having executed his resolution of returning to England, wrote again to Mr. BACON in cypher, as he generally did, from Fontarabia on the 7th of March 159⁸^f, that since his letter of the 26th of February, the king of Spain with his children was gone to a place three leagues from Madrid call'd Vista Madrid, a house of the emperor's ambassador; and it was said, that from thence he determin'd shortly to go to Guadalupe, a monastery near Portugal, from whence the prince of Spain was to go to Lisbon, there to expect the coming of his wife from Germany, who passed by the narrow seas. That in Lisbon they had great provision of all things for war; and before Easter there would be in the court of Madrid a new election of 25 captains more, besides those appointed in February; and that now they were in all 52. That the six new ships, that were in Renterya, were launch'd, and that a new order was come to build twelve other ships the next year, which were to be of three, four, and five hundred tons each, and every one of them, as well the first as the last, to have a pinnace of two hundred tons to attend them. That there were letters from Seville, that SANCHE PARDO was arriv'd with the two millions from Porto Rico, where it was said that the Spaniards had killed Sir JOHN HAWKYNs and with him 300 men, and that Sir FRANCIS DRAKE was gone to Panama.

Mr. BACON having intrusted Mr. HUDSON, upon his going to Scotland, with some papers to be shewn to the king, Mr. HUDSON in his letter from Edinburgh of the 8th of March 159⁸^g, inform'd him, that he had with his own hand delivered them to the king, when all persons were avoided the chamber, except Sir GEORGE HULME^h, who kept the door. His majesty read some of them with great respect, and some with much mirth, thankfully and kindly accepting of them, and commending Mr. HUDSON to return Mr. BACON his very hearty and loving thanks for them, and for many acceptable courtesies and good offices done by him. Mr. HUDSON told the king with what secrecy and charge the papers were deliver'd; and his majesty promised a full and sound correspondence upon his part; "which," adds Mr. HUDSON, I no ways doubt of. Now after the reading a long conference of all men's parts and love towards him, with his honourable declaration of the high estimation he held his friends in, with a temperate christian mind towards all others, concurring with the proverb, that *aquila non*, &c. so after we had laid

^e Vol. x. fol. 18.

^f Vol. x. fol. 231.

^g Vol. x. col. 158.

^h Afterwards earl of Dunbar, and lord treasurer of Scotland.

“ a plot what should be both our answers, if this long secret conference were curiously inquired by such, as we must needs make some answer to, we concluded, that it should serve for another end than either of us meant it. And so in his majesty’s own presence I made a free sacrifice of all; and then the noblemen and others were admitted, that thought the time long. I had many thanks and gracious speeches for my honest services since I saw his highness, and a repetition of the substance, that past betwixt us, at my last being here, which he had forgotten no part of. I have (tho’ I say it myself) done good offices since my coming, and in good faith I perceive the king’s mind to be so honourable and plain, that he would not, if he might for a wish, have it, that any friend he, hath in all England should love him otherwise than with all dutiful regard ever prescribed towards her majesty both external and internal. His honourable and upright heart is a thing, that surely God regards highly, and blesteth wonderfully. One time, of accident, as he told me much of the lord Zouch’s behaviour, he told me, that only to him he said, that never stranger parted from him without some token of his love. Whereupon I took occasion to speak of my lord’s like honourable words to Muer, BOTHWELL’s man, with much more of that matter, as how for his misery he pitied him, and for his dishonourable outrages he despised and condemned him and such natured ungrateful men; which the king told me he had heard before, and by whom, and said the words were like the speaker: and finally to conclude, he said, as they were near about an age, so were their fortunes to come not far different in nature nor their minds.”

Her majesty had before this time conferred the honour of knighthood upon Mr. STANDEN, most probably at the request of the earl of Essex; for I find that gentleman stil’d Sir ANTHONY STANDEN in a letter of Mr. BACON of the 7th of March 159¹, in answer to one of Mr. REYNOLDES relating to Mr. WOTTON, upon whom Mr. BACON glances a reflection in the close of his letter, after recommending several affairs to the care of Mr. REYNOLDES, particularly a request of lord HENRY HOWARD, whom he styles his *very honourable and great friend*, that Sir JOHN POYNTZ might be remembered by the earl of Essex for the preferment of training 300 soldiers in Gloucestershire, and not be forestall’d by Sir THOMAS THROCKMORTON, who had already 300 hundred committed to him. “ Thus you see, says Mr. BACON, how, with my cousin WOTTON’s leave, I presume to burden you, and to spare him, till I find by like good proof the like strength in the faculties of his mind, to wit, judgment and memory, as also in the best affections, that can possess a man’s heart, natural kindness and due thankfulness.”

The earl of Essex having engag’d Monsieur LE DOUX, a French gentleman, who had come to England to serve him as an intelligencer from abroad, gave him a passport, dated at London February 10th 159¹, which he renew’d at Richmond on the 10th of March¹, giving him instructions² in French for his conduct, directing him to send accounts of important occurrences, and upon his arrival at the place, where he design’d to reside, as at the emperor’s court or elsewhere, to advertise not only the state of it, but whatever he could learn concerning the affairs of Italy and

¹ Vol. x. fol. 54.² Vol. ix. fol. 139.³ Vol. x. fol. 125.⁴ Vol. x. fol. 123.

Turky. The most remarkable points, which he should inform himself of, were, the deaths of princes and great personages, and who succeeded them; of what hopes, abilities and circumstances they were esteemed to be: The friendships or enmities between one state or prince and another, and in what manner they proceed towards each other: If they are at war, who had the conduct of it, and what forces are employed either by sea or land: With respect to peace, upon what conditions and what securities the two parties treat of it, and upon what pretensions: How the peace is concluded, and whether it be sought for by both sides, or by the mediation of a third party: What alliances and confederacies are form'd or renew'd between the princes of Germany and Italy, or either of these nations with foreigners: What embassies are sent from one prince to another, or abroad, and what the success of them is: The troubles and seditions, which happen in the dominions of each prince, with the motives and leaders of them: Who are the favourites and principal counsellors of princes, and what persons of eminence are suspected by their princes, with the occasions of this jealousy, and the means, which such persons have of supporting themselves, and preserving their grandeur: What considerable sums of money are raised by each prince or state in the banks of Italy. And in case Monsieur le Doux should find a proper opportunity of going into Italy, and particularly to that source of all news, Rome, to make some stay there, he should there be especially upon the watch to discover the most secret motions, that could in any measure affect England and Scotland, and the two princes of those two kingdoms. And since the earl's misfortune had been, that God had never permitted him to see Italy, the garden of christendom, he particularly recommended to Monsieur le Doux, that for his lordship's satisfaction he would take a little pains to draw up particular descriptions of every principality of Italy, specifying in each of them the following points: The grandeur and extent of them: The revenues, and whence they arise: The strongest places, with their garrisons: What number of soldiers are maintain'd by each state: The sea ports: The great rivers and famous cities in each principality: The commodities produc'd by each country, and whither they are exported: What merchandises they import from abroad, and from whence: What laws or customs each state is governed by; and what counsellors and officers the prince most employs. "Lastly, says the earl, it is always to be remember'd, that by means of the knowledge, which you shall acquire in the place where you shall reside, you may purchase the friendship of others, who live in those parts, whence the principal occurrences come, as Venice, or Spain; which persons you shall make no difficulty to assure, that if they will undertake to furnish you with any stuff of value, I mean important and secret occurrences, and not such, as are to be found in the place of St. Mark, they should be handsomely rewarded, according to the value of their goods. What remains by way of advice to you or reminding of you, I refer to your own judgment and discretion, and future occasions; *nam res magis dant consilia hominibus quam homines rebus.*"

Mr. HUDSON, on the 10th of March 1592, in a letter acquainted the earl of Essex, that he had understood, that Mr. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS had written to a friend of his, desiring in his letter, that it might be shewn to the king for the bet-

tering of his majesty's service. The contents of this letter were first railing against Mr. DAVID FOULIS, saying, that he would betray his majesty's service; and therefore advising, that he might not be employed: Next, that the earl of Essex and the lord treasurer cross'd each other in outward shew, but both concurred to cross and disgrace the king and his affairs to the utmost; and that there was nothing meant but how to entrap him by cunning; and that now there was an intention to send for BORTHWILL to England, and there to entertain him to be ready upon all occasions to send into Scotland to annoy the king, when need should be, if his majesty should at any time swerve from what England would have him to embrace. "And because the matter, *says Mr. HUDSON*, is weighty, and touching my sovereign's service, and duty to your lordship and my lord treasurer, her highness's counsellors, I will yield an account where and how I have it; to wit, from the king's own mouth to Mr. ASTON, and Mr. ASHOW to me. I would have written to my lord treasurer in this, but that I have divers times advertised his lordship before, and Sir ROBERT CECIL also, of Mr. ARCHIBALD's behaviour towards her majesty and themselves in particular; but I could discern but small account to be made thereof. Yet do I account myself particularly bound to my lord treasurer, besides my duty to her highness and his lordship, as a great counsellor; for his lordship told me how Mr. ARCHIBALD did tell him, that I said in an inn of tavern, that her majesty's council did nothing but brave the king, and make a scorn of his actions. And this his lordship gave me leave to use his lordship's name in to Mr. ARCHIBALD, which I was not long in doing, for within two hours we were confronted before his lordship, where it appear'd to his lordship, whose the words were." Mr. HUDSON forbore in this letter to trouble the earl with other matters in respect of the small importance of any thing, which he had then to write, and on account of the queen's ambassador's presence at Edinburgh, whose sufficiency was such, that in time of need her majesty would be very worthily served. "But this in duty, *adds he*, I could not forbear, in regard of the matter itself touching the princes so perilously in the point of their love and peace; as also for the honesty of the gentleman my author, who is a true and faithful subject and servant to her majesty."

The same day the earl of Mar wrote likewise a letter to the earl of Essex, dated from Holyrood-house, acknowledging the receipt of two of his lordship's, the first of the 16th of January, and the other of the 9th of February. "In the first, *says he*, I receiv'd more than full satisfaction in that, which in short time kept me in suspense; albeit none suspected that friendship your lordship protested to me, being many ways assured of your firm constancy in all honest resolutions, and of my honest meaning towards the amity of both the princes: I hope to yield her majesty your sovereign and you both dutiful experience.

"I believe your advertisements toward the Spaniard, and will request your lordship, if any peril approach, that I may be acquainted therewith for our own better preparation.

“ The league your lordship writes of will be most acceptable to his majesty, and
 “ he most ready to join in any course for the maintenance of religion, and common
 “ benefit of both their states.

“ There is nothing here worthy of your lordship. As any thing occurs, I shall
 “ with speed acquaint you therewith. I like very well of the gentleman your lord-
 “ ship hath appointed in his brother's place, as himself by this letter hath signified
 “ to me. I shall use him at all occasions. Your embassador seems to bring
 “ mysteries here; but I thank him, I am not curious.”

Mr. HUDSON inclos'd his letter of the 10th of March to the earl of Essex in
 one to Mr. BACON of the 11thth, desiring him to deliver it to the earl, and that,
 after reading it, his lordship would shew it to the lord treasurer. You may, *says*
 “ *he*, see the devilish spirit of the wicked man, that doth nothing but strive and
 “ study how to set the two princes at variance, that you and all honest and wise
 “ men bestow their whole labour to keep in love and amity. I will write nothing
 “ to you now, because it is needless, the bearer being so sufficient and so loving to
 “ yourself.”

In another letter of the same date Mr. HUDSON assur'd Mr. BACON^s, that if it
 should please God to grant the king of Scotland to attain to age, he would be
 the rarest prince, that ever was born there, for religion, justice, wisdom, and true
 honour. “ It appeareth, *says he*, that others have in policy covered his good
 “ virtues to keep their own greatness from declining. Mr. Bowes cannot say but
 “ that he finds all he can wish, and more than he hoped or looked for. The earl
 “ of Orkney is not yet come; so that I have not cause to use your friends, but
 “ kind and willing I find them for your sake; and the king is in a just and honest
 “ cause, especially an Englishman's cause. He is a thousand friends in his own
 “ person.”

Mr. JAMES COLVIL, a minister of the church of Scotland, wrote the same day
 to Mr. BACON^s, acknowledging many courtesies, and the receipt of a letter from
 him; in the return for which, knowing Mr. BACON's earnest desire of being ac-
 quainted with the situation and occurrences of other nations, Mr. COLVIL now
 sent him an account of the present state of Scotland, tho' he was not, as he pro-
 fessed, much accustom'd to the writing of occurrences; “ and I wish, *adds he*,
 “ the number of these were fewer in this country, that profess themselves writers
 “ of occurrences. For to write evil of my country, as some of them do, I would
 “ be ashamed. To write unto such persons, as, I understand, would make ad-
 “ vantage of my writing to themselves, and loss to my country, I could in no
 “ wise do the same: And to be a merchant of lies, it would prove in the end
 “ dishonest. But having sufficient proof of your godly and honest meaning, I am
 “ bold to acquaint you with the general verity of the estate of this country, ac-
 “ cording to my knowledge.”

He then observes, that there was a great rumour of wars, which arose upon these grounds. The first was the report of the coming of the Spaniards; which sprung partly from the intelligence, that some persons in Scotland had from Spain; as also the little regard, which the lords of the Spanish faction had to crave their pardon of the king; which shew'd, that they were either about the devising of some plot for their own relief, or else thought themselves in a better situation than they would be in Scotland, where they would be continually troubled with the ministers, who were the instruments of their calamity. But their present traffic at the court of Spain by their commissioners, Mr. WALTER LINDSEY and BARKLEY of Ladyland, was a sufficient argument to prove, that their meaning was to help themselves by the Spaniards, and to ruin the ministry. The second ground was, that the intolerable dearth was a prognostication of war, according to the old proverb, *After dearth comes there death*. For first the discontent of the poor commons, with their present poverty thro' the dearth of the corn, made them wish for some alteration, and desire rather a good war than a cruel peace. For it seem'd, that the greatest number of them would make but a small force to resist king PHILIP's * * *, if a portion thereof were to be distributed amongst them, with the assurance of any good purpose to follow thereupon. Thirdly, this defection of their nobility from the true religion, with the cruel bloodshed committed by the barons and gentlemen, required a plague; and apparently (saving the will of the Almighty) this plague would be war; for the pestilence had already stricken, and only lighted upon the poor; and the dearth done but the like. From which consideration some of those, who were esteemed wise, inferred, that the war might strike upon the gentlemen, which is a plague, that they could not escape, unless they prevented the judgment of God by unfeigned repentance.

With respect to the state of the court, the king and queen were desirous of the continuance of the eight counsellors; who, if they did not divide among themselves, but should procure their commissions to be ratified in parliament by the three estates, would be the more able to stand. But it might so fall out, that they would draw to factions in the end, for one part of them were for the king, and another for the queen, and some for themselves. But as yet they had begun well. They spar'd none of whatever state. They had hitherto meddled only with affairs of less importance, but would soon undertake those of the highest, as those, which were foreign, and which belong'd to the privy council; and as they had already displac'd the collector, comptroller, and advocate, they intended no less to the treasurer and secretary, and so plant themselves in all offices of the crown.

Mr. COLVIL omitted writing to Mr. BACON any particulars concerning the friends of the latter, referring him to Mr. DAVID FOULIS, who was soon to be in London; and only adding, that the lord WEEMES, Mr. BACON's old friend, had been very much indisposed for three months; but was now recovered; that the first visit, which his lordship made to court after his sickness, was about the time of Mr. BOWES's arrival; and that tho' he wanted the benefit of what had been promised him at that ambassador's coming, yet his disease had not been increased by that want, but his health rather improv'd: And Mr. COLVIL was certain, that if the love, which his lordship bore to the queen of England, and good will to her subjects,

jects, and good offices, which he had done to them both in France and other places, as some, who were dead, could have testified, as well as others, who were living, had been duly manifested to her majesty by those, who promised to do both in word and writing, she would have remembered his lordship according to his merits. "I can, *adds Mr. COLVIL*, compare the users of such like practices to "no other thing but the woodbine, whose nature is to uphold a wall for a while, "yet at length is the cause of the fall thereof." He inclosed likewise the copy of the last letter, which his lordship had received from his old master.

Sir ANTHONY STANDEN was attending the court at Richmond, on the 13th of March, 159 $\frac{1}{2}$, when he wrote to Mr. BACON^{*}, that the earl of Essex had gone to Petworth after dinner the day before, and was return'd to court that day at dinner-time; and that they had imagin'd, that there had been some breach in the *voyage*, by reason that the lord admiral had been sent for in hast; but that they had learn'd since, that it was only about a progress of some fifteen days, which the queen had a desire to make, to consume the Lent, and so be at Greenwich eight days before the solemn feast, which she purpos'd to keep there. Now the earl is come, "says Sir ANTHONY, I judge it will be resolv'd; for she seems to be weary of Surrey, "and would over into Middlesex, from hence to Osterley, Highgate, and Hackney. "The old man[†], upon some pet, would needs away against her will on Thursday last, saying, that her business was ended; and that he would for ten days go "take phyfic. When she saw it boot'd not to stay him, she said, he was a "froward old fool."

Mr. NAUNTON in a letter to the earl of Essex from Coucy, of the 13th of March, 159 $\frac{1}{2}$, return'd his thanks for a letter, which he had just received from his lordship; and touch'd again upon the discontentments of ANTONIO PEREZ, who desir'd, that his lordship would send over to him with the first messenger his, ANTONIO's, man ADRIAN, he being but slenderly attended, and as little satisfied with the attendance of some, whom, upon ADRIAN's coming, he would gladly dismiss. He had refus'd many offers of French servants, who had been almost obtruded on him by the king himself and others of great rank; and the pretence of his refusal was that there were several in England, who depended upon him, and whom he could not shake off, but expected to come to him soon; so that he now began to find himself somewhat touched in honour, that these his expectations thus published were no better answered. "And if I, says Mr. NAUNTON, had "not come, as I did, of very purpose to accompany him (as I must be content "to let him bear the king in hand, howsoever I find myself drawn into so much "the more suspicion thereupon) all that glory had ere this been vanish'd into "vanity itself. . . He is jealous to entertain any French, and will not admit of any "other English to be sent him but such as he doth already know, and whom "his own sympathy shall induce him to like of." He often clos'd this agony of discontent with these exclamations, *O si sciret Dominus comes, quantum mihi debeat in hoc! Per Deum triumphum & unum non paterer pro Deo quantum jam patior pro ea*. Mr. NAUNTON concluded from thence, that as soon as the negotiation for the confede-

^{*} Vol. x. col. 2.

[†] Lord treasurer BURGHLEY.

^{*} Vol. x. fol. 103.

racy between England and France should be completely finish'd, ANTONIO would immediately leave the latter kingdom. But whither he would retire, was a question. He represented no place to be equal to Florence, at Mr. NAUNTON's writing his last letter; since which he insisted much upon Venice, from which state he had been formerly honour'd with three or four solemn presents. His devotion served him best to bestow himself in some of their monasteries, where he would dispose himself to think only of his soul's health, and bid the world farewell, but not before the king of Spain's death. "Mean while, *adds Mr. NAUNTON*, the wind now blows
 "all for Holland; and I must advertise your lordship, that his meaning is thither,
 "that the world may know how truly he hath loved, honoured, and served her
 "majesty for love of your lordship, and that without all collateral respect to any
 "other reward but the public good, and the blocking of those mouths, that so
 "cried out against him, as a dangerous adviser for your lordship to confer and
 "traffic with in counsels of state. This is the sum of my message now enjoined me;
 "and yet within these three days he spent some time in a kind discourse somewhat
 "passionate in remembrance of his sorrowful and heavy parting from your lordship,
 "and of his solemn vow yet once again to see your lordship before he entered into
 "his Venetian cloister. That he forebore of purpose to bring with him your lord-
 "ship's picture, to balk all ominous presages to the contrary. That he hath two spe-
 "cial secrets, one of her majesty, and another of this king, very like one another,
 "which yet in writing he hath not, and by writing he may not impart to your
 "lordship. He is zealous to have your lordship come over to the perfecting of
 "this confederacy, and disputeth it greatly, that it cannot be well concluded but
 "only by your lordship. For his own part, he will neither give counsel nor confi-
 "dence to any other; and being named by the king for a special man to stand for
 "him in the treaty, he hath refused it, and reserveth himself free and intire
 "for your lordship's service. As for his private affairs, how strongly soever he is
 "borne in his ordinary speeches against staying here, yet the other night, when we
 "fell into farther discoursing of matters, I found him troubled to hear, that the
 "king had lately bestowed the bishopric of Bourdeaux, valued at 7000 crowns the
 "year, upon a follower of Monsieur *le Grand's*; and thereupon he bewrayed some
 "possibility of inclination to remain here yet, upon assurance of good conditions,
 "by his sudden and vehement denunciation utterly undisguised, that were your lord-
 "ship once here, he would betake himself to your protection, and except this king,
 "thro' your lordship's intermediation, should immediately confirm unto him a set-
 "tled estate proportionable to his own contentment, he would no longer attend
 "these so certain perils for so uncertain rewards."

Mr. NAUNTON then touches upon the dangerous illness of Sir HENRY UNTON, the ambassador, which oppress'd them all with grief and anxiety; ANTONIO PEREZ, being exceeding apprehensive of his own particular interest depending upon the event of it, and thinking, that his dignity and security, both for his continuance in France, and removal from thence, were not a little involved in it. But whatever should fall out, "our care, *says Mr. NAUNTON* hath not been wanting to adver-
 "tise his [the ambassador's] secretary in time, for assurance of all writings, that
 "have passed between your lordship and him."

In the postscript dated the 16th of March he mentions, that ANTONIO had employed himself very thoroughly, for two days, past in divers earnest conferences with the king himself and Monsieur DE VILLEROY. Many difficulties had been objected to have withdrawn the king from visiting the ambassador on Sunday. But ANTONIO's importunities prevail'd so far, that he protested to Mr. NAUNTON, that but for himself the whole negotiation had fallen to the ground. But perceiving, that this earnestness of his had exposed him to some suspicions and censures, he expressed his resentment of them, not only to such English, as came in his way, but likewise to Monsi. *le Grand* and Monsi. DE VILLEROY, and that in these broad terms; that they should well know, that he did not interpose himself to play the *lens* between the two princes for any base mercenary or servile respects: That he disclaim'd to blemish his fortunes past by entertaining any less under other princes, who could afford him none so great: That it was not unknown to both the king and them, that he had already begun to solicit for his licence to depart thence before the English ambassador's arrival there; and that now, *sublata causa tollitur effectus*, the ambassador being like to die, he return'd to his former resolution: That he would now in his health bethink himself before the like sickness should overtake him among such miserable comforters: That he had all this while sinned against himself, not for any sweetness, which he had tasted in their French bread, but for his own love's sake (wheresoever it was plac'd) for which alone he had committed other as great sins in his time; and therefore let them tell the king their master, that he would stay no longer in his country. Mr. NAUNTON was now more in doubt than ever before, that ANTONIO would in fact leave France, unless he were more effectually fought to than he was like to be, either by the protestants, who disliked his zeal for the confederacy out of jealousy of the king's greatness, or by the catholics, who lov'd not his person on account of their attachment to Spain, or by the king himself, who, besides other dislikes, took no great delight in paying such large pensions as ANTONIO expected. But in all this motion of his hottest humours, he continued his purpose, if the earl did not come to France, to visit his friends in England for a month at the most.

Mr. NAUNTON wrote likewise a letter to Mr. BACON on the 16th of March from Coucy *, to acknowledge the favour of one from him acquainting him with the earl of Essex's approbation of his letters to his lordship, and to thank Mr. BACON for his friendly offer to cultivate his lordship's good disposition towards him; referring all French occurrences to the report of Mr. WILTON, by whom this letter was sent.

Monsieur DE VILLEROY continuing his correspondence with Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE, informed him in a letter* dated from the camp before La Fere on the 25th of March 1596, N. S. that since Sir HENRY UNTON had received the answer and orders of the queen his mistress upon his first dispatch, and had made a report of it to the king, he had fallen sick, and had continued extremely ill ever since, so that the day before the date of this letter, it had been apprehended, that he would die; which was the reason, why the king went to see him, having a very great esteem

* Vol. x. fol. 7.

* Fol. 106.

for him. His majesty found the ambassador exceedingly ill, and if he had followed the advice of his servants, he would not have made that visit, because there was a suspicion of the distemper being a purple fever. But this did not restrain him from going to him, and staying and talking with him some time, which gave Sir HENRY so much consolation, that his sickness abated from that time, so that on the afternoon of the day, on which this letter was written, there was more hope of his recovery than since he had been seized with his illness; from which Monsieur DE VILLEROY pray'd that God would deliver him, as well on account of his own virtues, as for the public service. This sickness of the ambassador was the reason, that no resolution had yet been taken by the French court upon what had been represented to it on the part of the queen, and that the king had since made an excursion upon the frontier, in order to reconnoitre the enemy, and provide for the defence of the places there, and was to return on the saturday. Monsieur DE VILLEROY told Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE in confidence, that they were not sorry to have had this leisure and respite to consult upon the queen's answer those, upon whose advice had been form'd that, which had been given to the first proposition of Sir HENRY UNTON; it being necessary, that the king should proceed in his affairs with great circumspection, for his court was composed of a variety of humours, every person there abounding in his own. And as his majesty had not yet establish'd his authority so much as were to be wish'd, it was requisite for him frequently to flatter those, whom he ought to have treated roughly, if affairs were better settled, which God, the sovereign protector, would grant in his good time. The queen in her answer had demanded a conference, which had been refused in a paper presented by Mr. EDMONDES before the return of Monsieur DE LOMENIE. This demand gave great concern to many, who thought, that there was no other intention in it than to deprive the French court of the opportunities, which they had, of providing for their own affairs, and that there was no design to assist them against the common enemy. This suspicion was favour'd by the re-calling of the English troops out of Holland, which could never have been done in a crisis of so much importance both to France and the States General, since the latter being deprived of those troops would be obliged immediately to re-call from France the admiral of Zealand, which would be a prodigious inconvenience to that kingdom, and throw the people of the United Provinces into a great astonishment, and be follow'd with mischievous consequences, as they were and would be solicited to make peace; whereas England as well as France ought to use their utmost efforts to encourage them in their constancy, in order to divert them the more from that peace, which would unquestionably render the condition of both kingdoms very miserable from that incredible accession of power to the common enemy, who was already too powerful without it. These considerations, with the uncertainty of any hopes given of the success of the conference, had great weight with many persons, who did not know the queen's courage, and imagin'd, that if the French court was engag'd in that measure, it would be dishonourable to take afterwards another course. In this situation Monsieur DE VILLEROY had but one consolation to give Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE, that they had a master, who was possessed of a spirit superior to that of all his servants united, and who had such a desire to act rightly, and to clip the wings of this counterfeit eagle, that he was more inclin'd to make another tryal of the queen's mind, than to pursue any other measure. However as this was not a point thoroughly resolved upon yet, any

more than the voyage of Monsieur DE SANCY, Monsieur DE VILLEROY could write only doubtfully of it; but that, to speak freely, if he knew any thing, he was of opinion, that the conference would be held, in order to understand what was to be expected from each other; and that this would be resolved upon as soon as the English ambassador, with whom the king had secrets unknown to his own court, should be better, or his recovery be despaired of. In the mean time, it would be a very considerable advantage, if it could be obtained, that the English troops might stay, at least till the event of the siege; which would soon be determined one way or other: For the besieged were reduced to a famine, and liv'd only upon roots and herbs, which they could now rarely procure. It was said, that the enemies were assembling themselves, and advancing directly to succour La Fere, and would make the attempt on the 5th or 6th of April, N. S. This advertisement was brought from such authority, that the French were preparing to receive them, and going then to lodge in their field of battle, with a resolution to behave with the utmost vigour.

Letters had come to the French court from Rochelle and Bayonne of the taking of the Havanna (but not of the fort there) by Sir FRANCIS DRAKE. But Monsieur DE VILLEROY thought this only a *raffade*, as he expressed it, which would rather enrich particular men, than serve the public, as might be done by an enterprize upon some place in Flanders, if England would hear of it, as she ought, France being ready to contribute whatever was in her power.

The recovery of Marseilles was an event of vast service to the French court, the enemy being extremely shock'd with it, and speaking now more coolly of the continuance of the war, than they did before; for they had been in hopes of having the use of that treasure, which would have been the ruin of the king's affairs in those parts, where every thing succeeded according to his wishes. Monsieur DE VILLEROY concludes his letter with these words: *Pour le fin je vous diray, que je brusleray mes livres, ou je ferai pourvoir à la plate de dela dans peu de temps. J'attens Monsieur DA SANCY pour cela, qui ferai icy dedans huit jours au plus tard.*

The court of France was at this time in a very ill disposition towards the interests of Europe, as well as those of their own country, if we may believe an information, which Monsieur CASTOL sent to Mr. BACON, in a letter of the 16th of March, 159³*, and which he said he had from a good hand, that the principal counsellors of HENRY IV. were pensioners to Spain in the fight of all the world; and that *doublons* were more common in France than *escus de soleil*.

The success of the Spaniards against France, and the progress, which they were making in those parts of that kingdom, which were nearest England, justly alarming the queen, she granted a commission to the earl of Essex, and CHARLES lord HOWARD lord admiral, dated at Westminster the 18th of March, in the 38th year of her reign†, appointing them lieutenant-generals and governors of her majesty's whole navy and army to be employed in the present intended service against the declared enemies of her majesty and her realms and dominions: In

* Vol. x. fol. 33.

† Ibid. fol. 73.

virtue of which commission they gave one to Sir THOMAS GERRARD, to levy soldiers, not exceeding the number of a thousand, within the counties of Lancaster, Chester, Derby, and North Wales.

Dr. HAWKYNs in his letter to Mr. BACON from Venice, of the 17th of March, 159 $\frac{1}{2}$ ², took notice, that Italy prosper'd thro' the late event of the recovery of Marseilles, the great duke discovering most his passion against Spain. " France, " *adds he*, groweth to union in itself. Monsieur d'ESPERNON sent for by the king " by one Monsieur ROQUELAURE, as I remember, one of the king's favourites. " The archduke cardinal in possession of his generalate with a commission more " ample than ever was granted to any his predecessors. Count FUERTES discharged " (*non bene cum sociis regna Venusq; manent*) who must needs take it in evil part, but " that he is recomforted with the hope to go Vice-roy into Sicily. It is thought " they will find a want of him in Flanders; but the cardinal must be entertained " there by all means possible. His greatness with the infanta of Spain began to be " suspected, both to the king, and especially to the young prince, who hastened " his departure sooner than otherwise it should have been." He observes, that the Spaniard daily gave out at Venice, after his manner, bravadoes of a double armada, one to succour the Havanna, and another for England, Ireland, or Bretagne; for which a jesuit was sent to obtain the pope's benediction. But as far as Dr. HAWKYNs could perceive by the discourse of the Spanish secretary at Venice, if Sir FRANCIS DRAKE might have good succour in time, the Spaniards in the West-Indies would be overtaken much unprovided.

The lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby left Venice on the last of February, and on the second day of his journey relapsed into his former sickness at Conelian, fifteen miles from Treviso, where he lay extremely ill eight days almost to death; but being recovered a little, he pursued his journey towards Vienna. Mr. EDMUND BACON, nephew to Mr. ANTHONY, went from Venice homewards, two days before the date of this letter; and Sir GRIFFIN MARKHAM was lately come thither from Rome, where he had been for a while in the Inquisition, it being more dangerous then to go to that city than ever. Dr. HAWKYNs concludes with desiring, that the earl of Essex would procure him letters of credence, which would greatly advance the service; whereas at present he had no means to effect any thing at Venice, but by his own labour, having not as yet gained the acquaintance of any man of worth by any other means whatever.

Mr. JAMES COLVIL having an opportunity by a burgess of Edinburgh, sent by him a letter to Mr. BACON, on the 23d of March, 159 $\frac{1}{2}$ ², acquainting him, that the king purposed on the 2d of April to ride to Dumfries, to hold a justice-court, and to take order with respect to the feud between the JOHNSTONS and MAXWELLS. And tho' the MAXWELLS were behind the JOHNSTONS in blood, having their chief lord MAXWELL kill'd, yet Mr. COLVIL thought, that the king would shew the JOHNSTONS more favour than the others in respect of their valour and manly

² Vol. x. fol. 269.

² Ibid. fol. 241.

courage. For the MAXWELLS always invaded them with greater numbers, and the JOHNSTONS put them to flight with the weakest party.

There was then held at Edinburgh an assembly of the ministers, in which they intended to provide every minister with a certain stipend, and to request some articles of the eight commissioners of the Exchequer; which if they should be refused, it was expected, that they would disagree in the end. Some pasquils, both in English and Latin, had been thrown out against these commissioners, and particularly the president, ALEXANDER lord URQUHART; the author of them being apparently one, who was a friend to the kirk.

About the same time Mr. HUDSON wrote likewise to Mr. BACON from Edinburgh^b, that there was a good king in that country, and a settled state, tho' discontented men would have it otherwise, and be always planting doubts in mens minds. "Yet I will not, *adds he*, say, but there is a secret intention to bring home all the exiled lords, but to this end, and by this means, to divert them from foreign courses, and to settle all the whole state here in peace from all feuds and quarrels; always providing that they come in by her majesty's our sovereign's mediation, or not, and with full allowance of the king. The king pressech the earl of Mar so, as to put his cause and quarrel in his hands, and giveth great promises to deal for his honour, so as his own friends shall allow of. But he is loth to it, because the queen is all for the , and may do much with the king. The king hath seen with contentment that , and also saw all vanish into fume. His thanks I must report, and I must needs grant him to be wise, constant, and gracious, and very respective, and knoweth how to distinguish of all needful points, and is not naked, but well armed as needs. I may not write what I would, nor when I would, for that I shall be absent of necessity."

Mr. HUDSON wrote to Mr. BACON another letter from Edinburgh, on the 28th of March, 1596^c, in which he speaks in very high terms of the *good king*, as he calls him, stiling him a *sun amongst stars*, and declaring, that his majesty triumph'd in a sound mind towards religion and love to the queen of England, and the amity; and when any, who had grace and credit with him, should persuade him to err in those substantial points, Mr. HUDSON consented to be esteemed an ass. The king had so honoured the general assembly with his presence and speech, "that all this land, *says Mr. HUDSON*, hath cause to praise God for him. He came to have confirmed good matters digested among them; but found nothing ripe or ready, but all raw, so that he was driven both to devise what was fit, and after to give order for the effecting thereof, wherein he bestowed strength and they weakness, for he put grey hairs to school again." The laird of Baclugh was come to Edinburgh, but by the way was doubtful, whether he might proceed or not, and staid within two miles of the city, till lord HUME brought him forward, being apprehensive of imprisonment. His coming was to urge certain words, which, if he durst, he would make the king author to; that CRESFORD should say to his

^b Vol. x. fol. 153.

^c Ibid. fol. 268.

majesty, that BACLUGH desired CESFORD's friendship, and that all grudges might be taken away between them. BACLUGH had met the king in his way to his sports at the lord HUME's house, at which time he alledged his majesty had spoken those words to him, when he answered, that CESFORD lied in his throat, and that he disdain'd to seek his friendship, or to take it, if it were offered. Thus the affair rested, and they were both extremely exasperated against each other, so that it was suppos'd, that some great matter would follow upon their first meeting: And Mr. HUDSON was of opinion, that the king did not think, that either of them had deserved his favour so much, that he should take any great pains to make up their quarrel, as he did his other friends, through the whole kingdom. The queen was thought to favour BACLUGH more than the other; yet the latter did not want friends to put him on a level with his antagonist. For tho' lord HUME favoured BACLUGH, yet those of his name took the side of CESFORD, especially the house of COLDENKNOWS, who had great power and credit both with the name of HUME and others, being persons eminent for their wisdom. The king's journey to the borders was staid against his will by the want of victuals both for man and horse, the famine being extreme.

Mr. BACON's zeal for the whole family of his friend the earl of Essex engag'd him some time of this month of march, 159², to write the following letter^a, tho' without his name, to his lordship's sister DIANA, countess of Northumberland, upon a subject of a very tender nature, no less than a suspicion of her lord's infidelity to her bed.

" Most honoured Lady,

" If I could digest any injury offered you, I would rather conceal that, which
 " I write, than trouble you with others folly, protesting I am as free from malice,
 " as to keep you from being abused: So it is, that your lord hath gotten him a
 " chamber at court, where one of his old acquaintance is lodged. What his
 " meaning is, I know not, but you may perceive he bears small respect to you,
 " that will give occasion, if any will be so simple as to think he can neglect you
 " for a ruined creature. Therefore, Madam, support chearfully yourself with
 " your wonted wisdom, and let them not unworthy disquiet your mind. Pro-
 " portion your affection according to their deserts. and consider, that we are not
 " bound by virtue to love them, that will unloose themselves by vice. Thus
 " much the honour I bear you hath inforced me to say. More I will not, for
 " I am one devoted to your service, and do not conceal my name for shame or
 " fear."

Sir ANTHONY SHERLEY, who was afterwards eminent for the variety of his adventures, had now prepar'd for an expedition against the Spaniards in the West-Indies, at his own expence and that of his father, Sir THOMAS SHERLEY of Wiston or Wiston in Sussex, treasurer at wars, but removed from that post in March 159⁷, whose second son he was by ANNE his wife, daughter of Sir THOMAS KEMPE, being borne there about the year 1565. His education was at Hart Hall,

^a Vol. x. fol. 101.

^c STONEY Papers, vol ii. p. 31, 33.

in Oxford, where he was matriculated in the beginning of the year 1579, and admitted bachelor of arts in the latter end of 1581, and in November following elected probationer fellow of All Souls College; but before he took the degree of master of arts, left the university, and engaged in the wars of the Low Countries, having a command there among the English, in the action near Zutphen, in September 1586, in which Sir PHILIP SIDNEY received his mortal wound. He afterwards attached himself to the earl of Essex, of whom he was a great admirer, and upon whose example he endeavoured to form himself, attending his lordship into Ireland. In 1599, he travelled into Persia, and in the reign of king JAMES I. entered into the service of several foreign princes, by whom he was employed as ambassador, and made admiral of the Levant seas by the king of Spain, in whose court he was living in 1630, having been honoured by the emperor of Germany with the title of count of the empire. This gentleman having applied to Mr. BACON for his interest in the expediting his commission for a voyage intended by him to the Isle of St. Thome; the latter wrote to him on the 28th of March, 1596*, to return him thanks for his kindness and confidence towards him, “whom, *says he*, you shall find more careful by all true and due effects to me possible of faithful friendship to conserve your love, than to recover my health, tho’ it be the soul of this life.” He then adds, “I have received your honourable rich token by your man, and have consigned it according to your appointment, assuring you, that the presentation of it shall be accompanied from us both with all respects correspondent to your worthy merit. I may not omit for mine own discharge to certify you, that this day I have remembered and recommended the expedition of your commission, mentioned at your departure, to my most honourable good lord, whose answer was, that he was mindful of it, and looked to hear from you about it.”

Sir ANTHONY SHERLEY the next day returned an answer from Southampton^b, that he would never fail to render to Mr. BACON, the truest testimonies of his intire thankfulness for that gentleman’s honourable kind favours, which his own fortune should be at any time able to bring forth; “which, *says he*, shall be honour given, and my life too, for to be disposed by your commandments, and my best prayers for your health, the perfect recovery of which would be more true contentment to my soul than my life. For the token, which it hath pleased you in the nobleness of your own mind to persuade the acceptance of better than in itself it was worthy, I will be ready to better by a more effectual service, if my desires may at any time find honourable means, for which I assure myself, that I shall never fail of the counsel of your judgment, which shall ever be the stern to govern all my courses. Lastly, I must also discharge myself to you of my thanks apart for your remembering me to my lord of Essex, to whom I have written about that commission, which I hope and have need to receive presently. To present you with a faithful profession of my service, I should but revive a deed of long date, and confirm with my truest-hearted intent. Only I beseech you to recommend me where I know you will, as I will you to all the best and worthiest fortunes, which your exceeding noble virtues may most justly claim.”

* Wood, Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 551.

^b HAKLUYT, vol. iii. p. 558.

^c Vol. x. fol. 71.

^d Vol. x. fol. 20.

Mr. BACON having procured a commission from the earl of Essex, and sent it to Sir ANTHONY SHERLEY, the latter disliking it, returned it to Mr. BACON with a letter on the 3d of April¹, in which he observed, that the confidence, which he had in that gentleman's judgment and love, made him send back that commission, desiring him to consider of it, and redeliver it to the giver: "For if, *says he*, "I desired a commission from my lord of Essex, it was to furnish me with authority to govern this heap of confused people, which I have here gathered together, that are more subject than any people to fall into extreme disorders; in which point you shall find me not at all assisted. And then for increase of credit, which men, that have commissions, ordinarily assume from them, you shall find me so scanted by my title for myself, and so restrained for my friends, which go with me, that, if I receive it, I must either diminish unto them the place, which I have given them, or else equal others to mine, since by my commission I am restrained to one regiment, and I have already divided my companies into two. Sir, I have told you how much I have been afflicted for the opinion of my lord of Essex's coldness towards me, only for the truth of mine own zeal and affection towards him, which I do find so far from respect, that it is not only heavy to my mind, but to my fortune, which receives no manner of grace from him. I have found since my coming my business thwarted by the mayor, and hindered by other devices, as much as malice and such authority could. I have cried out to my lord; I have implored his letters; and I have not received one so much as unto myself, but only this poor commission, which doth but diminish the reputation of what I am. Wherefore, as I first said unto you, the assured knowledge, which I have of your wisdom and affection to me, makes me bold to send it unto you to be redelivered to my lord of Essex, in such terms, as I know you are furnished with, both fit for him and for me." In the postscript he desires Mr. BACON not to urge the earl for any other commission, since he would content himself with what grace he could do himself.

The same day the earl wrote himself the following letter to Sir ANTHONY SHERLEY, from Dover², whither his lordship had been sent by the queen, upon the archduke ALBERT's³ having laid siege to Calais, after a feint march to the relief of La Fere.

"COUSIN,

"The news of the siege of Calais hath made me be posted down to this place, whence I have sent Sir CONYERS CLIFFORD to see, whether he can go in, and see the state of the town. And I have also sent a gentleman to Boulogne to see what means they do prepare on that side to succour Calais. I do look for an answer from both places by to morrow morning, and on Monday will return to Greenwich, from whence I will send you some money the next day. For if I had had but one hour more of stay at London, I had furnished you; but upon Wednesday you shall hear from me at the farthest. I pray you send me word

¹ Vol. x. fol. 195.

² Ibid. fol. 267.

³ That cardinal had arrived at, and made his public entry into Brussels, on the 11th of February, 1594, N. S. MATTHEW, l. xviii. fol. 384. verso.

“ both hither and to the court, in what forwardness you are ; for my stay hee is
 “ uncertain. And so wishing to you as to myself, I rest

“ Your most affectionate Cousin,

“ E S S E X.

The zeal, which Mr. BACON had shewn for Sir ANTHONY SHERLEY's business occasioned Sir THOMAS SHERLEY, the father of the latter, to write him a letter of thanks on that account, dated from White-Friars on the 4th of April, 1596^a, inclosing his son's to himself, expressing his great obligations to Mr. BACON, whom Sir THOMAS profess'd to honour, and to reverence his virtues. The next day Sir ANTHONY wrote another letter from Southampton to Mr. BACON^b, by a gentleman, whom he sent to him about two things, which concern'd the effecting of his business. And on the 9th of April a commission was sent to Sir ANTHONY from the two generals, the earl of Essex and the lord admiral^c, empowering him to levy, arm, &c. men not exceeding the number of 1500, and appointing him captain and commander of all such ships and vessels, as were set forth at the charge of Sir THOMAS SHERLEY, her majesty's treasurer at wars, and Sir ANTHONY SHERLEY, in the design'd expedition. Sir ANTHONY was still at Southampton on the 12th of April, when he wrote to Mr. BACON^d, that he had heard, that the earl's *great journey was shortened to Calais*, and that he hop'd, that by this means his own *voyage should receive liberty to proceed*, recommending to Mr. BACON his brother CROFTES, whose advancement in honour he desired as a large increase to his own fortune. “ My absence, *says he*, from him, from whom it should be derived, next “ to his own worth, makes me run to your favour, as the relieving sanctuary of “ all that troubles me.” In the postscript he added, that he had just received a letter from his brother CROFTES, mentioning the sickness of the lady CHRYNEY ; on which account he requested Mr. BACON to strengthen that gentleman's resolution to stay with her, and to give him probable assurance by the earl's love to her, favour to Sir ANTHONY, and good disposition to Mr. CROFTES, that tho' the present act of honour be deferred, yet it should not fail.

Among other letters, which Mr. BACON wrote during this correspondence with Sir ANTHONY SHERLEY, there was one^e, the copy of which has no date, in which he sent him the substance of a letter of the earl of Essex to himself, informing him, that the French king had written to him the day before, that the duke of BOUVILLON had put 400 men into the citadel of Calais ; and that CAMPAGNOLLES, governor of Boulogne, with many other good captains, was entered ; and that the king had assured his lordship, that he should have leisure to come and fight for the place. “ If it be so, *said his lordship*, and that my companies, whom I attend “ here, do arrive in time, I will give her majesty and my country good account “ of my charge, having here already of my own troop a brave company of “ gallant gentlemen to make the head of our army, and my genius doth *bené* “ *ominari*, if we come once to look one upon another.”

^a Vol. x. fol. 197.

^b Vol. x. fol. 226.

^c Vol. x. fol. 196.

^d Vol. x. fol. 222.

^e Vol. x. fol. 194.

The news of Sir HENRY UNTON's death, which happened in the French camp before Le Fere, on the 23d of March, 159 $\frac{1}{2}$, being brought to England, it was of great consequence to prevent the secret papers, which the earl of Essex had sent to that ambassador, from falling into improper hands; and therefore Mr. REYNOLDES, his lordship's secretary, wrote to Mr. BACON on the 1st of April, 1566¹, that tho' he doubted not of the earl's carefulness to assure all his private letters and papers delivered and sent to Sir HENRY UNTON, "which are, *says he*, of so great importance; yet could I not but shew my own care in putting you in mind thereof, that by your remembrance also unto him, he may presently take such order, as shall be meet. Mr. NAUNTON in his letter advertised the honest regard, which he and signor PEREZ had of that matter; but my lord must both write to them and Mr. EDMONDES, that no man may finger them. I hope that honourable gentleman hath in his love to my lord performed this last duty with sufficient care. I do not doubt but there will be all means used by some jealous observers to get his papers into their hands. I have discharged my duty; impute it not, I pray, to any double diligence or curiosity, but to my true love and care of my lord's service."

The earl of Essex having visited Mr. BACON in his way to Dover, the latter wrote immediately to Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE², to inform him of his lordship's being dispatch'd thither by the queen, with orders and authority to remedy what was pass'd, and provide for the future by all means possible, without sparing any cost; and that the earl had desired him to assure Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE, that if his most christian majesty would correspond in his endeavours on his part, the enemy's glory would be very short lived, and soon chang'd into disgrace.

The siege of Calais, which was begun on the 2^d ^{March} April³, gave so great an alarm to queen ELIZABETH, from the apprehensions of the enemy's progress on the coast nearest to England, that she ordered soldiers to be rais'd even during divine service on the Sunday following, in order to be sent to France under the conduct of the earl of Essex⁴; nor was she at any time in a greater disposition to receive the applications of HENRY IV. for her assistance. That king took the opportunity of Mr. EDMONDES's going to England, a journey, which he probably persuaded that gentleman to undertake, about the 1st of April, 1596, to send by him a letter to her majesty⁵, beginning with a condolence upon the death of Sir HENRY UNTON, at a time, when the presence of that ambassador would have been of most use to him. He said, that he sympathised with the queen from the concern, which he had in every thing, that regarded her, and the particular affection, which he had for the deceased on account of his virtues, of which the king had frequently had experience, and of his fidelity and sincerity in all his actions, and especially in the execution of all the queen's orders, of which he was so jealous, that the king declared, that he had never seen any gentleman so zealous for her satisfaction, which he endeavoured principally to procure in his last embassy, in which he took great pains to serve her, and shew'd so eager a passion for it, even after he fell sick, that this shortened

¹ Vol. x. fol. 205.² Vol. x. fol. 207.³ THUANUS, l. cxvi. ch. 6. p. 598. & seq.

& MATTHEW, l. xviii. fol. 385. verso.

⁴ CAMDENI ELIZAB. p. 666.⁵ Vol. x. fol. 248.

his days. But that since it had pleased God to dispose of things thus, it was as much the duty of the greatest as of the least persons to submit to his will; the king adding, that it was sufficient for himself in advertising Sir HENRY's death, to represent at the same time his own regret and the ambassador's merit, in order that the queen might keep the services of the latter in memory, and receive in good part his own office of condolance, which was due to their ancient and mutual friendship.

The king then proceeds to mention, that Sir HENRY had come to him two days before his sickness, and brought him a writing sign'd with the queen's hand, in answer to that, which the king had given in council upon the propositions offered by Sir HENRY on his first arrival; to which his majesty could not then make any answer, because he was obliged to depart the next day, to go and give orders with respect to his frontier threatned by the enemy, and at his return he found the ambassador very weak with his illness; whom however he visited, not only to comfort and support his spirits under it, but also to discover to him his own mind, and to receive light into some points, which had kept him in suspense with respect to the overture made in the queen's name by the said ambassador, who acquitted himself in that matter so well, that the king left him fully satisfied, if he could have been as well assured of his recovery, as he was by the assurances of Sir HENRY of the confidence, which he ought to have in the continuance of the queen's amity, and good and sincere intention with regard to the assembly and conference between the commissioners of both kingdoms proposed in the queen's writing, in order that they might consult the common interest of the said kingdoms. For this reason the king resolv'd in his own mind from that very hour to agree to the assembly propos'd. But as he had not then with him his council, to whom he had communicated that business, he had only told Mr. EDMONDES, when he was urging an answer during the sickness of Sir HENRY, that he hop'd, that the queen would be satisfied: And he protest'd, most sincerely, that he never had any inclination to divide himself from the queen's counsels, nor to separate from him, on account of his obligations to her, his natural affection towards her, and his conviction, that their mutual prosperity consisted in their union. But hearing, that she could not any longer afford him assistance, and seeing his kingdom too weak to resist singly the enemy's power, he thought himself in some measure allow'd to follow the dictates of necessity, which daily shew'd itself in present effects, and the apprehensions of the future, founded upon the poverty of his people, the instability of his own affairs, and the uncertainty of her succours, though not of her good will, of which, whatever had happened, he had never doubted; so that as soon as Sir HENRY UNTER had given him hopes by his assurances of her good will, that the conference might remedy the evil, which overbore his own will, he began immediately to return to the path of his first inclination which was always to honour her counsels, and to attach his own fortune inseparably to her's, with which he acquainted his servants. But this joy and hope of his were but of very short continuance, since he was advertised two days after, that in order to form and reinforce her army, she had recall'd those soldiers, her subjects, who were in the pay of the States of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, and had resolv'd to employ that army in places so remote from France, that, instead
of

of his being succour'd by her forces, (as he had hop'd that it would have been resolv'd in that conference) he saw himself disappointed of the assistance of the States themselves, who being weakened by the loss of those English troops, would be obliged to recal those, which they had sent into France, and to keep themselves that year only on the defensive, while the enemy would at their pleasure make their attacks upon the kingdom. Of this Sir HENRY UNTON had not said one word to him, either because he knew nothing of it himself, or had no orders from the queen to mention it. Upon the discovery of it the king sent for Mr. EDMONDES, to whom he made his complaints of it, as he could not confer with Sir HENRY on account of his sickness: And his majesty presum'd, that Mr. EDMONDES had acquainted the queen with those complaints, and therefore would not repeat them here, nor insist again upon the justice of them, but desired her to imagine what must be the grief of one, who found himself deceived in an expectation newly given him by a person of trust in the name of another, who was greatly beloved, in an affair not only desired, but likewise necessary to both of the parties. This concern had deeply affected him. But as Mr. EDMONDES was going to England to testify to the queen his own fidelity, diligence, and capacity in those affairs, which had been committed to him since he had been employ'd in France, whom the king therefore recommended to the queen's favour as an act that would be agreeable to his majesty himself, as well as suitable to that gentleman's services, he had so strongly assur'd his majesty of the good will of the queen, and urg'd him with so much force to conceive better hopes of her sisterly affection and assistance in the prosecution of the war against the common enemy, and to employ some person of trust to procure him satisfaction, that he was resolv'd once more to open his mind to her with all freedom and sincerity. On which account he determin'd to send to her the Sieur DE SANCY, counsellor in his council of state, before he suffer'd himself to be carried farther by the torrent of necessity, and the despair of her assistance, in order by that means to discharge part of his obligations to her, and to acquit himself before God and men of all the evil, that should happen. He intended therefore to send over the Sieur DE SANCY within five or six days, who should have departed the next day, if the king had not been in hopes of seeing and fighting the enemy within that time, and of sending by him the news of a victory by God's assistance. In the mean while the king desir'd the queen to suspend, till she heard from him, the resolution of employing her army, or at least its departure; assuring her, that she would find by what the Sieur DE SANCY would represent to her, that her interest was as dear to and as much regarded by him, as his own; and that he should deserve no blame nor reproach from her or any others, whatever he should do for the safety of his kingdom, after having acquitted himself of this last duty to her, if it should not produce the effects, which were no less necessary to her than to himself, as he had protested to Mr. EDMONDES, to whom he intrusted this letter, to which he could add nothing but his cordial and affectionate recommendations.

The king wrote likewise a letter to Mr. BACON dated the 11th of April 1596 N. S.* which he sent by Monsieur DE SANCY, who soon followed Mr. EDMONDES. In this letter his majesty assures Mr. BACON of the high esteem, which he had always had.

* Vol. x. fol. 225.

Of him on account of his affection to his service and prudence in the conduct of public affairs; for which reason he had charg'd Monsieur DE SANCY with that letter, and directions to communicate to him his majesty's intentions, in order to be assisted by him in respect to them by his interest with the earl of Essex; which the king desir'd Mr. BACON to employ, assuring him, that he would acknowledge the service, which he should do, whenever an opportunity should offer. Monsieur DE SANCY, upon his arrival in London on the 10th of April 1596², having sent the king's letter by Monsieur LE DOUX to Mr. BACON, the latter return'd by him one to Monsieur DE SANCY on the 12th³, requesting him to return his most humble thanks to the king for his very gracious letter, and to offer himself and every thing, in his power, for the advancement of his majesty's service. He likewise desir'd Monsieur DE SANCY to instruct him, what he thought proper to be done by him, to shew the sincerity of his antient and inviolable devotion to his majesty, and his zeal for his interest, which did and should all his life govern his conduct. He concludes with begging Monsieur DE SANCY's excuse for his infirmities, which long had and still confined him to his chair.

Mr. BACON wrote likewise a letter in the beginning of April 1596 to Dr. HAWKYNs at Venice², mentioning, that on the Tuesday before, March 30th, there had been a hot alarm in town upon the approaches of the archduke of Austria before Calais with 12000 foot and 3000 horse; his ends being reported to be divers, as to raise the siege of La Fere, to stop or divert the naval preparations of England; to surprise Boulogne, or some other town of importance, under colour of besieging Calais, the governor of which, Monsieur BADOSSAN, conveyed over his wife and children to Dover, whither the earl of Essex was sent by the queen on Thursday the 1st of April with the utmost expedition, and full power and authority to take such order, as his lordship upon the place, according to occasions, should judge proper. Mr. BACON adds, that the state of Ireland tended now to quietness, where the lord deputy had of late done a good piece of service; and that Mr. DAVID FOULIS was sent by the king of Scotland to be resident near her majesty; on which account Mr. BACON desired Dr. HAWKYNs to have both an eye and ear to such occurrences, as concern'd that king, the fugitive earls, and the state of Scotland.

The first alarm taken by the queen at the archduke's approach to Calais occasioned her to send a message to the lord mayor and aldermen of London, while they were at sermon at St. Paul's cross, to raise a certain number of able bodied men in the city fit for immediate service; which was perform'd with such vigour and expedition, that before eight at night a thousand men were impress'd. And this being the number required, they were before the next morning fitted with all martial accoutrements, and ready to march to Dover. But unexpectedly in the afternoon they received orders to return to their respective habitations. However on Easter-day April 11th in the morning another message was sent from court to the lord mayor and aldermen, strictly commanding them to raise immediately the same number of men, which had been lately disbanded: In conformity to which those magistrates, assisted by their deputies, constables, and other officers, repair'd to the several

² Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE's letter to Mr. BACON. Vol. x. fol. 190.

³ Vol. x. fol. 171.

⁴ Vol. x. fol. 192.

churches within their jurisdictions, where having caused the doors to be shut, they selected the number of men demanded, who being completely arm'd, began their march the night after for Dover, in order for their embarkation to France under the command of the earl of Essex. But the queen having received advice of the reduction of Calais by the enemy, they were countermanded, and return'd thence about a week after their departure from London.*

Mr. YATES, whom Mr. BACON had transferred from his own service to that of ANTONIO PEREZ, having, upon the arrival of ANTONIO's servant BALTAZAR from England, obtain'd his dismissal from him, and intending to go into Italy with Sir CHARLES DAVERS, sent a letter by Mr. EDMONDES to Mr. BACON on the 11th of April, N. S. from Paris^b, to acquaint him with his design, and to ask his consent and his orders, mentioning his resolution to return post to the army the next day. And on the 14th he wrote again to Mr. BACON from Abbeville^c, to inform him, that Sir CHARLES DAVERS's intended journey to Italy was likely to be stopp'd upon hope of his return to England; and that the king having departed from the siege of La Fere on the Monday preceding, being the 1st of April, arrived on the 17th at Abbeville with about 2000 horse and 3000 foot. He was well attended with nobility, and amongst them the duke DE MAYENNE, and all, who came in with that duke, as likewise the Marshals DE BOUILLON and BRISSAC, prince JOINVILLE, the grand ecuyer, the duke DE MONTBAZAN and BOISDAUPHIN. On the 18th he was to go to Monstreuil, and the next day to look upon the enemy, who, as he had advice, furiously assaulted Calais. His only hope was in the queen of England. The constable of France continued the siege of La Fere, and was ten or twelve thousand strong, having Monsieur DE LAVARDIN with him. He had advertis'd the king, that NICOLO DE BASTÆ and BARLOTTE, who lay at Rohan near the Chastelet with 500 horse and 2000 foot, were determined to relieve La Fere. The duke DE MONTPENSIER was expected to bring the king 500 horse, and what foot could be levied in Normandy; and it was reported, that the duke DE NEMOURS was advanced on this side of Paris with 500 horse and 2000 foot for his majesty. The count DE ST. PAUL left Amiens on the Friday before, in order to go and throw himself into Calais, but could not, as the king was inform'd, enter it, the Spaniards having invested it so closely. Mr. YATES had been the morning of the day before the date of his letter with ANTONIO PEREZ, to know, if he would command him any service; ANTONIO's baggage being then ready to come with the king; but he chang'd his mind afterwards, and stay'd at Amiens with the king's mistress.

Mr. YATES wrote a third letter from Boulogne to Mr. BACON on the 21st of April^d, that since his last from Abbeville no more forces had arrived to the king, except under the count CHALAIGNE, brother to queen BLANCHE, widow of HENRY III. The duke DE MONTPENSIER was hourly expected with 500 horse and 200 foot. On monday the 21st of April betwixt midnight and one of the clock, the duke of BOUILLON put into the castle of Calais 200 Gascons of the best soldiery of the garrison of Boulogne, under the command of Messieurs MATTELET and CAMPAIGNOLLES, both men of good experience and resolution; but there enter'd only two

* Stowe's annals, & Camden, p. 666.

^b Vol. x. fol. 238.

^c Vol. x. fol. 141. col. 237.

^d Vol. x. fol. 239.

gentlemen as volunteers, BALANGES and CLEREMONT. All the morning of the 11th the enemy batter'd most furiously, and continued to do it. Marshal DE BRISSAC was left at Abbeville, and was expected at Boulogne that day with all the king's troops of horse, which were generally supposed to be 2000. The French murmur'd much, that the queen of England should demand Calais, declaring, that it would more prejudice England than annoy France. ANTONIO PEREZ was said to be come to Abbeville with the king's mistress, and that he would be that day at Boulogne, where the earl of Essex's lodging was already mark'd.

Mr. BACON, in a letter to his brother FRANCIS of the 15th of April 1596^e, presuming, that he had the French occurrences hourly at the spring-head, gave him only an extract of a letter of Dr. HAWKYNs to himself from Venice of the 31st of March, that upon the Monday before he wrote, there pass'd extraordinary demonstration of love and affection between the pope's legate and Monsieur MAISSE the French ambassador, upon occasion of their meeting after mass to make their compliments to the doge at his chamber; an accident not seen before in the time of HENRY IV. That the pope had likewise requir'd lately of that king annates of all his ecclesiastical livings in France, which was immediately condescended to by the king, but denied by the parliament of Paris; as also all the conditions of accord between the king and the duke of Savoy; which duke had written lately to his ambassador at Venice, to make instance to the senate for the imprisoning of his natural brother Don PHILIP, who came thither disguis'd. But the ambassador unwilling to enter into so odious, and, as he wisely foresaw, fruitless a business, persuaded Don PHILIP to return home to the duke his brother with him, who in his good offices procur'd a reconciliation. That cardinal ALDOBRANDINO was shortly to go into Spain thro' France: and that it was written from Spain to Venice, that a new arrest of all shipping was proclaim'd throughout that kingdom and Portugal: That the Signory of Venice had done justice upon the bishop of Cursalla, one of the islands of Dalmatia and Sclavonia subject to their jurisdiction, who upon suspicion of delivering a fort to the Turks was lately found strangled in prison, put into a barrel punched with nails, and so thrown into the sea, this execution being there held very secret.

Sir JOHN FORTESCU, chancellor of the exchequer, having been recommended by Mr. BACON to the earl of Essex for the communication of the intelligence, which that gentleman should receive during the earl's absence in his expedition, he wrote an answer on the 16th of April 1596^e, to a letter of Mr. BACON upon that subject, thanking him for so kindly taking so small courtesy, as "you have, *says he*, received
" from me in acceptance of your offer, assuring you I would be glad to do you
" better offices, and deserve your good opinion, if it may lie in my power. Touch-
" ing that you write of the Scottish cause, I have always carried a suspicious mind
" of the whole nation: *Nam quid non cogit egestas?* The ministers have all been dou-
" ble dealers, and therefore more than by her majesty's express commandment I
" have been enforced, I have never communicated with any of them, and whatso-
" ever I advertised, I ever procured under the informer's own hand; for his double
" dealing I always suspected, and so plainly have protested unto her majesty, and

“ have charged ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS to have been author of the complots
 “ he would seem to remedy. But the man known needeth no description, and to
 “ you is thoroughly decyphered. The dealing with that prince standing to her
 “ majesty in so dainty terms, and the suspicious conceit her highness hath of his titu-
 “ lary hopes, maketh, yea rather forbiddeth and forewarneth me to have no com-
 “ merce where my loyalty may receive blemish. And therefore I made bold to de-
 “ liver mine opinion to your brother, advising you to make known to her majesty,
 “ that you would not entertain any thing, that should not have her highness’s good
 “ allowance. What I may in this or any other thing, my good will and travel shall be
 “ to you all good. And so thanking you for your Venice advertisements, I herewith
 “ advertise you of our unpleasant news of the surrendering of the citadel of Calais,
 “ which was yesterday before noon deliver’d into the enemy’s hands, and the king
 “ departed from Boulogne towards La Fere.”

The town of Calais had been taken on the 7th of April, as the citadel was by assault on the 10th, in which the governor Monsieur DE BIDOSSAN was kill’d, with many other principal officers, and a great number of soldiers; and the town itself plunder’d, and being annexed to Flanders was fortified, and the government of it given to JOHN DE REVAS, a Spaniard. The acquisition of so important a place, which had been thirty years in the possession of France since its recovery from the English, gave great credit to cardinal ALBERT at his entrance into the government of the Low Countries^a; and the siege of it occasioned HENRY IV. to hasten Monsieur DE SANCY to England, whither he was to be followed by the duke DE BOVILLON, as soon as the quartan ague, under which he labour’d, would give him leave. Monsieur DE SANCY arriving at London on Saturday the 10th of April, and finding a report there, that the castle of Calais was taken as well as the town, assured Sir EDWARD STAFFORD, that there was no foundation for this rumour, and that if succours were sent thither immediately, they would come time enough to raise the siege, whereas the loss of that place would be attended with consequences to both nations horrible to be thought of. He could not obtain an audience of the queen, who was then at Greenwich, till the next day; but during the intervening night her majesty dispatch’d Sir ROBERT SIDNEY^a to the French king, then at Boulogne, to offer him succours for Calais; on condition that it should be put into her hands by way of security.

HENRY IV. being extremely exasperated at this proposal, declar’d, with some severity of language, that he would rather suffer himself to be plunder’d by his enemies than his friends, as less disgraceful to him. But he afterwards soften’d the harshness of his expressions in a letter to the queen, who, on the other hand, excused her proposal by Sir ROBERT SIDNEY, as not made with a design to keep Calais in her own possession, but from an apprehension, that, as the king was engag’d in other parts, a town of such consequence might fall into the enemies hands, declaring, that she had given orders to the earl of Essex, general of the fleet intended against Spain, to prepare ships with all possible expedition for transporting her troops to the relief of that place. Monsieur DE SANCY then applied himself to the lord

^a MATTHEW, l. xviii. fol. 386. verso, & 387.
 c. 609. says by mistake Sir THOMAS.

^a THUANUS, who gives this whole account, l. cxvi.

treasurer BURGHLEY, from whom he received an answer full of ambiguity and chagrin, that the queen had been formerly united to the king in the cause of religion ; but that this bond being now broken, they were only connected by the obligation of antient treaties between both kingdoms, which princes generally measured by their own private advantage. Monsieur DE SANCY's answer was, that the interest of both kingdoms depended upon their union and the strict conformity of the measures, which they pursued, when they were both threatened by so formidable an enemy. The lord treasurer replied, that the Spaniards were to be highly commended, for deceiving the French, and concealing from their knowledge or suspicion an expedition of such moment as that against Calais. To which Monsieur DE SANCY rejoined, that he heartily pray'd, that England might never be reduced to such distress, that their counsels and successes might be judged of from the event ; and that many passages were open into France, which it was difficult to secure all at once, when the king's forces were employed in so many different places. At last orders were sent to the earl of Essex to pass over with the English auxiliaries to Boulogne, and there to wait the queen's orders ; but before this could be done the citadel of Calais was taken, which occasioned such a panic in the people of London from the neighbourhood of the Spaniards, that they were ready to rise, reproaching those, who were about the queen, with indolence or treachery in not sending early enough the necessary succours.

In the mean time the duke DE BOUILLON, accompanied by ANTONIO PEREZ, came over to England, with full power to conclude a treaty with the queen. At Dover, according to the account of THUANUS¹, he had a conference with the earl of Essex ; and foreseeing, that upon the sending the fleet under his lordship against Spain, the queen and her council would, in the negotiation of the treaty, excuse themselves from supplying HENRY IV. with the succours, which were at that time so necessary to him, the duke endeavoured to dissuade the earl from pursuing his designed expedition, by all possible reasons, that he could suggest. Among other arguments he urged his lordship to consider, at what crisis, and on what occasion he left his country : That his absence from court was pressed by the secret management and artifice of his rivals : That whatever should be the event of his expedition, it would prove fatal to him ; if successful, by exciting the envy of the great men, and by infusing into the queen suspicions of the power and weight, which he would acquire by the success ; if unfortunate, by exposing him to the odium of the people in general, and even of his friends, who would be sufferers with himself in his loss : That during his absence many incidents might happen, to prevent his return home, or the consequences of them might be imputed to him, as if his ambition had led him to transport the strength and forces of his country to a vast distance from it. THUANUS adds, that the duke by these considerations almost intirely fixed the earl's mind, which was before in suspense, and that he only seem'd desirous of being reimbursed for the hundred thousand pounds advanced by himself and his friends for the expedition. However the contrary party gaining the ascendant, he was, upon being paid 4000 l. out of the queen's treasury, ordered to set sail. Monsieur MAR-SOLLIER² has enlarged and embellished his account of this conference much beyond

¹ L. cxvi. ch. i. vol. v. fol. 609.
tom. II. l. iv. p. 104, 110.

² Hist. de HENRY de la Tour d' Auvergne, duc de Bouillon,

what he found relating to it in THUANUS, the only authority produced by him for it; imitating in this instance the example of the antient historians in their fictitious speeches, or the less excusable one of the modern VARILLAS. But even the simpler narrative of THUANUS himself contains some circumstances irreconcilable with truth. For it is evident from the original papers to be cited below, that the earl continued all along zealous for pursuing his expedition to Cadiz, unmov'd by any reasoning or persuasion of the duke DE BOUILLON; and he could scarce obtain leave at last from the court to proceed upon it. Nor does there occur any proof of their having met and conferred at Dover; but, on the contrary, a letter of Sir ANTHONY STANDEN takes notice, that his lordship, upon intelligence of the duke's coming over, went out to sea to avoid him. However they had a conversation upon the subject, either at court or in London; for it appears from a letter¹ to be cited hereafter, that the duke in person deliver'd to the earl his dislike of the expedition.

In the letter of Sir ANTHONY STANDEN, written from the court at Greenwich on the 17th of April 1596, he informs Mr. BACON², that he had heard, that the earl of Essex had been at sea towards Portsmouth in company with the lord admiral and lord MONTJOY in the *Rainbow*, a ship of the queen's; probably to speak with Sir ANTHONY SHERLEY, whose father the day before the date of this letter complain'd to Sir ANTHONY STANDEN with great reason, as the latter own'd, of the obstructions given to his son's departure, tho' he thought himself much obliged to Mr. BACON for his endeavour to procure his leave to proceed on his voyage. "The earl's people for France, *adds he*, are "released and turned back to their houses, and some doubt in the other "voyage. Howbeit my lord's necessity to it being great, great is also his confidence, that "it cannot be stayed. The duke of Bouillon will this night be at Gravesend, and to "morrow at Greenwich, where his lodging is prepared by the queen with hangings "and furniture, which once before dinner being after a resolution revoked, and "the gentlemen ushers countermanded, was this afternoon again in my hearing "established to be in a house in the town. My lord [of Essex] it should seem, hearing "of his coming, did take the sea of purpose to avoid him, the princes of Portugal, "and ANTONIO PEREZ, who here are reported to be all come over with him, an "unpleasant and uneasy news to this court, as by their entertainment is judged "will fall out, especially the last three, whereof it is good you receive advice, that "accordingly you may frame your countenance.

Mr. BACON writing the same day, April 17th, to Dr. HAWKINS³, and acquainting him with the loss of Calais, remark'd, that the Spaniards could not have met with a greater advantage for their honour and profit, as no doubt they would improve it; and that the duke of Bouillon, after the French king's retiring from Boulogne upon the intire loss of Calais, was come over to England, though not yet arrived at the court; ANTONIO PEREZ being returned with him. He added, "our earl notwithstanding pretendeth and persisteth to go forward in his "great sea voyage; but what the sovereign power intendeth hereupon, effects will "shew very shortly."

¹ Mr. REYNOLDS to the earl, May 18. 1596. See vol. ii. of these memoirs, book vii. p. 4.

² Vol. x. fol. 170

³ Vol. x. fol. 189

This *great sea-voyage* was the design'd expedition against Cadiz, under the conduct of the earl of Essex and lord admiral HOWARD, as generals by joint commission, to whom were added, as counsellors, lord THOMAS HOWARD, and Sir WALTER RALEGH, for the sea-service, and Sir FRANCIS VERE and Sir CONYERS CLIFFORD for the land service, together with Sir GEORGE CAREW, lieutenant of the ordnance*. Sir FRANCIS VERE, as he tells us himself in his *Commentaries*†, had been sent for some time before into England from Holland, where he commanded the English forces in the service of the States-general, and return'd thither speedily with letters from the queen to the States, to acquaint them of her majesty's purpose of sending a fleet on the coasts of Spain, and to hasten the preparation of shipping, which they were to provide to join the English Fleet, and to let them know her desire to have 2000 of her own subjects, as well those in their pay as her own, to be employed in the expedition, and to be conducted by Sir FRANCIS to the earl of Essex, and the lord admiral. The States consenting, Sir FRANCIS, according to his instructions, by the time appointed shipp'd and transported the troops to the rendezvous assign'd him before Boulogne, Calais being then besieged, on which occasion it had been resolv'd to employ them for the relief of it. But Sir FRANCIS, upon coming into the road, seeing no English ships there, and understanding, that Calais was lost the day before, cross'd the sea to Dover, where he found the whole fleet and generals, who received him with joy and favour, being then chosen to supply the place of lieutenant-general of the army by the title of lord marshal. The fleet set sail shortly after, and the earl of Essex leaving his own ship, embark'd in the Rainbow, with Sir FRANCIS and some few servants, on purpose, as the latter supposed, to confer with him at full and at ease; and after two hours sailing his lordship landed at Rye, with divers noblemen attending him, and proceeded to court with Sir FRANCIS, whom he dispatch'd thence to Plymouth, whither the land forces were to march, to see them lodg'd, provided with necessaries, and trained.

Mr. BACON, in a letter to his mother of the 20th of April, 1596†, mentioned the loss of Calais as an event, by which the enemy was undoubtedly puff'd up to a most insolent pride and presumptuous hopes to annoy and infest continually this state. He acquainted her likewise of the arrival of the duke of Bouillon, with very large power and authority to treat and conclude for the French king's part a strait league offensive and defensive between the queen, that king, the kings of Scotland and Denmark, and the States-general. The duke had since his coming into England fallen sick of an ague, so that as yet he had received no audience of her majesty; "and this day, adds Mr. BACON, hath vouchsafed, my lord of Essex " being absent, to send for my coach to transport him from Billingsgate to a fair " house in Fenchurch street, where my lord treasurer is to visit him this day. My " brother hath within this sevensnight spoken twice with her majesty a full hour " each time, whom she us'd at both times with grace and trust, and sent me " comfortable speeches, that she did remembrance me, trust me, and would give

* Queen's Instructions to the general, Cotton Library, OTHO E. IX. See also RYMER's *Fœdera*, and LEONARD's *Naval History*.

† Published by WILLIAM DILLINGHAM, D.D. in 1657. in fol. p. 24, & seqq.
‡ Vol. x. fol. 180.

“ me, sooner than perhaps I looked for, good proof thereof. Thus your ladyship
 “ sees, that tho’ loyalty, patience, and diligence may for a time be shadowed and
 “ disgraced by malice and envy, yet it pleaseth God, the fountain of all goodnes,
 “ by his extraordinary power, to make them sometimes shine to the prince’s eyes,
 “ thro’ the darkest mists of cunning and misreports.”

Two days before this, Mr. BACON wrote to the duke of Bouillon*, to excuse his not waiting upon him on account of a severe fit of his old disorder the gout, and to renew his protestations of regard for the duke, whom he desired to give him an opportunity of testifying the sincerity of it, and his readiness to obey his commands.

A Spaniard, nam’d Cyprian, who was esteemed a man of integrity and learning, and whose son had been in the service of secretary WALSINGHAM, having translated ANTONIO PEREZ’s *Relationes* into Latin, came over to England from Newburgh, to see whether any of ANTONIO’s friends would undertake the printing of that translation, for which CYPRIAN would be satisfied with a very moderate reward in money or a certain number of copies. Monsieur LE DOUX wrote therefore, on the 20th of April, a letter upon this occasion to Mr. BACON†, knowing his affection to ANTONIO, and his esteem for every thing that came from him, especially as the charge of the impression of the book would not be considerable.

Dr. HAWKYNs, in his letter to Mr. BACON from Venice of the 19th of April, 1596†, inform’d him, that signor JACOMO MARENCO, the Genoese friend of ANTONIO PEREZ, and himself had thought proper to be both in the house together for their better negotiation, for which reason the doctor had left that of signor BASADONNA’s, where he had before resided. He said, that MARENCO had been hitherto busy in visiting his friends and seeing the city; but that he hop’d he should now so plot with their matters, as that they would be accepted, MARENCO seeming to him, now after better tryal, to be a man sufficient and able to do good service, as he promised. “ I have obtained at length, *says he*, that he will
 “ write the important matters in cypher; the other after the ordinary. He
 “ hopeth to hear something from Spain, but at this present he hath nothing. He
 “ consul in Genoa for the French by the king, and, as he saith, will shortly
 “ take his journey into France. He speaketh of a chain of gold promised him
 “ both by signor ANTONIO PEREZ and signor BASADONNA their letters to
 “ him; and that it should be brought by me; whereof I know nothing. I mar-
 “ vel I can hear no word of my most honourable lord his letters written to me, and
 “ to others in my behalf; neither have I yet received my bill of exchange for the
 “ 300 crowns specified in your last letters. I would gladly hear news of them,
 “ for the former 200 crowns are almost all spent. Venice was never so dear as
 “ now. I protest before God, I pay ten crowns a month for my chamber, be-
 “ sides my diet. I fear there is evil dealing in the suppressing our letters.” He then mentions his having been that day before the *capi dell’ consiglio di Dieci*, who asked him many things touching her majesty’s mind and good affection towards their state. He concludes with desiring, that after his harvest of Italian know-

* Vol. x. fol. 179.

† Vol. x.

† Vol. xi. fol. 54.

ledge, and good correspondency plotted from the chiefest places, the earl of Essex would recal him, and procure him employment in some of those treaties of leagues between princes, which having a relation to the civil law, the ability of his service would thereby be much increased.

Mr. BODLEY was before this time returned from Holland to England, to whom Mr. BACON wrote on the 23d of April, 1596*, to recommend to him a request of Sir ANTHONY STANDEN, who would have delivered it in person that afternoon, if the earl of Essex had not commanded his attendance at court. "His request," *says Mr. BACON*, is this, that for as much as the expedition of my lord's departure, whom he is to attend in the voyage, gives him no leisure or means to attend the recovery of 200 pounds, which, as he saith, your brother Mr. HICKMAN knows, that he is to receive two months hence, you would vouchsafe to employ and procure some friend of yours to furnish and advance him the said sum upon good assurance; wherein if it shall please you to gratify the gentleman, the rather at my mediation, I shall account it as a special favour done to myself."

Mr. YATES, who was in the camp before La Fere, wrote from thence to Mr. BACON, on the 4th of May, N. S.* that he had sent him from Abbeville a letter, which is not to be found among that gentleman's papers, dated the 27th of April, N. S. giving him an account of the manner of the loss of Calais; as also of the general railing of the French against our queen and country, as if her majesty and her subjects had been the cause of the said loss; and from that day to the writing of his letter of the 4th of May, N. S. as often as any mention was made of it, they us'd none but words of the utmost contempt of the English, mightily condemning the earl of Essex for assuring their king, as they said, that he would be at Boulogne the Monday before the loss of Calais: And not only the catholics, but likewise divers of the religion were of opinion, and daily spoke of it, that they had rather, that the Spaniard should hold that town than the queen; the baron DE SOLLOGNAC and MONLUC, amongst others, declaring this. The common people mutter'd, that the king would do well to make his peace with the Spaniards, saying, *que la royne d'Angleterre ne fait que se mocquer de roy.*

BIDOSAN, the late governor of Calais, was dead: MATELET* very much wounded, but likely to escape; CAMPAGNOLLES not hurt at all, as a soldier lately come from Calais reported to the king. Of CLEREMONT and BOULONGES, volunteers, who had put themselves into the castle, his majesty had heard nothing, for which reason they were thought to be dead. The Spaniards made a fair war, for after the fury of their first attack they were said not to have slain a man. They remained still about Calais with their army, and had sent their cavalry to view Boulogne and Ardres. The king had been advertised, that they had pass'd twenty-seven cannon on this side *le pont de Maillet*, and doubted, that they would besiege Boulogne or Montstreuil, which the French held for lost before it was attacked, so much did they dread the enemy since the taking of Calais. The king had left

* Val. x. fol. 178.

* Vol. xi.

* He was governor of Foix, and a man of great courage.
Monsieur

Monsieur BELIN in Ardres, with a strong garrison besides the troops, which Monsieur BODENBOURG had in the town. Monsieur DE VIC remained at Boulogne with half the regiment of the guard, which were near a thousand. At Montreuil remain'd the count St. PAUL and Monsieur DE MONTESPAN, with the rest of the regiment of guards. The king had appointed marshal DE BRISSAC to stay at Abbeville with a thousand of the foot, that came out of Normandy, in respect that he was not much assured of the people.

The constable of France sent to the king at Abbeville a letter, which the captain of the Spaniards in La Fere had written to cardinal ALBERT in cypher, desiring to know whether he might have succour, or make his composition, and save a great number of gallant soldiers, who might do the king his master good service. He assur'd the cardinal, that their provisions grew short, and that 315 sacks of meal, with which the last convoy had succoured them, were near spent. That the constable's forces were but 5000 French, 1500 Swiss, 1200 Lansquenets, and 800 Hollanders, and those so raw and undisciplined, that they were oblig'd to learn their lesson every morning of one FOUQUEVILLES[†]: That 4000 of them would but furnish the king's fort, and the rest might easily be defeated.

While Mr. YATES was writing his letter the king was alarm'd, that the enemy had besieged Ardres, and presently a report came, that they were march'd with all expedition towards La Fere; and a third news came, and all in an hour, that they intended to besiege Mezieres by Sedan; so that the king and his council were so perplexed, that they lost themselves, and knew not what to conclude.

The day before the king's arrival at La Fere, the enemy sent a drum, and requested the constable to send and visit their *greniers*, and see their provisions; to which the constable made answer, that he knew the state of it, returning them a copy of their captain's letter to the cardinal. Two Spaniards had been taken on May-day, N. S. who had come out of the town, and affirm'd, that it had victuals for a month. The towns about La Fere said, that there was treason in some of the king's commanders, who secretly provided the Spaniards, and supplied their wants.

Monsieur Fervaques^{*} had brought to the king two hundred horse, well armed. And there was a report of duke D'ESPERNON's coming to his majesty with 6000 foot and 7000 horse. Monsieur DE LA TREMOUILLE was likewise said to return with great forces, both horse and foot out of Poictou. The king's mistress was gone to Paris, but the king was resolv'd not to stir till La Fere should be surrendered. Mr. YATES open'd this letter on the 7th of May, N. S. at the camp, to add a postscript, that Monluc had parley'd with the chief of the Spaniards in La Fere, who were full of bravados in their composition, and would yield up the town, upon the terms of the king's giving them Fontenay, and granting, that La Fere should stand neuter.

La Fere held out till the 12th of May, when it surrendered upon honourable

[†] A protestant officer.

^{*} GUILLAUME DE HAUTEMER, sieur DE FERVAQUES.

conditions,

conditions after a siege of seven months; while, on the other hand, the cardinal of Austria made himself the next day master of Andres^a.

The news of the loss of Calais was soon followed with that of the ill success and death of Sir JOHN HAWKINS and Sir FRANCIS DRAKE, who had been sent out by the queen in September 1595, against the Spanish West-Indies, with twenty-six ships, and a body of land forces, under the command of Sir THOMAS BASKERVILLE. Sir JOHN HAWKINS died at Porto Rico of grief upon the contests arising between him and Sir FRANCIS, who surviv'd him no longer than the 28th of January, 1595, his concern for the various miscarriages of the expedition contributing with a dysentery to shorten his life^b.

The account of these misfortunes was brought to the merchants of London, and current among them upon the Exchange there on the 24th of April 1596, on which day one of the most considerable of them, Mr. ARTHUR JACKSON, communicated it to Mr. BACON, in a letter^c, observing in it, that this account of the ill success of the expedition "made many men to speak diversely, but not to purpose; but the wisest know, that great captains may err, and that for success they are bound to God, and not God to them, and in all their enterprises good foresight, and means well considered of before, is the best event to be looked for." He then remarks, that the earl of Essex had many persons, who honoured and loved him, and prayed for him, and who were solicitous for the issue of his intended expedition, considering, that he had "put almost all his powder in one ship, which is, *says he*, a pauntry hulk, more meant for an hospital for his sick men, than for all his powder and warlike provision in her alone; which one puff of wind or one disgrace may destroy all the voyage, and therefore if my good lord had divided the powder into two or three good ships, it might fall out much better."

Sir ANTHONY STANDEN likewise inform'd Mr. BACON^d of the evil news, as he stiled it, of HAWKINS's and DRAKE's deaths, and that their fleet was come home distressed.

The next day, April 25, Mr. BACON acquainted Dr. HAWKINS^e, that the earl of Essex, notwithstanding the loss of Calais, and the presence of the duke of Bouillon, an earnest intercessor for sufficient succour to the French king, was yet firm to the design of his sea-voyage; and on the Monday following was to depart for Plymouth, and from thence to sea, being wonderfully confident of good success, and that he should be able to give the king of Spain so deadly a wound, that he would never recover it. He mentioned likewise, that tho' ANTONIO PEREZ was return'd to England, he was not likely to stay long there, as he had purposed, by reason, that he found the queen extremely incensed against him by the two fathers and the two sons, the lord treasurer and the lord COBHAM, Sir ROBERT CECIL and HENRY BROOKE, who had so slandered and ill treated him, that he was determin'd either

^a THUANUS, l. cxvi. c. 9. p. 606, 607, and

METEREN, l. xviii. fol. 385, 387.

^b CAMBENI ELIZ. p. 646, 648.

^c Vol. x. col. 202.

^d Vol. x. fol. 188.

^e Vol. x. fol. 169.

to return to France with the duke of Bouillon, and to go with the earl of Essex to sea, or to retire into the Low Countries. Mr. BACON added, that he was directed by that earl to deliver in his absence to Sir JOHN FORTESCUE such advertisements and intelligences, as the earl left and committed to his, Mr. BACON's, trust; which Sir JOHN had very kindly accepted, assuring that gentleman of his faithful affection and favourable furtherance in all times and occasions.

In his letter, written the same day to Sir ANTHONY SHIRLEY^f, he takes notice, that the earl had assign'd that day to take his leave of him; but as yet, "*says he*, "I greatly doubt and fear the great voyage will syncopise and fall into a swoon. "Whether it will be deadly or no, God knows."

The earl having visited Mr. BACON, the latter wrote to him on the 28th of April^g, that, according to his leave and commandment to commit to writing what his lordship had no leisure to hear the day before, he now advertised him, that referring whatever concern'd himself 'till the next opportunity, he thought it proper to inform him as soon as he could; that ANTONIO PEREZ being on one side confused and amazed with his lordship's sudden departure, and on the other transported and distracted with apprehensions, came and told Mr. BACON, that he would write to the duke of Bouillon, that he knew how the French king had commanded him to come over; that he, the duke, could not be ignorant of the ill offices, which Monsieur DE SANCY had done him with the queen; that he was now every way an unprofitable member, not pleasing to the queen, ill at ease, and likely every day to pine away more and more: Upon all which considerations he would conclude his letter with a request, that the duke would either dispatch him presently back to the king, or let him go to the Bath, and there refresh and heat himself. "The first part of this disjunctive of his I would as heartily the duke would perform, as I fear he will be over-ready to yield unto the last; "whereof your lordship shall be advertised so soon as it comes to my knowledge."

ANTONIO, whose friends in England, as appears from this letter, were now grown weary of him, received an answer from the duke of Bouillon^h to that, which he had written to him, that he was extremely sorry for the ill state of his health, and that his continual labours would not allow him leisure to attend to the recovery of it: That as he had come over to England by the king's command, and for the particular service of his majesty, he, the duke, was still of opinion, that he ought to return to France with him; Monsieur DE SANCY using his endeavours to assist him, as the duke had told ANTONIO a few days before. That the king would be pleased with his return, as he would have the satisfaction of leaving his majesty persuaded, that he had been contented with the reception, which he had before received in France; and that his company would be consider'd by the duke as an honour to himself.

ANTONIO PEREZ having communicated this letter to Mr. BACON, the latter inclosed a copy of it to the earl of Essex in one to his lordship of the first of May

^f Vol. x. fol. 227.

^g Ibid. fol. 183.

^h Ibid. fol. 219.

1596¹, the rather as the duke's answer did not prevail with Anzeure sufficiently to persuade him to return to France in his company, without the earl's confirmation. Mr. BACON sent likewise the copies of two letters, which he had received the night before from Mr. ROLSTON, whose purpose continuing to return to England with the first opportunity, upon the hope of the earl's protection, Mr. BACON desired to be directed to whom, in his lordship's absence, he might address himself, in case Mr. ROLSTON should land at Plymouth, as perhaps he would do in company of the brother of Mr. ARTHUR JACKSON the merchant. Mr. BACON added, that he had, according to his lordship's leave and liking, dispatch'd to Sir JOHN FORTESCU the copies of Mr. ROLSTON's letters, referring to Sir JOHN the communication of them to her majesty.

The earl of Essex arrived at Plymouth on the 28th of April, 1596, from whence he wrote the same day to his secretary Mr. REYNOLDES², to excuse him to all his friends, "for I must, *says he*, rest both my brains and my bones before I can write to them. Go to every one of my lords, and make this excuse for me, and solicit the hastening away of the fleet, and above all things the speedy sending of the apparel, which RIGBY took charge of; for which, if my lord admiral be gone, Sir WALTER RALEGH will take order."

His lordship wrote again to his secretary from Plymouth on the 2d of May³, directing him to deliver the two inclosed letters to the duke of Bouillon and ANTONIO PEREZ, and to inform the duke, that presently after the letter to him was written, the lord admiral came thither, and that they hop'd, that the rear-guard of the fleet would be there very shortly; which being come, they would go nearer the sun. "I have a charge, *says he*, that would give a wiser man than myself his hands full, and therefore I hope, till I have settled things in a little better order, that he will pardon me for writing much. Commend me to Mr. ANTHONY BACON, and my lord HARRY [HOWARD] and tell them, I know, that they that are most sorry for my going, would not wish me diverted from this army, if they saw the beauty of it."

Mr. BACON wrote to the earl on the 3d of May⁴, that it would be a presumptuous folly in him at any time, but especially then, to trouble him with reiterations of any thing, which ANTONIO PEREZ is *business*, or Mr. NAUNTON by his direction, had written to his lordship: "And therefore, *says he*, one particularity only I think myself bound to advertise your lordship, that Mr. VALENTINE KNIGHTLEY, brother-in-law to Sir HARRY UNTON, brought me very honestly a memorial note of Sir HARRY's own hand, containing a remembrance to give your lordship a caveat against Mr. EDMONDES, whom signor PEREZ suspecteth, and perhaps my lord not unjustly, to have seconded Monsieur SANCY, if not fully matched him, in incensing the queen's majesty and others in court against him." He then informs his lordship, that after Sir JOHN FORTESCU had re-

¹ Vol. xi. fol. 23.

² Collection of Original Letters to ROBERT earl of Essex, presented to the earl of Northumberland by JOHN CASTER, clerk of his majesty's privy seal,

in the possession of the right honourable CHARLES earl of Egremont.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Vol. xi. fol. 23.

ceived the copies of Mr. ROSTON's two last letters, he signified to Mr. BACON, that he would that day visit him, being very desirous to confer with him at large, of which conference he would send his lordship a due and true account. As for the report of what had passed at court since the earl's departure, he doubted not but Mr. REYNOLDS had with all diligence and fidelity perform'd that duty.

The same day the earl's sister, lady RICH, in a letter to Mr. BACON * profess'd, that there were many respects, which led her to an extraordinary estimation of his virtues; besides which, *says she*, your courtesies towards myself increase the desire I have to requite your friendship, and to do you all honour, praying you to believe my words, since your merits challenge more than I can acknowledge, altho' I do with much affection esteem your worth. And while I am in this solitary place, where no sound of any news can come, I must intreat you, to let me hear something of the world from you, especially of my brother; and what you know of the French affairs; or whether there go any troops, from hence to their aid." And in the postscript, she adds, "I would fain hear, what becomes of your wandering neighbour," meaning ANTONIO PEREZ.

Dr. HAWKYNs, in his letter to Mr. BACON, from Venice, of the same date, acknowledged the receipt of the earl of Essex's letter of the 27th of February, to himself, in which his lordship complain'd of the trivial nature of his intelligence. This letter of the earl he styles "a manifest testimony of his lordship's most noble affection, and a clear glass to see mine own imperfections; my answer to the which I crave for this time may be my vowed endeavour of amendment, yourself being the saint of mine intercession; altho' it may seem to serve for mine excuse in not particularising every thing to the full my small means hitherto of understanding any thing of this state, being so little beholding to the house of 236 [probably BASADONNA] as with all my importunate requests I could never obtain of them the acquaintance of any man of worth since my coming hither. That little, which I have gotten, I protest before God, hath been by mine own travel obtained *prece & pretio*." He then mentions the return of JACOMO MARENCO to Genoa six days before, to whom he had declared the earl's good opinion of him, and honourable intentions towards him, endeavouring by compliments to satisfy his discontent for not having received the money, which he expected, and had been promised; and having presented him at his departure with the best jewel, that the doctor had last brought out of England. After mentioning the news from several parts, he adds, that several of the English there had been seiz'd with burning fevers, petechi, and such like, of which the earl of Rutland had been sick a good while at Padua; but was then well recovered.

Mr. BACON, in a letter of the 4th or May, from Essex-house, where he constantly resided, inform'd the earl, that after the writing of his last to his lordship the day before, Monsieur DE LA BOURNAIS came to him, and after a long voluntary discourse, containing confirmation of the duke of Bouillon's singular affection and firm amity towards the earl, and a recital of certain demonstrations of it on

the duke's part, confess'd freely, that the latter found a great and sudden change in his lordship's carriage, which was so much the more grievous to him, as it was far from his expectation, and, as he protested, merit. Mr. BACON's answer was, that as he knew the duke to be very wise and honourable, so he did not doubt but that he would shew it in the continuance of his kind love and fast affection towards the earl, without giving way to any misconceit of his own, or sinister impressions by others. "This, *says Mr. BACON*, is all, my lord, in general " terms I could presently answer, beseeching your lordship by one word to give " me my tune and my plain song to descant hereof, namely when I shall speak with " the duke himself." He inclos'd in this letter one, which he had received that day from Dr. HAWKYNs, who express'd in that to Mr. BACON his great regret for not having received that of the earl to him, and another for him of Mr. WORTON's writing and conveying by CORSINO. "Surely, my lord, *adds Mr. BACON*, the intire devotion I perceive in Dr. HAWKYNs towards your lordship, " and the good hopes and likelihoods I conceive of his enablement and endeavours, " according to your lordship's direction, embolden me to remonstrate unto " your lordship, that in my simple opinion the timely advancement of 200 crowns " for his last half year should not be ill employed; considering, that whatso- " ever is delivered here, cannot come to his hands within three months without " loss."

He wrote again the next day to the earl^a, to inform him, that after he had written and sent his letter of the day before by his nephew Sir WILLIAM WOODHOUSE, Mr. WROTH came to him, and advertis'd him, that one captain WYNNE, formerly lieutenant to Sir WILLIAM STANLEY, and entertain'd by the earl abroad, was returned, and desired with all speed to repair to his lordship. Whereupon Mr. BACON address'd him to Mr. REYNOLDES to get a license of Sir ROBERT CECIL for post-horses, or else to send him in some other company. Captain WYNNE being at a stand, and applying himself to Mr. FERRES, was by him secretly deliver'd over to one Mr. TURVILL, who was lately return'd likewise, to be presented by him immediately upon his arrival to the lord treasurer; who refused it, having understood, that the captain depended upon the earl. Mr. BACON accompanied this letter with ANTONIO PEREZ's first packet, which had been forgotten to be sent by his nephew WOODHOUSE, and another letter of ANTONIO, written since the receipt of the earl's the day before; "which, *says Mr. BACON*, to be plain " with your lordship, containing only a narrative of what your lordship did, and " not any advice or direction what you should do, which he most earnestly ex- " pected, did marvellously disquiet him, and make him the most desperate by " apprehension of being abandoned to the malice and envy of both the courts, as " well French as English. He daily asks of me, whether I have not heard of " your lordship concerning him, and begins to suspect myself either of dissimu- " lation, negligence, or coldness; and therefore I beseech your lordship to send " him your resolution, till when I know he cannot himself, nor will will not let " me rest."

The same day he answer'd the lady Rich's letter to himself, assuring her, that his humble and dutiful thanks were the least, and yet the most, that he could render her for the good opinion and kind conceit of him, which he desired her to believe he should always be no less ready than glad to acknowledge by all obedience and acceptable service possible to him. For the first fruits of which he informs her, that he expected hourly to hear from the earl her brother, and would not fail to acquaint her with any good news, that he should ever hear from his lordship, or of him by others. That with respect to French affairs, her majesty was at last entered into treaty, and was brought almost to condescend to the sending three thousand men into France to be defrayed by her for five months; and that there should be certain French noblemen sent to remain in England as hostages for her majesty's reimbursement: and that he had heard, there was not yet any further proceeding in the treaty. "Your ladyship, *says he*, may well call my neighbour [ANTONIO PEREZ] wandering, if you know, as I do against my will, what strange by-paths his thoughts walk in; which fester every day more and more in his mind by my lord's silence, and the continual alarms, that sound in his ears of the queen's displeasure. The duke of Bouillon presseth him to be in readiness with him; but he refuses to go without my lord's privity and consent."

Mr. REYNOLDES on the 6th of May 1596, in a long letter to the earl of Essex, inclosing an answer from the duke of Bouillon to his lordship's letter, informed him, that ANTONIO PEREZ had delivered his to Mr. BACON, and that Captain WYNNE, whose letter, which Mr. REYNOLDES received of Sir EDWARD DYER, went before him, was the messenger of the present packet, for whom Mr. REYNOLDES had procured a pass under another man's name for such reasons, as the captain would impart to his lordship. Mr. REYNOLDES mentions his having met at the duke of BOUILLON's Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE, who told him, that they were provok'd at the earl every day, who had drawn them into the briars, and departed, when he should have help'd them out; and now they were at the devotion of the father [the lord treasurer] and the son, and could effect nothing to any purpose. The queen, he said, promised much, and made many fair shews; but in the conference with the lords it appear'd not, the conditions propounded being so beyond all reason. He grieved much at the earl's absence, as very unfortunate for the king's affairs; and he told Mr. REYNOLDES, that his majesty was still pressed and solicited from Spain; and that at that instant there was a legate, if not already arrived, yet daily expected from the pope, to urge a peace with the Spaniard; and deputies were already come from the emperor to move the states general to hearken to a peace. Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE offered to come to Mr. REYNOLDES's lodging to confer more at large upon these things; but the latter told him, that he had rather wait upon him at some convenient time, when he might repair without suspicion to Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE's lodgings, whom Mr. REYNOLDES intended to move to impart unto the earl his knowledge and judgment of the French affairs.

The morning of the date of this letter news came to the duke of Bouillon of the surrender of La Fere to the French king, upon the terms of the Spaniards depart-

ing with a white rod in his hand, and the French standing to the king's mercy. Mr. REYNOLDES had not yet the other articles of the capitulation: He was informed by Mr. BASSE, that the Spaniards having gain'd Ardres, were countermain'd by those of the town, and many blown up, by which means there were killed and wounded of the enemy 1600, and among them was the governor of Calais, a colonel of good account, Sir WILLIAM STANLEY, and divers others.

With regard to the French negotiations he referred to Mr. EDMONDES, who he knew, wrote of them at large to his lordship.

ANTONIO PEREZ received his lordship's letter as one very hungry to hear something from him; and on that account Mr. REYNOLDES was the better welcome to him. But Mr. BACON protested, that he had rather be with the earl to hear the cannon; and that they would not so much trouble him, or hinder his rest, as the complaints, importunities, exclamations, discontentments, and despair of ANTONIO; and tho' he was advised by his physicians to retire into the country to attend his health, and to take physic there without trouble; yet he was content to stay in town, and to neglect his health, to yield ANTONIO some contentment, and to keep him from utter desperation.

Mr. REYNOLDES heard, that the French king would march immediately with good force to the succour of Ardres, upon the surrender of La Hertz, and that those of Boulogne daily issued out, and beat the Spaniards into Calais.

From the court then at Greenwich he could advertise very little. The earl of Northumberland was there the day before, and departed early that morning, lying in the earl of Essex's chamber. The earl of Worcester⁶ was return'd from a funeral, which he had attended⁷, but had not yet executed his place of deputy master of the horse. The lord North⁸ had been at court for two days past: There was no more talk of making counsellors. The master of the rolls, Sir THOMAS EGERTON, was the day before at court, and was to be there again that day: The reason, says Mr. REYNOLDES, I know not; but all London and some in court think it is to be lord keeper. The best wish it and believe your lordship would not be sorry for it. I know he doth entirely love and honour your lordship by the answer he made to "your message for Mr GREVILL, and many other good offices." Mr. REYNOLDES concludes his letter with desiring pardon for his trivial advertisements, following herein, says he, *your own precept to the noble earl of Rutland*⁹, *not to deter any man from writing in this kind, because it doth at the least confirm that which you receive from others.*

To this letter Mr. REYNOLDES made a short supplement the same day, to inform the earl, that since his writing of the former part, the master of the rolls had changed

⁶ EDWARD earl of Worcester, who succeeded household to queen ELIZABETH in 1596, on the death of Sir FRANCIS KNOLLYS. the earl as master of the horse in 1600, and was afterwards lord privy seal.

⁷ Probably of the lord keeper PUCKERING.

⁸ ROGER lord North, appointed treasurer of the

⁹ In the earl of Essex's letter of advice to ROGER earl of Rutland in his travels.

his style, and was made lord keeper, "only says he, by her majesty's gracious favour, and by her own choice, without competitor or mediator. I think no man ever came to this dignity with more applause than this worthy gentleman. I think you shall have many, that advertise this good news; yet would I not omit to be one of them." He adds, that he had just been inform'd, that the duke of BOVILLON was assigned by warrant from her majesty the sum of 6000l. "upon what considerations or conditions, says he, I yet know not; but those, that drew the warrant, gave me this information. I think he doth not write so much to your lordship himself, and therefore I thought good to add it to my other advertisements."

The death of the late lord keeper Sir JOHN PURCHASINE, who had been raised to that great office in 1592, upon the death of the lord chancellor HATROW, after having discharg'd those of queen's serjeant and speaker in the house of commons, and whose servants disgraced him by the sale of the church preferments in his gift, had now given room for the advancement of Sir THOMAS EGERTON to the same post, who deserved it by his abilities and integrity much more than his predecessors. He was the natural son of Sir RICHARD EGERTON of Ridley, Cheshire, by Alice daughter of Mr. SPARKE of Bickerton in that county, in the year 1539; and was entered a commoner of Brazen college in Oxford about 1556, where he continued three years, and then removed to Lincoln's Inn, and soon becoming eminent in the profession of the law, was on the 28th of June 1581 appointed solicitor general, and June 2d, 1592, attorney general. He had likewise the honour of knighthood from her majesty, and on the 10th of April, 1594 was made master of the rolls, which office he held with that of lord keeper till the first year of King JAMES, when it was conferred upon EDWARD BRUER, lord Kinlofs.

He was advanced to the degree of a baron by the title of lord Effmere in Shropshire on the 21st of July, 1603; on the 24th of that month constituted lord high chancellor of England; elected on the 3d of November 1610 chancellor of the university of Oxford; and created viscount Brackley in Northamptonshire November 7, 1616. He held the great seal till within a few days of his death, resigning it on the 3d of March following into the king's own hands in a visit, which his majesty paid him in his last sickness, as he had done the chancellorship of Oxford January 24th, and died at York-house in the Strand on the 15th of March 1644, the same day, on which he had been visited by the earl of Buckingham and Sir FRANCIS BACON, the new lord keeper, to assure him of the king's intentions to confer upon him the rank of earl, and an annual pension. He published nothing during his life, except a speech in the exchequer-chamber, touching the *Post-nati*, printed at London 1609 in quarto, but after his death there appeared in his name, *Certain observations concerning the office of lord chancellor*, London 1651 in octavo. He left to his chaplain Mr. WILLIAMS, afterwards lord keeper and bishop of Lincoln, four manuscripts of choice collections concerning the *Prærogative Royal*, *Privileges of Parliament*, *Proceedings in Chancery*, and the *power of the Star-chamber*.

* CAMDEN'S ELIZABETH, p. 682.

* WOOD Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 417.

* COLLINS'S passage of England, Vol. i. p. 597. 2d edit.

* CAMDEN's annales regis JACOBI I. p. 24.

* Ibid p. 25.

* Bishop HACKETT'S life of archbishop WILLIAMS, p. 31. & Wood, col. 418.

The variety and hurry of affairs, in which the earl of Essex was engaged, would permit him to write only this short letter to Mr. BACON on the 8th of May from Portsmouth^f.

" S I R,

" Excuse me first to yourself and then to my other friends, for I am *accablé*
 " *d'affaires*. I will within few days make you all amends. In the mean time
 " I send you my best wishes, and rest your true friend,

" E S S E X.

" I pray you commend me to your brother FRANCIS, to whom I will write ere I
 " go hence.

" Plymouth this 8th of May [1596]."

The same day he wrote likewise the following letter to his secretary^g.

" REYNOLDES,

" I know I am condemned by all my friends, that I write either short letters,
 " or none at all to them. But I must protest for my excuse, that I am overwhelm-
 " ed with the task I have here, which rather than I will not perform, I will not only
 " lose the recreation of entertaining my friends, but my very meat and sleep. I
 " am busy in bringing all this chaos into order, in setting down every man's rank
 " and degree, that those under me may not fall together by the ears for precedency
 " and place, as in other armies hath been seen. I am setting down the parts and
 " bounds and limits of every man's office, that none may pretend ignorance, if he
 " do not his duty, nor none incroach upon his fellows. I am also in hand with
 " making of orders for the well governing of the whole army. And therefore I
 " have my hands full. But I will, when these great labours are overcome,
 " make them amends for my silence now. In the mean time do you plead these
 " excuses for me, and especially to worthy Sir EDWARD DYER, to whom I send
 " my best wishes, and so rest

" Plymouth
 " this 8th of May.

Your loving master,

" E S S E X."

Mr. ROLSTON, in a letter from Fontarabia of the 9th of May 1596^h informed Mr. BACON, that by the last letters from Madrid they heard, that the king of Spain had now again confirmed the Adalantado for general of the ocean side, and Conde DE FUENTES general of his army by land. Don ALONZO DE BASAN, brother to the late marquiss of Santa Cruz, was general of the gallies of Spain; Don PEDRO DE LIEVA general of the gallies of Naples, and Don PEDRO DE TOLEDO,

^f Vol. xi. fol. 67.
 and Vol. xi. fol. 92.

^g Original letters to ROBERT earl of Essex, collected by JOHN CASTLE;
^h Vol. xi. fol. 58.

who had been general in Flanders before, was to go thither as general of the horse there, in the room of the late duke of Pastrana. The duke of Feria was named for vice-roy of Catalonia; and the duke of Miranda, who had been vice-roy of Sicily, president of the council of Italy. It was reported, that 10,000 soldiers were levying in Naples and Sicily, to be sent into Flanders in the beginning of the next winter. Don JUAN DE VELASQUEZ had been along the coast in Biscay, but could not find 400 mariners to go in the twelve ships, which were to sail from Port Passage to Lisbon; so that he was forced to take such, as had never been at sea. The ships would be ready within a month, and carry 500 soldiers. They had heard no more news of Sir FRANCIS DRAKE, but that about the 5th of January he had plunder'd the isles of St. Martha and Carthagena. Mr. ROLSTON's sickness for twenty days had been the occasion of his not performing his promise to the earl of Essex in coming to Calais. But as soon as he had recovered a little strength, he would not fail to come, in hope that his lordship and Mr. BACON would defend and shroud him under their protection.

The same day Mr. BACON wrote to Dr. HAWKINS at Venice¹, that her majesty's army at Plymouth consisted of 14000 men at the least, of whom there were 1500 gentlemen volunteers, who upon the mere love and honour, which they bore to him, who commanded them, sacrificed their lives and livings to his lordship's direction in this honourable action. That there was certain news of La Fore's being surrender'd upon composition for the Spaniards, and a discretion for the French. That the duke DE BOUILLON and Monsieur DE SANCY were like to depart very ill satisfied, having obtain'd only 20,000 crowns, half of which would scarce serve for their own charges in their journey. That the late lord keeper, Sir JOHN PUCKERING, was dead of an apoplexy very suddenly, "and hath, *says he*, left no regret of him; "into whose place with an extraordinary speed her majesty hath, *ex proprio motu & speciali gratia*, advanced Sir THOMAS EGERTON, with a general applause both "of court, city, and country, for the reputation he hath of integrity, law, knowledge, and courage. It was his good hap to come to the place freely without "competitor or mediator, yea against the desire and endeavour, as it is thought, "of the *omnipotent couple*:" by whom Mr. BACON undoubtedly meant the lord treasurer and his son Sir ROBERT CECIL.

The advancement of the new lord keeper gave Mr. FRANCIS BACON, who had a view to succeed him in the mastership of rolls, tho' his lordship held it till after the death of queen EDIZABETH, an occasion to write the following letter to the earl of Essex on the 10th of May 1596².

" My singular good LORD,

" I have no other argument to write on to your good lordship, but upon demonstration of my deepest and most bounden duty, in fulness whereof I mourn "for your lordship's absence, tho' I mitigate it as much as I can with the hope of "your happy success, the greatest part whereof (be it never so great) will be the "safety of your most honourable person; for the which in the first place, and then

¹ Vol. xi. fol. 25.

² Vol. xi. fol. 69.

“ for the prosperity of your enterprise, I frequently pray. And as in so great
 “ discomfort it hath pleased God some ways to regard my desolateness, by raising
 “ me so great and so worthy a friend in your absence, as the new placed lord keeper,
 “ in whole placing as it hath pleased God to establish mightily one of the chief pil-
 “ lars of this estate, that is, the justice of the land, which began to shake and sink,
 “ and for that purpose no doubt gave her majesty strength of heart of herself to do that
 “ in six days, which the deepest judgment thought would be the work of many
 “ months; so for my particular, I do find in an extraordinary manner, that his
 “ lordship doth succeed my father almost in his fatherly care of me, and love to-
 “ wards me, as much as he professeth to follow him in his honourable and sound
 “ courses of justice and estate; of which so special favour the open and apparent
 “ reason I can ascribe to nothing more than the impression, which upon many
 “ conferences of long time used between his lordship and me he may have received
 “ both of your lordship’s high love and good opinion towards his lordship, verified in
 “ many and singular offices, whereof now the realm, rather than himself, is like
 “ to reap the fruit; and also of your singular affection towards me, as a man chosen
 “ by you to set forth the excellency of your nature and mind, tho’ with some error
 “ of your judgment. Hereof if it may please your lordship to take knowledge to
 “ my lord, according to the stile of your wonted kindness, your lordship shall do
 “ me great contentment. My lord told me, he had written to your lordship, and
 “ wished with great affection he had been so lucky, as to have had two hours talk
 “ with you upon those occasions, which since have fallen out. So wishing, that
 “ God may conduct you by the hand pace by pace, I commend you and your
 “ actions to his divine good providence.

“ Your lordship’s ever deepliest bounden

FRANCIS BACON.”

This letter was sent to the earl, inclosed in one of Mr. ANTHONY BACON of the
 same date¹, who observed to him, that as he could not wish more good to his brother
 by bond of natural kindness, than his lordship had shewn by principal and
 public demonstrations and particular bounty towards him; so he rested assured, that
 his lordship would take it very unkindly, if himself should omit any advertisement
 or humble request, the knowledge or performance of which would tend to the inter-
 est of his brother’s singular obligations, and his lordship’s most honourable merit
 at both their hands. He remarks therefore, that since Sir THOMAS EGERTON’S
 advancement to be lord keeper, among divers, whom partiality of affection in
 court or city had nominated with division of voices to be master of the rolls, it
 had been no small comfort to him to hear, that by plurality at court, and genera-
 lity elsewhere, “ *Fama publica*, says he, *designavit fratrem germanum*: Which tho’ it
 “ be not of sufficient force to persuade my brother to enter into into the list of
 “ competition, having so often heretofore received the foil by undeserved malice;
 “ yet doubt I not but your lordship will judge it a sufficient argument for me to
 “ ground my request, that it would please your lordship to give a special edge by some

¹ Vol. xi. fol. 18.

“ few lines feverally to the extraordinary affection, which my lord keeper and Sir
 “ JOHN FORTESCU protest and profess to my brother. Whereunto if it please your
 “ lordship to add some general recommendation by the way to her majesty of him,
 “ without any particular designment, I know not what more to ask in my brother’s
 “ behoof; upon whose preferment to the rolls I would very willingly make a release
 “ to my lord treasurer and Sir ROBERT CECIL of all claims, titles, or interests, that
 “ I may justly pretend to some royal effects of her majesty’s favour in reward of
 “ my loyal endeavours and services, which I dare boldly affirm, all due and true
 “ circumstances considered, cannot be so soon matched by some, as unjustly carp at
 “ and misinterpreted.” In the postscript he desired leave to put in this caveat,
 which he knew to be concurring with his brother’s mind, that the earl would not
 mention nor recommend his brother’s preferment to the lord treasurer, or Sir RO-
 BERT CECIL, or any other but to the lord keeper and Sir JOHN FORTESCU. With
 respect to ANTONIO PEREZ, he protested, that he knew not what to write more
 than was already written, “ having no less cause to wish, *says he*, that my mind and ears
 “ were free from hearing and thinking of his continual and desperate complaints,
 “ than that my kidneys were deliver’d of the stone, which at this instant gives me
 “ such pangs.”

The earl wrote the same day, May 10th, the following letter to his secretary “, in which he answered some particulars in his letter of the 6th.

“ REYNOLDES,

“ Deliver this inclosed to my lord of Buckhurst from me. It is an answer to one of
 “ his sent in Sir ROBERT CECIL’s packet. I like well your diligence in writing,
 “ which I would have you continue. And as for the duke of Bouillon’s complaint,
 “ tell Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE, that they do me wrong to charge me. I have
 “ loved the duke [of Bouillon] more than all the strangers of christendom, almost
 “ more than all mine own country. I am about to do more for the public and
 “ for all our friends, than they can hope for. But they are unquiet-hearted, and
 “ know not our queen and state so well as I do: For they feed the queen in her
 “ irresolution; wherein tho’ they first undo me, they shall next undo themselves;
 “ for the queen wrangles with our action for no cause but because it is in hand. If
 “ this force were going to France, she would then fear as much the issue there, as
 “ she doth in our intended journey. I know I shall never do her service but against
 “ her will; and since I have racked my wits to get this commission, and my means
 “ to carry that, which should do the feat, as they say, I will either against the
 “ hair go thro’ with it, or of a general become a monk upon an hour’s warning.

“ From your loving master,

“ E S S E X.

“ Commend me to Monsieur DE LA FONTAINE, for all my quarrel.

“ 10th of May 1596.”

■ Original letters, &c. collected by JOHN CASTLE; and Mr. BACON’s papers, vol. xi, fol. 93.

Q q q 2

Mr.

Mr. BACON having written in favour of some of his friends and dependents to Mr. GILLY ^a MEYRICKE, who was steward of the earl, and knighted by him after the taking of Cadiz, Mr. MEYRICKE returned him an answer on the 10th of May from Plymouth ^b, thanking him for his *favourable remembrance*, and promising him to do all the offices within his power to him or any of his; and that when the ships, which were not yet come, should arrive, he would do his best for Mr. BACON's followers.

The earl wrote likewise the same day to Mr. BACON in these terms ^c.

" S I R,

" I have answered signor PEREZ's letter in a letter to himself, and the duke
 " of Bouillon's complaint in a letter to EDWARD REYNOLDES, which I pray you
 " read over. I will desire signor BASADONNA to hold me excused till the next
 " messenger. For yourself, I pray you believe, that tho' your mind, which so
 " tenderly weigheth my danger, be very dear unto me, yet for my sake you must
 " be confident; for if I be not tied by the hands, I know God hath a great work to
 " work by me. I thank God I see my way both smooth and certain; and I will make
 " all the world see I understand myself. Farewell, worthy Mr. BACON, and know, that
 " tho' I entertain you with short letters, yet I will send you from sea papers, that
 " shall remain as tables of my honest designs, and pledges of my love to you from

" Your true and best wishing friend,

" Plymouth, this 10th of May.

E S S E X." ^d

Dr. HAWKYNs, in his letter to Mr BACON from Venice of the same date ^e, took notice, that the news of the taking of Calais had astonish'd all in those parts, having put all other matters to silence; " whereof, *says he*, I am sorry to have CASSANDRA's fortune not to be believed. The intercepted letters plainly shewed the design in general both of that and of BOULOGNE; which out of doubt will follow shortly, if it be not prevented. I could wish there were good and trusty guards about the persons of 234 [queen of England] and 115 [French king] there being, I fear, privy designs against them both. The 197 [cardinal] with his 207 [millions] can gain 231 [traitors] enough, and doubteth not with 204 [crowns] to purchase the electors their suffrages to the king of the Romans, and to marry 194 [Infanta] of 129 [Spain] 115 [French king] is in *medio inimicorum suorum*. I fear the success. The example of Mr. BALIGNY is a bad precedent for others to do the like." He then observes, that 122 [the Turk] sleepeth, and 162 [gallies] stand still; and that his empire greatly declines, who otherwise might do great service against Spain, and from Algier in a night and a day might land any armada whatsoever in Valencia, where he would find correspondents the Moreſca, who in that small kingdom exceed the christians by the number of 200,000, beside other infinite numbers of them dispersed throughout all Spain, and who waited only for an opportu-

^a He wrote his name GILLY.

^b Vol. xi. fol. 45.

^c Vol. xi. fol. 32.

^d Vol. x. fol. 89.

nity of shaking off the yoke of Spain. The grandees were likewise discontented, being excluded from all government, the whole management of the state being in the hands of four persons, the marquis DI VELEDA, the count DI CHINSONE, DON CHRISTOFERO DI MORO, and DON JUAN DE IDIAQUES; and the militia were utterly exhausted, and not one commander of name left. He gives afterwards a long account of the troubles lately arisen to the Venetians about Clissa and other fortresses in Dalmatia, fomented for above four years past by the pope, emperor, and king of Spain, with a view to break the league between the Turk and Venice, in order to weaken both. He mentions his having long since chang'd his former habitation for a *camera locanda*, near the places of advertisements, and much fitter for his services; and that he had at length received his first 200 crowns; and desires, that if lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby was return'd to England, Mr. BACON would take knowledge, as from him, of his lordship's correspondent at Rome, who promised Dr. HAWKYNs, that the service should be wholly dedicated to his lordship, which would be of great importance, by his correspondence with Spain; but he would only be at that lord's devotion.

ANTONIO PEREZ, by his complaints and importunities had so fatigued Mr. BACON, that, in order to escape them, he was oblig'd to retire to his brother FRANCIS's lodge at Twickenham, whence he wrote to the earl of Essex*, acknowledging his lordship's letter of the 10th of May, and vowing, that the principal aim of his most earnest wishes and devoutest prayers should be for the speedy accomplishment of his lordship's virtuous and settled hopes, and happy success of his noble designs, and an honourable end of his immoveable confidence, "beseeching God, *says he*, in his mercy to grace me with a christian death rather than in his wrath to force me to live to see the contrary." He then reminds the earl of his request in his last letter sent by Mr. WISEMAN, that his lordship would take special knowledge of the kindness, which his brother had received, and daily did receive at the hands both of the lord-keeper and Sir JOHN FORTESCUE. He acquaints his lordship of his retirement to Twickenham Lodge, on account of the pains both of the gout and stone, and by the advice of his physicians, and that he had not heard from ANTONIO PEREZ since the receipt of his lordship's letter, except these few lines; *Tuas accepi literas, & Domini Comitiss, quas mihi remisisti, quæ etsi plenæ sint ardoris, nedum amoris, tamen sine APOLLINE non possunt intelligi. Te, ut talem, conveniam, ut, ut veneris, eorum reliqua intelliges. Interea vale & æternum.* "Hereby, *says Mr. BACON*, your lordship sees, that he hopes, and wishes perhaps, to serve his turn with my simple gloss and interpretation of your lordship's letter: But by the grace of God I will have special and due care what I deliver unto him, and purpose rather to confess ignorance, *& deprecari silentium, quam illi præbere ansam vel moræ vel iræ, si eo usq; humilitas mea & exile ingenium possunt attingere*"

He wrote likewise to his brother†, immediately after he came to Twickenham lodge, that his patience being at last overcharg'd, and almost turn'd into just anger, to see, that his double torment both of stone and gout could not obtain for him

* Vol. xi. fol. 15.

† Ibid. fol. 9.

the privilege of rest at ANTONIO's hands, but that he must daily hear his dear lord's honour hammer'd upon both by him and the French, and serve as it were hourly, instead of a cistern, to receive his Spanish exclamations and scolding complaints, he had no other sanctuary but to retreat to that *wholesome pleasant lodge and finely design'd garden*, where he intended to be as private as he could, till the departure of the duke DE BOUILLON and ANTONIO; which last he doubted not but his absence would hast, if the letter, which he had received that morning for him from the earl by his own servant JACQUES PETIT, who came in post, did not defeat all his former painful endeavours to get him well gone. Mr. BACON inclosed in his letter the last of Dr. HAWKYNs's, delivered to him the day before, together with the written Italian Gazette, desiring his brother to communicate it and such particulars, as he should think proper, to Sir JOHN FORTESCU, with the remembrance of his intire devotion to do him honour and service.

Mr. FRANCIS BACON answered this letter on the 15th of May^a, letting his brother know, that he had delivered to Sir JOHN FORTESCU the Gazette, desiring him to read it in his barge, who acknowledg'd it to be of another sort than the common; and that he had likewise communicated to him so much of Dr. HAWKYNs's letters, as contained advertisements copied out, which was the reason that he return'd the letter now, the gazette being carried by Sir JOHN to court. He wrote also again on Ascension-day to his brother^z, to whom he sent back at the same time the Gazette, with Sir JOHN FORTESCU's loving commendations, adding, "There is a commission for the Rolls; *sed nihil ad me*. I hear nothing from my lord of Effex. What you do I know not. I observe your intention of privateness: else had I visited you."

Mr. BACON, in his answer^y to his last letter, inform'd his brother, that he had not heard from the earl since the inclosed of the 10th of May, which he had sent to him sooner, but that he durst not part with it till ANTONIO PEREZ was departed, "for fear, *says he*, that he should have surpris'd me here [at Twickenham-lodge] without so authentical an evidence to prove that to be true, which I affirmed by letter, and he scarce believed; to wit, that my lord had not in his letter to myself acquainted me with the contents of that his lordship wrote to him; which as I know the earl omitted *ex industria*, so signor PEREZ hoped to have served his turn of my interpretation of my lord's letter to him for his stay. But the matter hath been so well handled, as you see, that he had no leisure to come hither, and play that feat. Well, at the last he is gone. God send him fair wind and weather for his passage, and me but the tyth of the thanks, which I have deserved; for I dare assure you, that without my watchfulness and painful patience he would have chanced upon some plot, whereby to have made an after-game. I doubt not but that you have heard of Mr. FULK GREVILLE's employment to carry to the two generals their royal benediction: And yet Sir WALTER RALEGH's slackness and stay by the way is not thought to be upon sloth or negligence, but upon pregnant design, which will be brought forth very shortly, and found to be, according to the French proverb, *filz ou fille*."

^a Vol. xi. fol. 30.^z Vol. xi. fol. 109.^y Vol. xi. fol. 8.

The earl immediately complied with the request of Mr. BACON by writing in favour of his brother FRANCIS, to whom he sent on the 17th of May, 1596, the following letter ^a.

“ S I R,

“ I have thought the contemplation of the art military harder than the execution.
 “ But now I see, where the number is great, compounded of sea and land forces,
 “ the most *tyrones*, and almost all voluntaries, the officers equal almost in age,
 “ quality, and standing in the wars, it is hard for any man to approve himself a
 “ good commander. So great is my zeal to omit nothing, and so short my sufficiency to perform all, as besides my charge, myself doth afflict myself. For I
 “ cannot follow the precedents of our dissolute armies, and my helpers are a little
 “ amazed with me, when they are come from governing a little troop to a great,
 “ and from to all the great spirits of our state. And sometimes I am
 “ as much troubled with them, as with all the troops. But tho’ these be warrants
 “ for my seldom writing, yet they shall be no excuses for my fainting industry. I
 “ have written to my lord keeper and to some other friends to have care of you
 “ in my absence. And so commending you to God’s happy and heavenly protection, I rest

“ Your true friend,

“ Plymouth, this 17th of May, 1596.

“ E S S E X”.

His lordship wrote likewise the same day to Mr. ANTHONY BACON ^a.

“ S I R,

“ I send you three letters, to my lord keeper, lord of Buckhurst, and my cousin
 “ FORTESCUE. They are all open, because you may read them; and when you
 “ have done with them, REYNOLDES shall both seal and deliver them. If you
 “ knew what a purgatory it were to govern this unwieldy body, and to keep these
 “ sharp humours from distempering the whole body, you would rather free me from
 “ writing than challenge my short writing. I wish to you as to myself, and rest
 “ for ever

“ Your true friend,

“ Plymouth, this 17th of May.

“ E S S E X”.

The earl’s letter to the lord-keeper was in these terms ^b:

“ My very good Lord,

“ I do understand by my very good friend Mr. FRANCIS BACON, how much he
 “ is bound to your lordship for your favour. I do send your lordship my best
 “ thanks, and do protest unto you, that there is no gentleman in England, of
 “ whose good fortune I have been more desirous. I do still retain the same mind;

^a Vol. xi. fol. 139.

^a Vol. xi. fol. 64.

Vol. ii. fol. 190.

“ but

“ but because my intercession hath rather hurt him than done him good, I dare not move the queen for him. To your lordship I earnestly commend the care I have of his advancement; for his parts were never destined for a private and (if I may so speak) an idle life. That life I call idle, that is not spent in public business: for otherwise he will ever give himself worthy tasks. Your lordship in performing what I desire shall oblige us both, and within very short time see such fruit of your own work, as will please you well. And so commending your lordship to God’s best protection, I rest at your lordship’s commandment.

“ 17th of May, 1596.”

His lordship’s letter to the lord BUCKHURST, was in these words:—

“ My LORD,

“ By the advancement of Sir THOMAS EGERTON to the place of lord keeper, (in which choice I think my country very happy) there is void the office of master of the Rolls. I do both for private and public respects wish Mr. FRANCIS BACON to it before all men, and should think much done for her majesty’s service, if he were so placed, as his virtues might be active, which now lie as it were buried. What success I have had in commending him to her majesty, your lordship knows. I would not the second time hurt him with my care and kindness; but I will commend unto your lordship his cause, not as his alone, or as mine, his friend’s, but as a public cause, wherein your lordship shall have honour, and the world satisfaction to see worthy fruits of your own work, and exceeding thankfulness from us both: And so I rest

“ Your lordship’s cousin and friend most affectionate and assured.”

His letter to Sir JOHN FORTESCUE, chancellor of the Exchequer, was as follows:—

“ COUSIN,

“ I do now commend unto you both present actions and absent friends; I mean those, who are absent from me, so as I neither can defend them from wrong, nor help to that right their virtue deserves. And because one occasion offers itself before the rest, I will commend unto you one above the rest. The place is the mastership of the Rolls, the man, Mr. FRANCIS BACON, a kind and worthy friend to us both. If your labour in it prevail, I will owe it you as a particular debt, though you may challenge it as a debt of the state. And so wishing you all happiness, I rest

“ Your cousin and friend affectionate and assured.”

The packet containing these four letters being brought to London by captain GARRET, and delivered to Mr. FRANCIS BACON, his brother being still at Twick-

• Ibid.

• Ibid.

enham

enham-lodge, the former opened it, and sent to his brother the earl's letter to him, with that to himself, and his lordship's three letters written in his own favour, and in his letter to his brother inclosing the rest he observ'd ^c, " You may perceive my lord's good affections and care, being surcharged with business, to write; and to write so many letters. His lordship's discretion also in writing in general terms to my lord-keeper I do not dislike. I suppose there is some seal for the like occasions remaining with Mr. REYNOLDES for to make up these letters. My desire is, the letter to my lord keeper should simply be delivered by one of your men; the letter to Sir JOHN FORTESCU accompanied with some few words of your own taking knowledge of the contents, and that it is a thing carried wholly without my knowledge between my lord and yourself. The letter to my lord BUCKHURST would be stayed and kept by us; to the end, if need be, I may take occasion to shew his lordship what my lord intended, and what I detain'd, if the matter grow to any life; for before to acquaint his lordship, being made, as I imagine, is not safe."

Mr. BACON in his answer ^f to this letter, told his brother, " You observed very well our earl's good affections and care, in that being so charged with business, he hath vouchsafed to write so many letters to such personages so apt and effectually; for the delivery and sealing whereof his lordship having referred me over to his secretary Mr. REYNOLDES, as you may perceive by his letter to myself, and considering withal, that Mr. REYNOLDES makes his abode at the court, I thought it not amiss to know of you, whether you allow his lordship's direction, or would have Sir JOHN FORTESCU's to be accompanied with a few lines from myself, which I will not fail to do immediately; my lord keeper's sent simply by one of my own men, and my lord BUCKHURST's to remain with yourself. In the mean time you know they must be sent to Mr. REYNOLDES, to be sealed before they can be delivered, unless you would advise me to write to him for the seal to be sent inclosed, or brought by himself to-morrow at night to Essex-house, where, if I can recover any strength by this night's rest, I will not fail, God willing, to make my rendezvous to see with you my cousin ROBERT BACON, and to pacify Mr. TROTT ^g, who hath stormed, as I understand, with more passion than reason to my cousin ROBERT BACON, against us both: Which proceeding of his is so much the more irksome unto me, as that I have been careful to avoid my cousin's apprehensions, in regard of his extraordinary confidence and voluntary kindness towards me."

Sir ANTHONY SHERLEY, who had sail'd with his ships from Southampton on the 23d of April, and arrived on the 29th at Plymouth, wrote thence to Mr. BACON, on the 12th of May ^h, that as he took the best foundation of the work, which he most desired to build upon, from that gentleman, so Mr. BACON should receive the first day's account of his labour. " I am, *says he*, even now setting sail for my own purpose, freed from all the lords absolutely but one ⁱ, who shall ever possess the free

^c Vol. xi. fol. 107.

^f Vol. xi. fol. 7. sum of money, for which Mr. ANTHONY BACON

^g Mr. NICHOLAS TROTT, of Gray's-Inn, to whom Mr. FRANCIS BACON ow'd a considerable

was likewise engaged.

^h Vol. xi.

ⁱ Earl of Essex.

“ gift, which I have given him of my best service. But for the other *, I am
 “ resolved in an old school point, *cum negantibus principia non est disputandum*: I
 “ will never dispute with myself, how to do him honour, who denies by his acts
 “ any habitation of honour to be in himself. I brought hither nine ships, 1400
 “ men, exceeding well armed; required his lordship’s promise dearly bought by
 “ me before, and largely protested by him, for my freedom from this journey. But
 “ no way to release me could be possibly imagined nor thought of, except I would
 “ deliver 500 men armed, and four ships victualled for four months, for this jour-
 “ ney, which I did as frankly condescend unto, as a man would, that had no way
 “ left to escape apparent ruin, but that miserable one, yet better than none at all.
 “ Yet did I do it upon condition, that I might have two sailors out of every ship
 “ to supply my want that way, instead of all this, which I did instantly put the
 “ lords in possession of. But, Lord! how rich I was in promises, my so honourable
 “ dealing must needs be requited with? If any ships could have been carried away
 “ with that blast, I had been by this time past the Canaries. But these ten days I
 “ have ever followed the court of admiralty for satisfaction of promise: but where
 “ there is no honour, there is no justice; so that I was upon the very point of
 “ breaking, if my lord of Essex had not in this dealt most nobly with me, to
 “ assist me with money for the buying of those men, which my lord admiral’s
 “ authority could easily have given me. But I will never more trust a man, which
 “ hath defects both in nature and art; for his man * * his counsellor, is not so
 “ great but as much a fool as himself. Sir, I beseech you to give me my words,
 “ which are as truly my own as may be, paid for, and most exceedingly dear
 “ bought; and yet it doth me good, that I have been as free of them to himself,
 “ as I can be to this paper.”

He then proceeds to the report of the army at Plymouth, design’d for the expedition against Cadiz, which report he knew Mr. BACON would long to hear of by an impartial hand. He protested, that he could conceive nothing more, but that as * * was the motive of it, so very vapour and smoak would be the end: For besides that the preparation of the very chief members of the body was of a most strange compact, the very body itself was fallen sick, and distemper’d with so many discontentments, as he had never in his life seen spring in any company so soon. To which might be added, that protraction was not only free increase to this dangerous humour, but so well arm’d the enemy, that himself could not settle his judgment upon any good likelihood, tho’ some strange accident might possibly bring forth almost impossible effects. “ But take you, *says he to Mr. BACON*,
 “ your due honour in this from me, as you shall in every thing else, where my
 “ attribution may be heard, *Macte, virtutis esto*, and, as ÆMILIUS said, Live you
 “ to better the estate of this lord by your virtue, which he hath decayed by his
 “ own error.”

Nine days after the date of this letter, Sir ANTHONY, having left behind him three of his ships, and 500 of his men, with the generals for the expedition to Cadiz, proceeded on his own for the island of St. Thome, departing from Ply-

* CHARLES lord HOWARD of Effingham, lord admiral.

mouth on the 21st of May. But his voyage prov'd unfortunate, for he never reach'd that island, tho' he visited those of St. Jago, Dominica, Margareta, &c. and after sustaining great losses, and miseries, arrived at Newfoundland on the 31st of May, 1597, where being abandoned by his ships, he staid till the 27th of June, when he return'd to England, and found the earl of Essex bound to the sea on the Island voyage, in which he attended his lordship¹.

Mr. HUDSON, in his letter from Edinburgh of the 14th of May, 1596^m, excused his not writing oftner to Mr. BACON for want of matters worth advertizing, and remark'd, that he should, if he had not been absent, have written to him concerning the enterprize against Carlisle, about the middle of April preceding, when the laird of Baclugh, who had the charge of Liddisdale, surpris'd the castle of that city, tho' the lord SCROOPE, warden of the West Marches in England, was then in it; and rescued one WILLIAM ARMSTRONG, a notorious Scots thief, who had been seiz'd by the English during a truce, and confin'd in the castle. This affront highly exasperated the queen, who by her ambassador, Mr. Bowes, demanded on the 22d of May, that the laird of Baclugh should be delivered up to England to be punish'd at her majesty's pleasure: And this demand being renew'd in July, that laird was imprisoned at St. Andrew's, and at last sent into England, where he did not remain longⁿ.

In this letter Mr. HUDSON says, "For the great doubts, that some men cast, I am not wise enough to be of the opinion, for I find still a firm, a wise, and a prudent king, who heartily wisheth the welfare of our army and their leaders, and is most willing and ready at all times, when it shall please her majesty to require him, to adventure his own person, crown and people in the defence of the kingdom, and to make a farther journey, if need were." He mentions, that the Danish ambassadors were daily look'd for, but not yet come: That all was ready for them, their presents, &c. That the queen expected to be brought to bed in July. That all the English ambassador's answers relating to the border-affairs were remitted to the meeting of the king and council, which was to be upon the 15th at Lithgow, where his majesty was at present.

¹ HAKLUYT, vol. iii. p. 598 and seqq. and STONEY Papers, vol. ii. p. 35, 58. fol. 173.

^m SPOTSWOOD, l. vi. p. 414, 415.

ⁿ Vol. xi.

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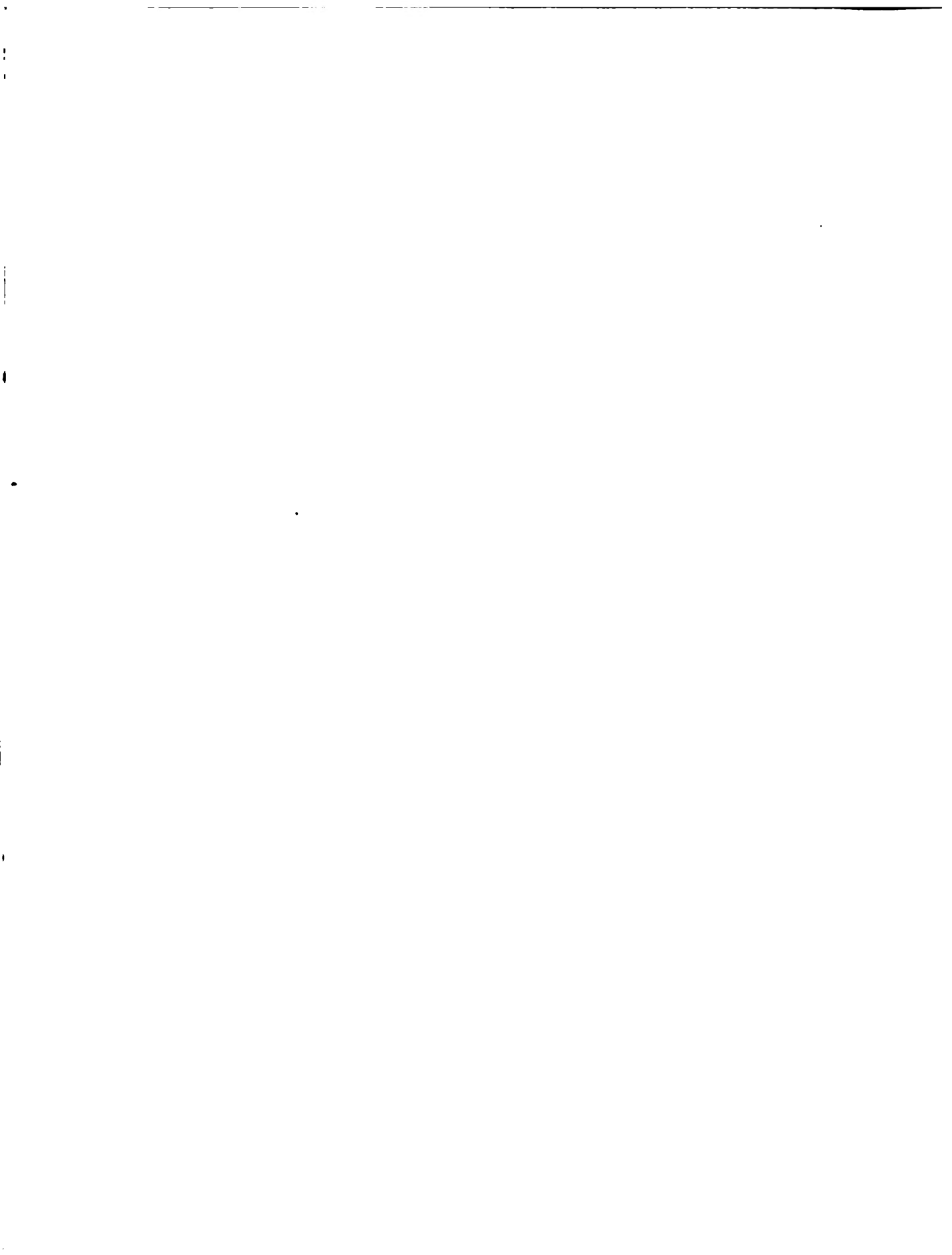
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1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

2. The second part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.



MAY 27 1965.

